

**From Japan to Canadian Museum Storage:
Continuous History of Objects from the Japanese Ceramic Collection
of William C. Van Horne (1843–1915)**

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Abstract

This dissertation traces the “social life” of a group of Japanese ceramic objects collected by Sir William Cornelius Van Horne (1843–1915) in late nineteenth-century Montreal, and examines the ways in which the meaning of these objects has shifted through their spatial and temporal movements: from Japan to Canada, from commodities to a private collection and then to museum collection, and from the late nineteenth century to the present. These objects embody interpretational gaps, between their high reputation during the collector’s lifetime and their ambiguous status in the museum storage today, as well as the misidentification of a genuine tea bowl made by a prominent Japanese potter of seventeenth century.

While such interpretational gaps are often considered to result from a lack of “proper” knowledge on the part of the individuals who evaluated the objects, this dissertation takes a different approach, in which the meaning of objects is seen as a production of multiple interactions among people, institutions, and societies at given times and places. Tracing the trajectories of Van Horne’s Japanese ceramics as a continuous history from origin to current destination, and investigating their meaning-construction in relation to the modernization project of Japan, to Van Horne’s interactions with others and to the museum operations, clearly demonstrate that the interpretational gaps of objects emerge through an epistemological disjuncture between the imagined idea of fixed authenticity and the actual, contingent processes of the object’s meaning-formation.

Through the cross-referencing of the actual objects, archival material, scholarly publications, and my own professional experience at the museum, this dissertation reveals

some covert and unconscious mechanisms at work in knowledge production. These mechanisms disclose that the meaning of objects is created in the gaps between major arguments surrounding the historiography of Japanese art, collecting and collection, and museology. By taking an interdisciplinary approach, this dissertation raises questions about post-colonialist discourses on the Western system of knowledge production of non-Western objects; the belief of collection as a mere space for the subject's identity-formation; and the discussion of cultural knowledge-production in museums solely through the politics of display.

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Note: Japanese names in this dissertation are given in the Japanese order, with family name first and given name second, except where indicated.

Introduction

In 2001, I was hardly impressed when I first encountered the approximately 150 Japanese ceramic objects from the former collection of Sir William Cornelius Van Horne (1843–1915) (See Appendix, fig. 1) in storage at the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) in Toronto. The collection, represents two donations—one given by the collector himself around 1910,¹ and one in 1944 by his grandson—and consists mainly of humble tea bowls, sake bottles, vases, and other utilitarian pieces of stoneware and earthenware, most of which were made in the nineteenth century (fig. 2). Although the collection also includes several colourful, decorative pieces, these are in the minority (fig. 3). This group of Japanese ceramics looked to me a mixed-quality collection without any items of particular art historical or aesthetic significance. As a volunteer cataloguer of Japanese ceramics at the ROM's then Far Eastern department, I was puzzled that such a seemingly insignificant pieces were kept by an internationally acclaimed museum. My low regard for these objects was due in part to the scant information provided by the museum's electronic database on these pieces, as well as to the reality that they had been kept in storage and out of public view for so long.

Later, in 2003, I discovered that these objects had been part of a collection of approximately 1,500 Japanese ceramics collected by Van Horne in Montreal in the late nineteenth century, and that another portion of his collection is kept at the

¹ About 150 Japanese ceramics donated by Van Horne himself is considered at the ROM as a gift in 1909. However, no evidence has been found to prove the year, and it was possibly slightly later around 1913. Van Horne's letter to Currelly, dated November 1, 1913. Private material at Sally Hannon.

Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (MMFA). I was surprised that a wealthy railway man had collected these unimpressive pieces, and that the Van Horne Collection of Japanese ceramics had been internationally known and celebrated during the collector's lifetime. I began to ask myself: what made Van Horne collect these Japanese ceramics, considering that they have little art historical value in the first place? How was it possible that these ceramics were highly esteemed? Did he and his contemporaries lack sufficient knowledge to understand these objects properly?

Sir William Van Horne was the general manager and president of Canadian Pacific Railway from 1882 to 1899, and among the key figures who contributed to the construction of the trans-Canada railway in 1885. He was known for his dynamic personality and immense physical vitality, and had many and varied interests. His enthusiasm for Japanese ceramics is evident in his multi-volume, hand-written catalogues, some of which I encountered at the MMFA in 2005—he meticulously recorded every single item he acquired with a small illustration, and frequently updated the information about the piece (fig. 4).²

In 2007, an incident occurred that further puzzled me: a simple tea bowl in the style of a Korean rice bowl from the ROM's Van Horne ceramics was assessed by a Japanese expert as a genuine piece made by one of the most renowned Japanese potters, Nonomura Ninsei (active ca. 1646–1677) (fig. 5).³ While this tea bowl bears Ninsei's mark, the ROM had long been considered it to be a copy. It was striking that

² The rest of the Van Horne catalogues are reserved at the AGO archives, on which I conducted research in 2009.

³ Professor Yoshiko Oka of Ōtemae University in Hyōgo, Japan, a specialist of Ninsei and his works, made a personal trip to Toronto and visited the ROM on November 7, 2007. After a careful examination, she confirmed that this Ninsei tea bowl was genuine.

such a significant piece was included in the seemingly unimpressive Van Horne collection, and that, more importantly, it had remained in storage for such a long time.

Ninsei occupies a prominent place within Japanese art history: he was a master potter attributed with establishing the reputation of Kyoto ceramics, which lasted for subsequent centuries. First and foremost, his aesthetic of elegance—as well as his connection to court nobles and the tea practice of *chanoyu*—has made him one of the most representative Japanese potters past or present. A single original Ninsei can affect the reputation of the quality of a museum's entire Japanese collection. On the other hand, because of Ninsei's renown, it is also inevitable that countless copies and fakes have been made and distributed. Although this was already the case in the eighteenth century, it was particularly widespread after the Meiji period (1868–1912), when Japanese ceramics became popular as collectables in the West. That the ROM's Ninsei tea bowl had been dismissed as one of those copies is therefore not too surprising.

Nonetheless, this unexpected occurrence raised more questions: under what circumstances had the genuine Ninsei piece been dismissed as inauthentic? Was this a matter of inexperience and ignorance on the part of family members and museum personnel (myself included) who handled Van Horne's collection after his death? Moreover, did this misidentification happen solely as a matter of this particular item, or did it occur precisely because it was one of Van Horne's Japanese ceramics? Finally, what is the *raison d'être* of these Japanese ceramics, if any, taking up precious museum storage space in Canada for so long? The simple questions of why and how these items ended up in the storage of Canadian museums led me on a long,

complex journey to trace their history. This journey involved multiple issues that surround collected objects: the meaning-formation of objects, inter-cultural communications through objects between Japan and the West in the former's modernization process, the relationship between the collector and objects, the transition from private to public collection, and the role of museums in cultural representation and knowledge production.

In this dissertation, I trace the history of Japanese ceramic objects collected by Sir William Van Horne to investigate how these objects have been understood and evaluated at different times and places, through dynamic interactions between objects, people, institutions, and societies. My research demonstrates that the trajectory of this group of Japanese ceramics embodies fundamental gaps in evaluation, first between the high reputation of the Van Horne collection during the collector's lifetime and its ambiguous status in museum storage thereafter, and second in the evaluation of a genuine tea bowl by Ninsei, which had been considered inauthentic for a long time. A frequent occurrence in the histories of collected objects, such gaps are commonly attributed to issues of knowledge, in particular whether the individuals who handled the objects in the past had enough knowledge to identify the objects' "proper" values. My detailed examination of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics, however, reveals that the gaps in the evaluation of collected objects result from an epistemological disjuncture between the notion of authenticity ("what is authentic Japanese ceramics") that is believed to be fixed, and the actual meaning formation of objects that is highly contingent. The interpretation of objects in fact depends on the specific

conditions at the given time and place, where the idea of authenticity itself keeps changing.

A fundamental issue that this dissertation challenges is therefore the unquestioned status of the idea of authenticity surrounding Japanese ceramics. My initial questions about the Van Horne Japanese ceramics—more precisely, my suspicions concerning the amount of “proper” knowledge that Van Horne and other people in the past had—were derived from the idea of fixed authenticity from the present point of view. From this perspective, these individuals did not possess the same knowledge used today to assess the value of the Japanese ceramics, and therefore they collected insignificant pieces; it is then understandable that Van Horne’s objects remained for so long in museum storage.

But how does this explain the great enthusiasm that Van Horne demonstrated in his hand-written catalogues? How did Van Horne actually think about his objects at the time of collecting? What about his fellow collectors, and dealers? Did they view Japanese ceramics as we do today? To address such questions, it is first necessary to interrogate the notion of fixed authenticity that is established from the present vantage point. The question asked in this dissertation is, as Denis Dutton articulates, “authentic as opposed to what?” (n.pag.). By asking this question, it becomes clear that the distinction between “authentic” and “inauthentic” depends highly on context (Dutton n.pag.).

The notion of authenticity itself is historically constructed; as Richard Handler argues, authenticity is a cultural concept central to the emergence of the ideology of individualism as well as the notion of the nation-state in the modern Western world

(2). Based on C.B. Macpherson's concept of "possessive individualism," Handler sees that "the existence of a national collectivity depends upon the 'possession' of an authentic culture" (4). This "authentic" cultural identity, constructed either by self or other, is the presupposition of the act of collection, according to James Clifford (221). The modern anxieties of Westerners surrounding their own authenticity are reflected in their collecting of objects from idealized non-Western societies, which appeared more authentic (Guth *Longfellow's Tattoos* xx). The authenticity of non-Western objects is thus not inherent or given within the objects themselves: the cultural or artistic authenticity of objects is "produced" rather than "discovered" by removing the objects from their current historical situation (Clifford 226). A paradox is found in the creation of the idea of authenticity; as Christine Guth states, "if what is authentic is first recognized by its function within a given sociocultural context, paradoxically, its "authenticity" is confirmed only by the fact of its removal" (*Longfellow's Tattoos* xxi). In other words, the idea of authenticity has "as much to do with an inventive present as with a past, its objectification, preservation or revival" (Clifford 222). The imagined idea of fixed authenticity in fact emerges through the construction process of authenticity.

The value of cultural objects is determined based on ideas of what is authentic, as articulated by Clifford in the diagram titled "The Art-Culture System: A Machine for Making Authenticity" (224).⁴ As the idea of authenticity itself is both a

⁴ Clifford explain the relationship between the value of cultural objects and the idea of authenticity in this diagram. Objects move between four semantic zones: 1) the zone of authentic masterpieces, 2) the zone of authentic artefacts, 3) the zone of inauthentic masterpieces, and 4) the zone of inauthentic artefacts, which represent the oppositions of art and culture, art and non-art, and culture and non-culture. While this diagram is useful to identify the relationship between art and artefact, Clifford admits the limit of such a synchronic diagram which cannot represent zones of contest and transgression. However, the crucial point here is to present the "historicity" of this art-culture system based on the idea of authenticity.

historical construction and ever-shifting, the objects' interpretation changes accordingly. From this viewpoint, it is possible to consider that Van Horne's collection of simple Japanese domestic ceramics was indeed significant among his contemporaries, because such varieties of Japanese ceramics were increasingly perceived as more authentic in the 1880s, in contrast to the decorative export wares collected in earlier periods. In addition, broader cultural trends in the West in the nineteenth century viewed collections for the purpose of taxonomic classification (such as Van Horne's collection) as intellectually significant. After Van Horne's death, however, the basis on which the authenticity of Japanese ceramics was determined shifted from the classifiable to the aesthetic in the early twentieth century. In other words, the individual formal quality of Japanese ceramics that could be situated within the framework of Japanese art history became more significant. As a consequence, the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection was re-interpreted as unimportant from an art historical perspective.

The fate of the Ninsei tea bowl was also entangled within the shifting notions of authenticity. Ninsei's unassailable reputation today is in fact a historical construction, as the historiography of Japanese ceramics was gradually established both in Japan and in the West at the turn of the twentieth century. When we consider Van Horne's perception of Ninsei within the broader cultural context of the time, his fluctuating attitude towards Ninsei's works can be understood as a reflection of the yet-to-be-fixed status of the potter, not as a lack of knowledge on the part of Van Horne. Van Horne's own ambiguous treatment of his Ninsei tea bowl in turn affected

the ways others interpreted it after his death and within the shifting perceptions of Van Horne's Japanese ceramics collection as a whole.

Tracing the fluctuating meaning of Van Horne's Japanese ceramics through history is, therefore, simultaneously an investigation of the construction and shift of the idea surrounding the authenticity of Japanese ceramics. The interpretational shifts of the Van Horne objects emerged through the gap between the imagined notion of fixed authenticity and the actual formation processes of the objects' meaning. In disentangling the threads of meaning formation of the objects, I articulate the moments of such epistemological disjuncture.

My investigation reveals some of the covert and unconscious mechanisms at work in knowledge-production through collected objects. The meaning of collected objects is in reality often created in the gaps between major arguments surrounding the historiography of Japanese art, collecting and collection, and museology. These include: post-colonial discourses on the Western system of knowledge production on non-Western objects, in which the meaning and value of objects are shaped solely by the West; discussions pertaining to the self-evident subjectivity of collectors and museums, in which the collection is understood as a reflection of the subject's affirmative identity; and arguments about the museum's role in determining the object's meaning solely from the perspective of politics of display. I thus challenge and deconstruct these master narratives and develop a more nuanced, discursive picture, not just of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection, but of Western collecting activities of Japanese ceramics at the turn of the twentieth century, as well as of museum objects that are not on display.

Theoretical framework

The paths that Van Horne's Japanese ceramics travelled represent their "social life," to borrow Arjun Appadurai's term.⁵ In view of recent studies of material culture, objects' meanings are not inherent but are instead shaped by layers of ideas various interested parties have projected onto them. In other words, objects do not exist through their physical presence alone, but also communicate in and through their "denoted and connoted" meanings (Lidchi 164). Likewise, these meanings are continuously negotiated within "materially and discursively heterogeneous relations" between the objects, people, and social conditions (Law 141). Thus, meaning is ever-shifting, as people, place, time, and social conditions change. Drawing on Appadurai's idea of the social life of things, as well as Igor Kopytoff's notion of the cultural biography of objects, I focus on the socio-historical narratives of objects, and the process by which their meanings are repeatedly reconstructed in response to shifting spatial and temporal contexts.⁶

In addressing meaning-formation in regards to Western collections of Japanese ceramics from the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, scholarship has largely focussed either on people (makers, collectors, or curators, for instance), or the socio-historical context of a given collection (for example, Japan, France, during

⁵ Appadurai states that "[f]ocusing on the things that are exchanged, rather than simply on the forms or functions of exchange, makes it possible to argue that what creates the link between exchange and value is *politics*, construed broadly," and this argument justifies idea that commodities have social lives as persons do (3 original emphasis).

⁶ Kopytoff sees the production of commodities from a cultural perspective, in which "commodities must be not only produced materially as things, but also culturally marked as being a certain kind of thing" (64). Things are then understood as "a culturally constructed entity, endowed with culturally specific meanings, and classified and reclassified into culturally constituted categories" (Kopytoff 68).

the Meiji period, or the trade between Japan and the West).⁷ Such approaches lend insight into an object's meaning-formation at one particular geographical point and at a specific moment. In order to explore the unfolding process by which meaning is negotiated over time and space, however, this dissertation adopts an approach informed by the notion of the "continuous history" of objects (Lidchi 167), which extends "from origin to current destination" (Ames 141). According to this idea, objects move both spatially from places A to B to C, and temporally from the points of time A' to B' to C'. An object's meaning at place C and at time-point C' needs to be understood as the consequence of the previous creation of meaning at places A and B at time-points A' and B', rather than simply focusing on one particular moment or aspect of its life cycle (Tythacott 7). Over the course of the continuous history of objects, accumulated experience gives them their identities, as Gosden and Marshall argue (170). This perspective can explore "the evolution of meaning" over objects' lives as well as the history of institutional mechanisms that create and recreate those meanings (Ames 141). Within this continuous history of objects, people—makers, dealers, collectors or museum personnel—are understood as "simply points of origination, congregation and dispersal" (Douglas 15).

Drawing on this approach of continuous history, my research examines how the Van Horne Japanese ceramics are viewed at the two Canadian museums that house them today, as a consequence of their institutionalization process in the mid-twentieth century. Likewise, I examine the ways Van Horne's heirs treated the objects

⁷ The studies of the history of Japanese ceramics focused on individual makers or collectors include, for example, Lawton, C. Ninagawa, Pollard, Pope, Rousmaniere "A.W. Franks," and Wilson *Potter's Brush*. The studies of the circulation of Japanese ceramics at certain time periods and within certain geographical boundaries include, for example, Imai, Imakiire, Itō, Miyaji, Motomiya, and Nakajima.

during the donation process in the 1940s, in accordance with changing broader perceptions of the objects after the original collector's death in 1915; I investigate the way Van Horne perceived his ceramics during his lifetime in response to collecting activities in Europe and North America in the late nineteenth century and earlier; and I examine how Japanese ceramics were exported to the West by interrogating how Japan understood its ceramic production in the nineteenth century.

Although the focus of this dissertation is on a group of objects belonging to a single collector, William Van Horne, it is not intended to be a study of a private collection from the conventional biographical approach, which seeks to regain and reminisce about the significance of a collector and his objects. Van Horne serves as an important point of origin for my research, but this dissertation refrains from the celebratory approach often found in the monographic, biographic studies of collectors and collections.⁸

The view of collectors as individuals who collect to fulfill their desire to define themselves perceives collections as mere tools to create their distinctive identities. Eva Rovers states that this self-defining function is in fact probably the strongest driving force behind every collection in the context of the bourgeoisie at the end of the nineteenth century (160). This perspective presupposes an affirmative identity of the collector, as well as self-evident motivations for collecting. The question of motivation is discussed by Susan Pearce, who listed sixteen possible reasons for collecting, including extending the self, reaffirming the body, and

⁸ This view of distancing from the celebratory approach of collection is shared by, for example, Chang *Travel, Collecting* (1, 5, and 9) and Potvin and Myzelev (8).

producing gender-identity (*Museums, Objects* 47).⁹ The motivations for collecting, however, are not as clear-cut as Pearce suggests with this list. “The trouble with the list” is, as Mieke Bal points out, “its character *as* list,” and that “[d]iscussed one by one, each motivation is neutralized” (“Telling Objects” 103-104, original emphasis).

In this dissertation, I instead view collectors’ subjectivity or identity vis-à-vis their collected objects as historical, contingent construction. With this approach, the collected objects are seen not only as representations of the collector’s affirmative identity driven by self-evident, independent motivations, but also as constituting an ambiguous, multi-faceted space (Larson 5). This space is shaped by socio-political and economic forces, as well as by personal agendas and conditions. As Bal explains, “the inevitability of the impulse to collect” emerges from “a cultural situation that is itself hybridic” (“Telling Objects” 109-110).

The relational mode of understanding things, which sees an object as the sum of various effects on the wider world (Gosden and Larson 240), appears in recent studies of museum object as well. These studies trace the institutional histories of specific museums on a micro scale, and highlight the complex, mutual relationships that develop between the objects in a museum and the various actors involved, especially collectors and museum staff.¹⁰ As museum objects can mostly be traced back to private collections, they need to be understood from a broad perspective that incorporates the transition from private to public collection. This process is neither

⁹ The sixteen motivations Pearce listed are: leisure, aesthetics, competition, risk, fantasy, a sense of community, prestige, domination, sensual gratification, sexual foreplay, desire to reframe objects, the pleasing rhythm of sameness and difference, ambition to achieve perfection, extending the self, reaffirming the body, and producing gender-identity, and achieving immortality (47).

¹⁰ For example, Alberti, Gosden and Larson, Larson, Macdonald *Behind the Scenes*, and Tythacott.

one-way nor tension-free, but consists of “a reciprocal relationship between benefactor and recipient,” as Samuel J. M. M. Alberti describes it (564).¹¹

Once a collection is acquired by a museum, curators play a crucial role in the development of objects’ meaning within the institution. Their interpretations of an object’s significance are subject to their varied specializations and interests as well as to broader social and cultural contexts.¹² Curators “transmit specific interpretations in their dealings with objects, which inevitably carry ideological messages,” as Louise Tythacott argues (13).¹³ Accordingly, the meaning of objects is continuously being shaped within the ever-shifting value system of the museum. In other words, the museum is not the endpoint of meaning-formation.

This dissertation shares Tythacott’s object-focused approach as described in *The Lives of Chinese Objects: Buddhism, Imperialism and Display*. Tythacott traces the geographical and epistemological dislocations of a set of five bronze Buddhist figures from China, from their origin in the Ming Dynasty to their present placement in a British museum. Tythacott reconstructs the shifting meanings of the figures, from sacred and religious statues to war trophies, articles of industry, curiosities or antiquities, specimens of ethnology, objects of art, and finally objects of curation with which she herself was involved as a curator. In adopting a similar approach, I draw attention to the fluctuating meanings objects take on by investigating their social life from origin to the present. However, my approach differs from Tythacott’s. While her

¹¹ The relationship between the private and public collection is also discussed in Campbell, Clunas “Oriental Antiquities,” Higonnet and Shelton, ed. *Collectors: Individuals and Institutions*.

¹² The factors that affect the curator’s interpretation of objects may include, for example, the economic value of the objects they handle; practices of museum display (whether aesthetic or contextual, for instance); or practical concerns such as the availability or lack of exhibition or storage space in the museum.

¹³ More studies have paid attention to the issue of curator’s role in interpreting objects: see, for example, Alberti, Hooper-Greenhill, Macdonald *Behind the Scenes*, and Teather.

focus is on a specific set of objects whose authenticity is never questioned, this dissertation highlights the changing idea of authenticity itself within multi-layered relationships that develop between the idea of objects and the objects themselves, between the private and public collection, and between a group of objects and an individual object.

In Tythacott's publication, the shifting meanings of the Buddhist figures are described within the Western perception of Chinese objects. As she emphasizes, the Chinese Buddhist bronzes were forcibly removed from their place of origin and thus their original meaning was unilaterally stripped away. In other words, there was no opportunity for indigenous knowledge to be considered thereafter. What results is a unilateral relationship between the West (the sole meaning-maker) and China and its objects (a passive meaning-receiver). In this context, as Tythacott points out, restitution emerges as a potential future facet of the objects' lives.

This unequal power relation between Western collectors and non-Western objects within the system of knowledge and representation has long been discussed from the post-colonial perspective of collecting, drawing on Edward Said's critique of Orientalism. This perspective views Western collections of non-Western objects through the dichotomy of "us" and "them," in which the former has the capacity to represent the latter with an uncontested sense of authority.¹⁴ For example, Ting Chang situates Theodore Duret's collection of Japanese woodblock prints and his travel chronicle within Said's category of Orientalist texts, in which the underlying assumption was that Duret had "the intellectual and cultural capacities to observe, to

¹⁴ For a post-colonial critique of Western collecting activities, see Clifford.

analyse, and hence to possess all that they encountered in the non-west” (“Collecting Asia” 27).

I offer a different perspective, emphasizing the elements of active, reciprocal exchange that accompanied the meaning-formation of the Van Horne ceramics. During Japan’s national modernization project in the Meiji period, Japanese were active participants in their self-presentation to the West (*Guth Longfellow’s Tattoos* xv). Ceramic objects served as one of the most significant items of political, economic, and cultural interaction between Japan and the West at the time. Within this socio-political landscape, the definition of what constituted “Japanese ceramics” was negotiated repeatedly, both in Japan and in the West, reflecting mutual references and adaptations facilitated by collectors, dealers, and scholars.¹⁵ The circulation of Japanese ceramics was thus not the one-sided process of the West that denied the original context of the non-West.

It is important, therefore, to analyze Van Horne’s collecting of Japanese ceramics within this broad cross-cultural project of modernization of Japan and its art, in particular, the phenomenon of *japonisme*, a movement of the mid- to late nineteenth century in which the Japanese actively participated in the creation of objects’ meanings. The growing reputation of Ninsei’s works among Euro-American collectors and scholars in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, as I will explain, reflected not only these Westerners’ quest for “authentic Japanese ceramics,” but also Japan’s effort to establish a hierarchy within Japanese art and to write a

¹⁵ For detailed discussion of Japan’s participation in the value formation of Japanese objects, see, Satō “Art and Economics: *Shokusan Kōgyō* and *Japonisme*,” in *Modern Japanese Art*, and “‘Nihon bijutsu’ no shijō keisei (Market formation for ‘Japanese art’).”

national art history.¹⁶ Ironically, however, the legacy of the “Ninsei myth” would, in turn, greatly affect how the Ninsei tea bowl from the Van Horne collection was treated after the collector’s death in rather a negative way.

As mentioned, many of Van Horne’s Japanese ceramics long remained in storage in two Canadian museums. Encountering their physical existence and direct materiality in the ROM’s storage in 2001—i.e. their “thingness,” to borrow Bill Brown’s word (4)—prompted me to study them from the point of view of the historiography of objects, and to approach Van Horne’s ceramics as *things*.¹⁷ In other words, the concept of thingness enables me to put aside conventional ideas associated with the Van Horne ceramics from the present art historical paradigm, and look at them instead from the viewpoints of given times and places. The issue of cultural representation in the museum has been studied largely from the perspective of exhibitions and the politics of display.¹⁸ But in most museums, far more objects are kept in storage than are displayed in exhibition spaces.¹⁹ Do the objects that are never exhibited still participate in shaping knowledge? By paying attention to the Van Horne Japanese ceramics remained in museum storage as active participants in meaning formation, this dissertation complicates the discussion of museum’s role in knowledge production through collected objects.

¹⁶ In her publication *Kokuhō Ninsei no Nazo*, Oka deconstructs the mechanisms in which the high status of Ninsei’s works in the hierarchy of Japanese art history was developed hand in hand with the establishment of the art system in Meiji Japan.

¹⁷ Brown’s “Thing Theory” looks past ideas that have been projected onto objects to see the materiality of things themselves – their very “thingness.”

¹⁸ For example, Bennett understands expositions and museums as the “exhibitionary complex,” and discusses such institutions primarily from the perspective of exhibition (*Birth of Museum* 60-61).

¹⁹ According to Tythacott, space constraints mean that only around 1-5 percent of museum collections can be displayed (172).

Methodologies

The research for this dissertation derives directly from my professional experience at the ROM from 2001 to 2010 as Academic Advisor and research fellow. This experience, as well as my internship at the MMFA in 2011, enabled me to use various primary materials. These resources include all the 350 Japanese ceramic pieces from the Van Horne collection now housed at the two museums; archival materials reserved at the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO), the MMFA, the ROM and the Library and Archive Canada (such as Van Horne's hand-written catalogues and watercolour illustrations, his correspondence with the family members, friends, art dealers and museum personnel, photographs, newspapers, magazines, the AAM Council Minutes, the AAM Executive Committee Minutes, the files of the former curator of Japanese art at the ROM, Dr. Hugh Wylie); and the former and current catalogue records at the ROM in the forms of books, cards, and the electronic database. I also conducted interviews with former curatorial staff at the ROM, who worked with Dr. Wylie and knew the Van Horne Japanese ceramics, even if they were not directly involved with the objects.

As will be discussed, many of the Japanese ceramic pieces in the two museums have not been fully examined or displayed until recently. While I use the method of visual analysis in cataloguing and photographing them, the main purpose of my research is to trace how these objects were understood by Van Horne and other individuals who encountered them. For this purpose, I cross-checked the actual objects with Van Horne's descriptions in his own catalogues, as well as with the different catalogue records at the ROM. Van Horne's catalogues were known to his

contemporaries, both writers and fellow collectors, but never put under scholarly investigation. Only the two volumes currently reserved at the MMFA archive were used by biographers, but I discovered through my research that the other portions now at the AGO Archives were created after those at the MMFA. Similarly, the old catalogue records at the ROM from the early twentieth century have rarely been used for scholarly investigation. I compare the descriptions of the same group of Van Horne Japanese ceramics in the different versions of catalogue records. This textual comparison demonstrates shifts in the museum's idea of what constitutes authentic Japanese ceramics and authentic sources of information.

The close observations of the above primary materials are cross-referenced and situated within the broader cultural environments of a given time and place, through the examination with scholarly publications. The publications I use in this dissertation span fields as diverse as historiography of Japanese art history, to *japonisme* studies, object studies, collection studies, museum studies, and cultural studies, among others. This interdisciplinary approach, together with the examination of the actual objects and archival materials, reveals a comprehensive picture of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics and a detailed history of the shifting meaning of the collection. In doing so, this dissertation sheds light on the spaces left between the disciplinary-based discussions, in which the actual meaning of objects is in fact created and re-created.

Chapters

This dissertation is organized chronologically into three chapters, which analyze the three phases of the history of Japanese ceramics from the mid-nineteenth century to the present.

Chapter One looks at the first phase, the mid- to late nineteenth century, in which Japanese ceramics were transferred from Japan to Europe and North America. It examines the ways in which the idea of “authentic Japanese ceramics” was continuously negotiated on both sides of the transfer. Within this shifting notion of authenticity, the “Ninsei myth”—i.e. the high reputation of Ninsei and his works—was constructed. In this chapter, I first situate the historiography of Japanese ceramics history within the establishing process of Japanese art history as part of the national modernization project in Meiji Japan. The new concept of fine art was imported from the West, and was translated into a new Japanese term: *bijutsu*. The introduction of the idea of *bijutsu* complicated the categorization of artistic productions in Japan, including ceramics. By tracing the ways in which Ninsei was described in the early writings of Japanese ceramic history in Japan, this chapter shows the growing notion of Ninsei as a prominent potter who represented the nation of Japan from the late nineteenth to the mid- twentieth centuries.

Chapter One further examines how Japanese ceramic objects were circulated and perceived in Europe and North America in relation to the phenomenon of *japonisme* in the same period. The scope of Japanese ceramics, their availability on the Western market, and the idea of their authenticity shifted greatly, and all these factors were interrelated. This chapter examines the reception of Ninsei and his works

in the West through the descriptions of Japanese ceramics in the major publications in English and French from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. The examination indicates that, while few scholars and collectors had a clear idea in terms of actual examples of genuine Ninsei works, the elevated status of Ninsei as a national potter resulted in the rarity of his works in Western collections being overstated. Given the situation at the time, Van Horne is understood as one of many Westerners who collected Japanese ceramics during the periods when the idea of authenticity surrounding Japanese ceramics as a whole and the reputation of Ninsei in particular were still being negotiated.

Within the socio cultural framework examined in Chapter One, Chapter Two analyzes the second phase of the transformation of Japanese ceramics from commodity to private collection during Van Horne's lifetime. I scrutinize Van Horne's collecting activities with a focus on the relationship between the collector and the objects he collected. I investigate the establishment of the Van Horne Japanese collection from a broad perspective: not only from the viewpoint of the collector's subjectivity but also from his wide interactions and exchanges with fellow collectors and art dealers. Van Horne's interest in the taxonomic aspect of collecting Japanese ceramics, surpassed his quest for their aesthetic quality, as observed from his hand-written catalogues and his close physical engagement with the objects he collected. Van Horne's collecting of Japanese ceramics was driven by his direct connection with the actual objects in his hands, rather than in the ideas projected onto them, such as saving a vanishing tradition from the Far East or a sense of righteousness to serve the public as one of the nation-builders of Canada.

The peculiarity of Van Horne's collecting activities becomes clear when viewed in comparison to four other private collections of Japanese ceramics established around the same period in Montreal, Britain, and the US. By further examining the reception of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection during the collector's lifetime and after, Chapter Two shows a disjuncture between the public idea of this collection and the collection itself. I argue that the collection's high reputation was, in fact, drawn from Van Horne's high social status rather than the objects themselves. As a result, the unique relationship between Van Horne and his objects was masked, and eventually forgotten, when they entered the museum.

Drawing on the in-depth examination of the Van Horne collection in Chapter Two, Chapter Three deals with its transition from private collection to museum collection at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (MMFA) and the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) in Toronto. I closely investigate the processes by which Van Horne's objects, including the Ninsei tea bowl, became entangled within the shifting notion of authenticity, and how they ended up remaining in storage for decades. I trace the detailed trajectories in which the objects were handled and interpreted by various individual at different moments: their inheritance in 1915; the division of the collection in the 1940s; the partial sale of the objects by the Art Association of Montreal (today's MMFA) in 1945; and their institutionalization at the ROM, where they remain today. The positions and agendas of the various individuals who encountered the Van Horne Japanese ceramics, myself included, were the key factors in the construction of the changing perceptions of the objects. Their interpretations were, in turn, produced by broad socio-cultural environments and specific museum

operations at certain times and places. The multi-layered relationships between people, objects, and museum operations reveal the ironical fate of one genuine Ninsei tea bowl, buried under the collective identity of the Van Horne collection. The examination of the meaning-formation of these non-displayed Japanese ceramics expands and complicates the discussion of the museum's role in knowledge production through objects, which have previously focused on the politics of display.

Chapter One: Construction of the “Ninsei Myth” in Japan and its Reception in the West in the Late Nineteenth to Early Twentieth Centuries

Introduction

This chapter examines the first phase of the history of Japanese ceramics collected in the West, in which the objects were transferred from Japan to Europe and North America as an export item and as collectibles in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. It investigates the ways in which the idea of “authentic Japanese ceramics” was negotiated on both sides of the transfer in relation to the broad cultural contexts of the modernization and historiography of Japanese art, as well as the *japonisme* phenomenon in the West.

As newly introduced Western ways of thinking flooded into Japan after the opening of the country in 1854,²⁰ the meaning and value of Japan’s cultural objects came to be re-evaluated, re-categorized, and re-organized in the early Meiji period (1868 – 1912). Most importantly, the term “*bijutsu*” (literally, beautiful art) was invented in 1872 to describe the new concept of “fine arts,” which had not previously existed in Japan. The invention of *bijutsu* was crucial, as it did not simply serve as a categorical term: as Kitazawa Noriaki argues, it was increasingly perceived as a universal concept that encompassed the whole modern system of art in Japan (“*Nihon Bijutsu-shi*” 23-24), which played a decisive role in the creation of Japanese cultural identity and national history until today.²¹

²⁰ In 1853, Commodore Matthew Perry (1794 – 1858) of the United States Navy, sailed with his battleships to Japan and forced the country to enter into trade with the United States. Japan, which had had a policy of isolation since the 1630s under the Tokugawa shogunate, did not have the means to defend itself from the advanced military power of the West, and had to acquiesce to the demands in 1854.

²¹ Since the 1990s, scholars of Japanese art history have actively deconstructed the historical construction of Japanese art history, due to the emergence of new interdisciplinary perspectives such as institutional theory,

The creation of the new term inevitably involved new schemes of categorization—what was to be included in and excluded from the category *bijutsu*—which led to the reconfiguration of historical developments of cultural productions in Japan.²² Due to the emergence of this new category of *bijutsu* another categorical term, *kōgei*, broadly translated as crafts, began to appear around the same time.²³ The essential nature of Japanese artistic production before the Meiji period—more craft than fine art in the Western sense—required the category of *kōgei* to accommodate artistic productions that were not included in *bijutsu*. However, the scopes of both *bijutsu* and *kōgei* were never stable, and were always in flux throughout the Meiji period (Kida 7).

Another new term, “*bijutsu kōgei*” or artistic craft, was invented in 1889,²⁴ reflecting the rise of a nationalistic sentiment that attempted to differentiate the art of Japan from the art of the West (Kida 19). The desire to create a national art was mirrored in the first official Japanese art history, written in 1900, which situated *bijutsu kōgei* within the narrative of Japanese fine arts (Kida 38). Within the concept of *bijutsu kōgei*, individually well-known craft makers were increasingly considered as “artists” in the Western sense. The high reputation of Ninsei as “the foremost potter in Japan” was constructed side by side with the project of the historiography of Japanese art, along with the establishment of the national treasure (*kokuhō*) system, which determined canonical masterpieces and artists. These

gender theory, and subculture theory (Satō “Present state” 96), driven from “introspective doubts about the self-evident character of its subject matter and methods of research” (Ikeda 105).

²² The highly political nature of the establishing process of the Japanese art system in the Meiji period has been vigorously discussed within the field of Japanese art history since the 1990s, with the pioneering works by Kitazawa, Satō, and Takagi.

²³ The translation of “*kōgei*” into English is not straightforward due to the highly ambiguous nature of the Japanese term’s meaning. The meaning and the scope of *kōgei* is discussed in great detail in Satō *Modern Japanese Art* 67-75, and Kida 6-39.

²⁴ For the definition of “*bijutsu kōgei*,” see Hino, Kida, and Kitazawa *Kyōkai no Bijutsushi* 218-241.

systems of art, all based on the Western concepts of fine art and art history, helped to establish a hierarchical order within artistic production in Japan.

Ceramic objects served as one of the most significant items for cultural and economic exchange between Japan and the West in the early years of the Meiji period, under the national policy of promotion of industry and manufacturing (*shokusan kōgyō*). The meaning assigned to the exported objects at the time was highly political: Satō Dōshin points out that the Japanese export objects should be understood “not simply as objects of art but as industrial products that were charged with the mission of carrying out the national mandate” (*Modern Japanese Art* 102). The exporting of Japanese ceramics was possible thanks to the phenomenon of *japonisme*, the Western craze for things Japanese and the consequent influence of Japanese art and design on Western art in the mid-nineteenth century. After Western imperial powers forced Japan to cease its policy of seclusion of more than two hundred years in 1854, Japanese objects started to appear in Europe. The newly established Meiji government quickly apprehended the significance of this cultural phenomenon for the country’s pressing business of gaining economic and cultural recognition from the West. In other words, Japan first began to participate in the global economy through cultural objects. Japanese ceramics were circulated in large quantities through various mechanisms of cultural economy—trade, international expositions, and collecting activities—in which dealer-scholars (both Japanese and Western) were often active agents. Within these transactions, meanings and values were repeatedly projected onto the objects.

The circulation of Japanese objects to the West through *japonisme* was thus a product of two-way interactions between demand from the West and supply from Japan, rather than the one-sided process of Western imperial power simply depriving the Other of its original

context, as argued in the post-colonialist discourses of collection of non-Western objects.²⁵ For example, Western collectors were able to acquire a large number of Japanese objects thanks to the favourable currency rate at that time, but it is also true that there existed astute Japanese merchants who took advantage of the situation (Satō *Modern Japanese Art* 130). The outflow of Japanese objects was also due to a lack of recognition on the part of the Japanese of the significance of their cultural objects in a time of social transition. In a sense, the Japanese contributed to the value-formation of the exported objects by *not* valuing them. In this process of cross-references during the meaning and value formation of Japanese ceramics, the idea of “what constitutes authentic Japanese ceramics” was highly unstable, both in Japan and in the West.

It was within this shifting notion of authenticity that the construction of the “Ninsei myth”²⁶ took place—a narrative in which the name and works of a seventeenth-century potter in Kyoto, Nonomura Ninsei (act. ca. 1646 – 1677), are considered the most important in the history of Japanese ceramics. The establishment of the Ninsei narrative in the historiography of Japanese ceramics thus reflects the complex interplays among the circulation of actual objects, the idea of authentic Japanese ceramics, and the social, political, and economic environments surrounding the collecting of Japanese ceramics in the West.

In the following, I first discuss the establishing processes of the system of art in Meiji Japan. I focus on the construction of the Ninsei narrative in Japan, in particular, how he and

²⁵ For example, Clifford sees the history of collecting mainly from the point of view of the history of appropriation by the West, arguing that “the history of collections ... is central to an understanding of how those social groups that invented anthropology and modern art have *appropriated* exotic things, facts, and meanings” (220-221, original emphasis). In her article “Collecting Asia,” Ting Chang approaches Western collectors’ collecting of Asian objects solely from the perspective of a critique of Orientalism.

²⁶ I borrowed the term “myth” (*nazo* in Japanese) from Oka’s publication *Kokuhō Ninsei no Nazo* (The Myth of Ninsei, the National Treasure).

his works were understood and described in the leading publications on the Japanese ceramic history published in the late 1870s, namely, Ninagawa Noritane's *Kanko Zusetsu* and Kurokawa Mayori's *Kōgei Shiryō*, as well as in the first official Japanese art history written in 1900. I also trace the shifts in the definition of Japanese ceramics and the idea of authenticity surrounding Japanese ceramics in the West in relation to the socio-cultural conditions from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. Finally, I investigate the reception of Ninsei and his pieces in the West by analyzing descriptions in several publications on Japanese ceramics from the 1880s to the early twentieth century, revealing the processes by which the rarity of genuine Ninsei pieces in Western collection became overemphasized.

This chapter will provide the comprehensive contexts for Van Horne's collecting activities of his Japanese ceramic collection from the 1880s to 1915, as well as for his perception of the Ninsei tea bowl in question, to be discussed in detail in Chapter Two. This chapter's examination also relates to Chapter Three, which investigates the ways in which the Ninsei myth affected the ironical fate of the Ninsei tea bowl after Van Horne's death.

1-1: Historiography of Japanese art in the Meiji period

This section traces the establishing processes of the system of art and the hierarchical order within Japanese art in the Meiji period, starting from the introduction of the concept of "fine art" in the mid-nineteenth century to the compilation of the first official Japanese art history in 1900. The grand concept of "fine art" in the Western sense had not existed in Japan until it was introduced in the mid-nineteenth century during the Japan's modernization and

Westernization processes. In order to translate this new concept, the new term “*bijutsu*” was invented by government officials around 1872, upon the decision to participate in the international exposition to be held in Vienna in 1873.²⁷ This does not mean, of course, that there were no artistic activities or productions in Japan before this, but it means that the Japanese way of classifying artistic productions was different from that in the West. The introduction of this new concept of “fine art,” therefore, required the Japanese to consider and classify what constituted *bijutsu*. The meaning of *bijutsu*, however, did not remain fixed throughout the Meiji period, shifting in accordance with changes in national policies, economic developments, the rise of nationalism, as well as the dynamics of the Japanese art world.

The strong linkage between the establishment of the nation-state and art was a common phenomenon throughout the world in the nineteenth century, and art was used as an effective tool to culturally integrate the nation-state.²⁸ In Japan, national policies until the 1880s focused on the survival of the country and emphasized economic development under the policy of the promotion of industry and manufacturing (*shokusan kōgyō*). In the 1870s, *bijutsu* was thus expected to play an economic role as a major export category, backed by the *japonisme* boom in Europe and North America. The types of works categorized as *bijutsu* at this stage were ceramics, lacquerware, and metalwork produced by contemporary makers

²⁷ The term *bijutsu* was invented to translate two German words, *Kunstgewerbe* (industrial arts) and *Bildende Kunst* (plastic arts) (Satō ‘*Nihon Bijutsu*’ *Tanjō* 34-35). This new term was created to emphasize the novelty of the concept and to differentiate from the existing terms such as *geijutsu* (broadly referring various skills including martial arts or fortune-telling, as well as scholarship: different from the meaning used today), or *gigei* (literally arts, or workmanship) (Satō ‘*Nihon Bijutsu*’ *Tanjō* 19, 37-41). There is also the theory that philosopher Nishi Amane (1829 – 1897) invented *bijutsu* to translate the English term “fine arts” in his *Bimyōgaku setsu* (Theory of aesthetics). However, the date for this publication is debated, but usually thought to be either 1872 or 1878. Kitazawa also discusses the origin of *bijutsu* in detail in *Me no Shinden*, 140-145.

²⁸ Nishikawa lists various elements used to unite a nation-state for different stages. According to him, art is one of the tools to integrate the nation culturally, after the establishment of economic and political systems (quoted in Satō ‘*Nihon Bijutsu*’ *Tanjō* 17).

rather than objects from the past (Kitazawa *Kyōkai no Bijutsushi* 219). The role of *bijutsu* changed from economic to cultural and ideological in the early 1890s, along with the establishment of various socio-political systems to enhance the rule of the emperor, such as the constitution, the parliament, and the school system.²⁹ The focus of national policies shifted towards the creation of a “national spirit” (“*kuni no seika*”) that would culturally integrate people and support the imperial system (Satō ‘*Nihon bijutsu*’ 93). This shift resulted in the re-conceptualization of the past and things from the past, and of their relationship to cultural authenticity.

The change in the perception of the past had an impact on the perception of “old things” and their value. Suzuki Hiroyuki discusses how the introduction of new things and concepts from the West turned existing Japanese things into “old things” and, more importantly, gave them a negative value: “old and stale” as opposed to “new and novel” (52). These old things, however, soon regained their role as a subject of study to contribute to the prosperity in the present, within a new institutional framework of museums and exhibitions, which were themselves new, imported concepts (Suzuki 56). In museums and exhibitions, where visibility was dominant over the other senses, old things were turned into the visual representation of the past, and integrated into an abstract, hierarchical order of things (Suzuki 116-117). They were also screened based on the newly created value of “usefulness,” or whether they would benefit the present (Suzuki 117).

By the turn of the twentieth century, *bijutsu* was expected to emphasize Japan’s cultural strength and historical authenticity against the West. Consequently, the idea of what

²⁹ For a discussion of the policies of protecting cultural heritage that aimed to culturally integrate Japan under the imperial system in the late 1880s to early 1890s, see Takagi “Kindai Tennōsei.”

constituted *bijutsu* also shifted, resulting in the rise in the status of “*ko-bijutsu*,” or works of art from the past (Satō ‘*Nihon Bijutsu’ Tanjō* 181). The increased significance of the past was also reflected in policies protecting old art from “outflow” abroad,³⁰ as well as in the project of compiling the first official art history in association with the national treasure survey system. The first official Japanese art history, written in 1900, provided a framework of what was included in—and what was excluded from—Japanese art. It was compiled by the Imperial Museum in conjunction with the Paris International Exposition in the same year. Its ultimate goal was to demonstrate to the West Japan’s self-image as a civilized country. It was thus published first in French as *Histoire de l’Art du Japon* in 1900, and the Japanese version *Kōhon Nihon Teikoku Bijutsu Ryakushi* (literally, “Manuscript of a brief history of art in Imperial Japan”) followed in 1901 (fig. 6).³¹

This was the first history of art in Japan written using a systematic approach, based on the concept of fine art imported from the West, placing a priority on painting, sculpture, and architecture. It was also written within the framework of continuous, linear sequences of time, with a premise that Japanese art had a long history. The chapters of this publication are organized by period from the ancient to the present, another newly introduced system in the historiography of Japan.³² Within each period, the characteristics and the social contexts of the time are described first, followed by sub-sections that are categorized by media, in the order of painting, sculpture, architecture, and “*bijutsu teki kōgei*” or “artistic crafts.”³³ Each

³⁰ For the history of the government’s policies of protecting old things (*koki kyūbutsu*), see Satō *Meiji Kokka*, Suzuki, and Oka *Kokuhō*.

³¹ Mabuchi analyzes the differences between the French and Japanese versions of the first official art history, and the influence from other foreign publications on Japanese art.

³² Takagi discusses the significance of the periodization in this publication, originally conceived by Okakura Kakuzō (Tenshin; 1862 – 1913), a pioneering idea in the studies of history in Japan, in “*Nihon Bijutsu-shi*.”

³³ Both “*bijutsu teki kōgei*” and “*bijutsu kōgei*” mean “artistic craft.” The word “*teki*” can roughly be translated as “of,” and adds a formal sense to the term.

period is represented by canonical works determined by the national treasure surveys (Satō *Meiji Kokka* 127-128). Since the survey was conducted mainly on the works preserved in temples and shrines, the art history was written from the successive ruler's point of view to reflect the Meiji government's aspiration for cultural nationalism (Satō *Meiji Kokka* 127). The national treasure surveys led to the institution of the *kokuhō* system, or the national treasure system, the most authoritative in the system of art (Oka *Kokuhō* 2).³⁴

The first art history and the treasure survey thus functioned as the authoritative means to determine the authenticity of works of *bijutsu*, as well as the hierarchy among them (Satō '*Nihon Bijutsu*' *Tanjō* 225). The emphasis on temporal value—the older the better—and the idea of fine art, viewed from the ruler's perspective, consequently marginalized, if not entirely eliminated, *kōgei* from the order of *bijutsu*. Under these conditions, *kōgei* works made in the later part of the Edo (1603 – 1868) and the Meiji periods, along with *ukiyo-e* prints, which were also produced in the Edo era, were placed at the bottom of the order of Japanese art, even though these were avidly collected by Western collectors in the late nineteenth century (Satō *Meiji Kokka* 122). Only those crafts of higher quality were included as Japanese fine art under the category of *bijutsu kōgei* or artistic crafts. Consequently, master craftsmen were treated as “genius individual artists” as in the Western concept of fine arts, a perception which had previously not been seen in Japan (Oka *Kinsei* 15). The construction of the Ninsei myth, in which the status of the potter was elevated to that of Japan's representative potter, was an exemplification of the establishment of this hierarchical order within Japanese art and ceramics.

³⁴ Oka discusses in detail the political aspect of the establishment of the *kokuhō* system in *Kokuhō* 12-14.

1-2: Development of Japanese ceramic history and the construction of the “Ninsei myth”

The treatment of Ninsei in the official art history was, however, not invented entirely from scratch. Ninsei and his works had already been sought after in his lifetime in the mid- to late seventeenth century and were known as Omuro-yaki or Omuro ware, named for the kiln Ninsei founded in Kyoto. Although the popularity of Omuro ware waned after Ninsei's death, his legacy was somehow handed down throughout the Edo period. While Ninsei and Omuro ware appear in historical records at the end of the Edo period, the information is highly obscure and not standardized (Oka *Kokuhō* 26). The re-interpretation and re-evaluation of Ninsei and his works gradually developed from the beginning of the Meiji period, as part of the reconceptualization of the past within the modernization project. Ninsei was, in a sense, chosen to be perceived first as the “Father of Kyoto ware” and then as the preeminent Japanese potter because his works met the needs of the project of reconfirming the self-identity of the Kyoto ceramic industry (Oka *Kokuhō* 38), and of Japan.

The process of the construction of the Ninsei myth in the historiography of Japanese ceramics in Japan can be analyzed through early two publications on the Japanese ceramic production written in the late 1870s: the series of *Kanko Zusesu* (Illustrated review of old things), published in 1876 – 1879 by Ninagawa Noritane (1835 – 1882. figs. 7 and 8); and *Kōgei Shiryō* (Historical documents on crafts), published in 1878 by Kurokawa Mayori (1829 – 1906. figs. 9 and 10). Both were written from the industrial point of view, which treats ceramic objects as “products,” rather than from the art historical one, which regards them as “works of art,” as in the later days. The purposes of the two publications were, however, different. Ninagawa's *Kanko Zusesu* was based on research done on his personal collection, which covered a wide range of types of ceramics from various kilns throughout

Japan. It thus appears as an encyclopedic source of diverse production sites and individual pieces. Ninagawa wrote the series with foreign readers in mind, and parts were translated into French and English. Kurokawa's *Kōgei Shiryō*, on the other hand, was funded by the Japanese government for the Japanese ceramic makers to grasp the whole ceramic industry. It was thus published only in Japanese. The difference in the purposes and approaches of these two publications resulted in different perceptions of Ninsei and his works (Oka *Kokuhō* 30).

Kanko Zusetsu

Ninagawa Noritane, a Japanese scholar, government official, and dealer of ceramics, conducted extensive studies on ceramic production throughout Japan based on close observations of actual objects from his own collection. Ninagawa's studies were published as seven volumes of *Kanko Zusetsu Tōki no bu* (Illustrated review of old things: section of ceramics) in 1876 – 1879, with hand-coloured lithograph illustrations (fig. 11).³⁵ As a Meiji-era scholar, Ninagawa adopted imported Western research methods for natural history—a “scientific,” empirical approach to observe actual objects and categorize them. In this publication, each piece is accompanied by detailed descriptions and factual information such as size and weight, a method which had not been seen in previous Japanese ceramic studies. The use of lifelike illustrations was also innovative, with multiple plates showing each object from different angles, such as in profile, from the bottom, or in close-up (figs. 12a-e).³⁶ The

³⁵ Ninagawa also published other sections of the *Kanko Zusetsu* series: *Jōkaku no bu* (section on castles), 1 volume (1878); *Kawara no bu* (section on roof tiles), 1 volume (1902); and *Tōki Kawara no bu* (section on ceramic and roof tiles), 1 volume (1902).

³⁶ The importance of Ninagawa's innovative attempts to integrate old objects into the newly developed dynamics of “*shin-kyū*” or “old and new” is thoroughly discussed in Suzuki 46-62, and 171-197.

conventional Japanese method of ceramic studies was rather an “appreciation” mainly based on the tea principle of “*meibutsu*” or famous utensils, where the provenance took a crucial part in interpreting the object, in addition to its formal aspects. In this conventional way of describing objects, historical texts were more important than the observation of the actual item. Five of the seven volumes of *Kanko Zusetsu Tōki no bu* were translated into French and English within a year or two of the original publication, through a German trading company based in Yokohama: H. Ahrens & Co. These translated versions immediately became the major source of information for Western collectors of Japanese ceramics, in particular A. W. Franks, E. S. Morse, and S. Bing.³⁷ From the fact that Ninagawa was fully aware that his publications would be read by foreign readers, it has been argued that his ultimate aim was to sell his collections to Western collectors (Rousmaniere “On the creation”).

In his publication, Ninagawa considers Ninsei and his work as important, but does not attempt to make him stand out as an eminent individual potter. Ninagawa remains highly objective in his description of Ninsei throughout the publication, as features merely a part of the ceramic production in the Kyoto region. The only evaluation that Ninagawa makes of Ninsei is: “Ninsei was a skillful potter (*meikō*) in the past and he made a variety of works of both refined and rustic.”³⁸ This description is far less grand than the label that Ninsei would be given in *Kōgei Shiryō* by Kurokawa, as we shall see shortly. In the fourth volume of *Kanko Zusetsu Tōki no bu*, published in 1879, Ninagawa describes the ceramics produced in *Yamashiro-koku* (Province of Yamashiro, today’s Kyoto). Ninagawa refers to two individual

³⁷ For example, *Kanko Zusetsu* is considered as the deciding factor that made Franks shift his interest from porcelain to pottery in the 1880s (Rousmaniere “A. W. Franks” 31).

³⁸ Hereafter, Ninagawa’s texts are referred from *Kanko Zusetsu Tōki no bu*, vol. 4, n.pag. Translations mine, unless otherwise noted.

pottery in his opening paragraph: Ninsei and Raku Chōjirō (1516 – ?1592), in that order. This indicates the significance of Ninsei as a representative potter of the Kyoto region in Ninagawa's mind.

Later, in the detailed descriptions of Ninsei and his works, Ninagawa first gives a brief biography of Ninsei, and then lists the six kilns that he was said to have launched,³⁹ followed by the various seals that Ninsei used. He then discusses the styles of Ninsei's work, describing his painted decoration in detail. Ninagawa describes the shift in Ninsei's style like this: in the early days, Ninsei solely produced objects of "*ai-ga*" (literally "blue-painting," which presumably means blue and white ceramics decorated in underglaze blue) in the style of the Kanō School, with forms similar to those made by Genjūrō; during his middle years, Ninsei painted in colours in the Kanō style; and later he painted also in the style of the Tosa school. While Ninagawa refers in this section the shift in Ninsei's painting styles using school names, from "Kanō" to "Tosa," later in the section he mentions the latter as "*honchō-fū*," or "in the style of our country."

What is noteworthy here is that Ninagawa's choice of the term "*honchō-fū*" possibly played a crucial role in adding different value when it was translated. The Tosa style of painting is often referred to as more Japanese, compared to the Kanō style, which adopted Chinese elements, although this comparison is relative within the Japanese style of painting as a whole. Considering the political conditions in Japan in the late 1870s, when Westernization was still the first priority rather than cultivating a sense of nationalism, Ninagawa's use of the term "*honchō-fū*" to describe Ninsei's painting style within the

³⁹ The six kilns are: Seikanji; Otowa; Nin'naji (Omuro-yaki); Shimo Awata; Iwakura; and Mizoro or Akashi.

comparison between Kanō and Tosa schools would not have contained the sense of “national” in the same context of nationalism in the nineteenth-century West. However, Ninsei’s status was elevated to “the potter who created the national ceramics” in the Western publications in the 1890s. It is possible that in the process of translating *Kanko Zusesu* into French and then English in the early 1880s, Ninagawa’s description of Ninsei’s decoration style as “*honchō-fū*” might have been interpreted as “the national style,” which later went beyond the original comparison between two Japanese styles, reflecting the social climate in the West.

Ninagawa goes on to describe individual pieces by Ninsei, ten in total, including incense containers, tea caddies, and tea bowls (figs. 12a-e). Again, he keeps his tone highly objective, focusing on observations of types of clay, colours and textures of glazes. Some of the descriptions even include the weight of the object, reflecting an attempt at scientific description. In addition to the ten pieces by Ninsei, Ninagawa lists two recent works made in the Omuro kiln by later potters (fig. 12e). The inclusion of these two pieces made by other potters in the section devoted to the Ninsei suggests that Ninagawa’s interest here was to place Ninsei and his works within the entire history of the Omuro kiln, rather than treating Ninsei as an outstanding individual potter.

Ninagawa then explains the different seals found on Ninsei’s works, as well as the issue of fakes. He confirms that Ninsei did not have a direct successor, and that the works said to be made by second or third generation Ninsei are mostly “*ganzō*,” or fakes, made by potters in other kilns in Kiyomizu or Awata. Furthermore, in a later paragraph, and in an unusually furious tone, he decries the fraud (“*gisa*”) by “wicked merchants” (“*kanshō*”) who sold for high prices pieces made in other kilns, including even those without Ninsei seals, as

works by Ninsei. This well illustrates that the proliferation of Ninsei fakes was already known by 1879, and that without doubt they were made to be sold to the Western market.

Kōgei Shiryō

The other history of crafts written in early Meiji period was *Kōgei Shiryō* (Historical documents on crafts), compiled by Kurokawa Mayori and published by the Museum Office, Ministry of the Interior, in 1878. This publication aimed to grasp the whole of *kōgei* production in Japan and outline its history, techniques, and individual products, to prepare for Japan's participation in the Paris International Exposition in the same year. It attempted for the first time to define the scope of *kōgei* and included seven categories,⁴⁰ but it was based on the industrial understanding of *kōgei* as products or commodities backed by the economic, political agenda of the Meiji government, rather than as part of artistic productions for appreciation of their creativity or beauty (Kida 9; Yoda 26).

The section that describes the history of ceramic production in Kyoto is in the third volume of *Kōgei Shiryō*. Here, Kurokawa⁴¹ attempts to demonstrate a coherent lineage for the ceramic industry in Kyoto, from the late sixteenth century, through Ninsei in the mid-seventeenth century, to the Meiji potters who actually participated in the Paris International Exposition (Oka *Kinsei* 12). In order to construct this lineage, Kurokawa considers the origin of kilns in Kyoto (*Kyō-yō*) in the late sixteenth century, and states that Ninsei started “*Kyō-*

⁴⁰ The seven categories are: textiles, stone, ceramics, wood, leather, metal, and lacquer.

⁴¹ Oka suggests that while Kurokawa wrote the introductory part, it may be Ryōchū Kohitsu (? – 1891) who wrote the sections on individual kilns (*Kokuhō* 31).

yaki” or Kyoto ware in the early seventeenth century.⁴² He clearly states that “... for whatever was called *Kyō-yaki* in later days, their origin goes back to those made by Ninsei” (qtd. in Oka *Kinsei* 10, my translation). This total attribution of the entire history of Kyoto ceramics back to Ninsei is not found in Ninagawa’s publication.

According to *Kōgei Shiryō*, Ninsei launched eight kilns around Kyoto, and his school was later divided into two, that is, the Awata and Kiyomizu kilns (Oka *Kokuhō* 33). The potters from these two kilns active in the early Meiji period were in fact already known abroad by the time of publication and were participants in the Paris Exposition in 1878.⁴³ While the Awata and Kiyomizu kilns had independent origins, and were rather in rivalry in the late Edo period, the aim of *Kōgei Shiryō* to present a united, continuous history that encompasses the whole *Kyō-yaki* found in Ninsei a legitimate origin (Oka *Kinsei* 12). Ninsei now is attributed the status of “Father of *Kyō-yaki*.” This search for tradition in Kyoto ware was, on the one hand, triggered by Japan’s outward needs of self-presentation vis-à-vis the West through the international exposition, and on the other, was for the Japanese potters and ceramic scholars an inward search for their origin and identity (Oka *Kokuhō* 37-8). As Oka Yoshiko speculates, the rapid growth in the production of ceramics mainly for export to the West, and the consequent change in demand for more elaborate and ornate types that appealed to the Western market might have caused confusion and insecurity among the Kyoto potters (*Kokuhō* 37), resulting in the quest for authority in the past. The status of Ninsei as “Father of *Kyō-yaki*” was thus a creation of both external and internal needs felt by

⁴² The definition of the term “*Kyō-yaki*” itself has a complex history, although examining it is beyond the scope of this work. For details, see Oka, *Kinsei*.

⁴³ These potters include Kinkōzan Sōbei and Taizan Yohei (Awata), and Takahashi Dōhachi, Kiyomizu Rokubei, and Seifū Yohei (Kiyomizu).

the Japanese government and potters alike. As shall be seen later in this chapter, the status of Ninsei as “Father of *Kyō-yaki*” introduced by *Kōgei Shiryō* was soon transmitted to the West despite the fact that this publication was not officially translated into Western languages, and was mentioned first by Siegfried Bing in his article in *L'art japonais* in 1883.

Ceramics in the first official art history in 1900

After the above two publications, a various books on Japanese ceramic production and individual potters were published in Japan between the late 1880s and early 1900s. The view established by *Kōgei Shiryō* of Ninsei as “Father of *Kyō-yaki*” became a commonly accepted theory in these publications.⁴⁴ The description of Japanese ceramics included in the first official Japanese art history in 1900 further succeeded this historical approach of *Kōgei Shiryō*, rather than the empirical one found in *Kanko Zusesu*.

As briefly mentioned above, the first official Japanese art history is organized first by period, then by media, with “*bijutsu-teki kōgei*” (artistic crafts) as the last category. The final part of the subsection on artistic crafts is devoted to ceramics, which is categorized first by production site, and then by individual kiln. While this structure can also be seen both in *Kanko Zusesu* and in *Kōgei Shiryō*, the narrative in the first official history regarding ceramic production in Kyoto follows the description of *Kōgei Shiryō*: Kyoto ceramic production was originated by Ninsei and continued to Awata and Kiyomizu in the Meiji period. The ceramic history within the first official art history further includes brief

⁴⁴ This view of Ninsei can be seen, for example, in *Fu-ken Tōki Enkaku Tōkō Dentō-shi* (The history of ceramics and the tradition of potters of prefectures) published in 1886; *Tōki Shōshi* (Brief history of ceramics) in 1890; and *Kōgei Kagami* (History of crafts) in 1904. See Oka, *Kokuhō* 34 for detail.

biographies of “*meikō*,” or master potters, including Ninsei, with lists of their works (Oka *Kinsei* 15). This focus on individual potters was innovative, let alone the fact that some pieces are accompanied by photographic illustrations (Yoda 27-8). The types of pieces selected for illustration in the first official art history, however, demonstrate a different perception towards representative works of each potter from today. The illustrations include two incense burners in the shape of *shishi* lions, one attributed to the first Katō Tōshirō (active twelfth century) and the other by Raku Chōjirō (Yoda 28) (fig. 13). These types would not be selected today as representative works by these master potters.⁴⁵ The fact that these *shishi*-shaped incense burners were chosen for illustration in the first official art history can be understood from the publication’s intention to describe Japanese art from the aspect of fine arts: the incense burners were chosen based on their resemblance to representational sculptures (Yoda 27).

Likewise, the idea of Ninsei’s representative works seems to have been greatly different at that time from what we would expect today—for example, tea jars or incense containers with elegant, polychrome painted decorations. In the first official art history, four Ninsei pieces were selected for illustration: a figure of *Hakuzōsu* (a fox monster disguised as a Buddhist monk), an incense burner in the shape of duck, a bowl with a decoration of hanging screens, and a water jar with painted decoration of chrysanthemums and waves (Oka *Kokuhō* 42-3) (fig. 14). While the water jar and tea bowl remind us of the painted ceramics considered as quintessentially Ninsei-style today, the ceramic figure and incense burner seem to be understood as representational sculptures, along with the incense burners by Chōjirō

⁴⁵ If chosen from today’s art historical point of view, the representative works of these potters would most likely be a black Raku tea bowl for Chōjirō, and a tea caddy for Tōshirō.

and Tōshirō. In addition, the figure of *Hakuzōsu* does not have any association with the tea practice of *chanoyu*, to which Ninsei pieces are often linked from the present art historical point of view. While the status of Ninsei as “Father of *Kyō-yaki*” was established and prevailed, the visual image of Ninsei’s canonical works was yet to be established at the turn of the twentieth century, even in Japan.

The image of Ninsei ceramics as strongly associated with painted decoration started to predominate slightly later, when the art magazine of authority *Kokka* published articles on Ninsei’s ceramics in July 1906, focusing on three tea jars with painted decoration, or *iroe chatsubo* (Oka *Kokuhō* 40). These two articles are accompanied by a colour illustration of a tea jar with decoration of wisteria in over-glaze enamel (fig. 15), and a black and white illustration of two other tea jars with decoration of a temple in the mountains, and of a phoenix, respectively. Here, Ninsei is considered as a master-potter of Kyoto who went beyond copying Chinese and Korean prototypes and invented a refined, “Japanese-style” design within the field of ceramics (Oka *Kinsei* 16). The fact that Ninsei pieces had painted decoration was crucial, as they were then able to be perceived as part of fine art and discussed from art historical point of view in *Kokka* (Oka *Kokuhō* 45). The *Kokka* articles also discuss Ninsei’s association with an imperial prince, Nin’naji-no-miya (dates unknown), as well as with a tea master, Kanamori Sōwa (1584-1656), who developed the style of tea described as “*kuge-fū*,” or the noble style (Oka *Kokuhō* 43-4). Having appeared in the art magazine of authority, with illustrations, as a master-potter who created ceramics of Japanese style and who was associated with noble figures and *chanoyu*, the reputation of Ninsei now became unshakable, strongly associated with his representative style of “*iro-e tōki*” or ceramics with polychrome painted decoration.

The Ninsei ceramics designated as *kokuhō*, or National Treasures, under the original laws between 1908 and 1949 (mainly between 1931 and 1942) all had painted decoration (Oka *Kokuhō* 15).⁴⁶ Yoshiko Oka argues that the reason why the elegant and refined painted decoration of Ninsei ceramics was valued, particularly after the 1930s, lay in the connotation to the image of the Imperial court as “*miyabi*” (elegant), a nationalistic self-image which Japan attempted to emphasize as its superior quality, in relation to the acceleration of the Imperialism (*Kokuhō* 92-94). Here, Ninsei’s tea jars with painted wisteria, pine trees, or Mt. Yoshino with cherry blossoms were explicitly considered to represent Japaneseness without influence from China or Korea, a clear indication of nationalism on the eve of the Pacific War (Oka *Kokuhō* 94). This political and ideological idea of the Japanese style of Ninsei’s painted decoration was clearly different from Ninagawa’s description of “*honchō-fū*,” discussed earlier.

Ninsei pieces without painted decoration, such as Van Horne’s tea bowl in the style of a humble Korean rice bowl, came to be valued too, thanks to the elevated reputation of Ninsei, but only after the Taishō period (1912 – 1926), when the tradition of *chanoyu* was revived by *sukisha*, or *nouveaux riches* modern tea practitioners. Thus, in 1897, when Van Horne purchased his tea bowl, the “Ninsei myth” was still being created and the idea about actual Ninsei pieces was not yet fixed, even in Japan. After WWII the idea of Ninsei as “Father of *Kyō-yaki*” gradually disappeared as more detailed studies were conducted based on newly discovered historical material and more excavations. The perception of Ninsei as “one of the most significant artist potters in Japan,” however, remained. The popularization

⁴⁶ Furthermore, Ninsei has more works designated national treasures than any other Japanese potters: eleven out of seventeen ceramic works by Japanese makers designated national treasures were made by Ninsei. (Oka *Kokuhō* 14).

of art among the wider public in post-war Japan enhanced the spread of the idea of Ninsei as a representative Japanese artist-potter associated with *iro-e* or painted decoration, with the help of the mass media and advanced reproduction technologies for the circulation of images of Ninsei's pieces. The emphasis on the significance of Ninsei's works in Japanese art history (and hence in museum curators' minds) would later affect the problematic way in which Van Horne's genuine Ninsei tea bowl was until very recently considered inauthentic in relation to the shifting perceptions towards the Van Horne ceramics as a whole.

1-3: Japanese ceramics as collectibles in the West

This section investigates the ways in which Japanese ceramic objects circulated from Japan to the West in the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, and how the Western definition of Japanese ceramics as well as the idea of "authentic Japanese ceramics" shifted according to the availability of objects and the socio-cultural conditions in the West. From the early stages of the phenomenon of *japonisme*, ceramic objects were popular among private collectors and museums in Europe and in North America. Unlike other exported items such as lacquerware or metalwork, ceramics occupied a peculiar position because the scope of the generic term "Japanese ceramics" had multifaceted contents and contexts. While lacquerware or metalwork were considered mainly as ornamental, various types of Japanese ceramics were circulated for different purposes: as utilitarian objects, commodities, or works of art as well as for decoration. The distinctions among these functions were, however, not explicit and indeed sometimes overlapped. The complex nature of the general term "Japanese ceramics" has prevented a clear definition within the discussion of their circulation abroad.

Previous studies have focused on specific aspects, for example, the trade of Japanese ceramics examined solely from the production side (i.e., the Japanese ceramic industry), or their reception solely from the point of view of the Western market or collectors⁴⁷; such approaches inevitably often leave out some essential components of “Japanese ceramics.”

While it has generally been argued that the reception of Japanese ceramics exported and collected in the West drastically increased in the mid- to late nineteenth century, a detailed examination indicates that the growth in the circulation of Japanese ceramics was brought about by multiple factors at different times. This was because the general idea of ceramic objects in the West itself shifted due to the social and cultural conditions surrounding ceramic production, education, and appreciation. The Western definition of what constituted Japanese ceramics changed accordingly, and so did the ways in which they were collected. In the early days, from the 1850s to 1870s, Western interest in Japanese ceramics was limited to utilitarian items of porcelain with painted decorations in polychrome enamels made exclusively for export, namely, Imari-style Arita ware (fig. 16) and *nishikide* (“brocade-style”) Satsuma ware. These export types of Japanese ceramics were collected due to interest in their design, and for the purpose of educating ceramics makers and consumers in the West.

From the mid-1870s, the definition of Japanese ceramics expanded due to Western collectors’ search for the truly Japanese taste. Various types of simple ceramic pieces made for Japanese domestic use came to be considered more authentic than decorative export ware. In addition, cultural movements in the late nineteenth century, such as the Aesthetic

⁴⁷ See, for example, Imai, Imakiire, Miyaji, and Nakajima.

Movements and Arts and Crafts Movements, which aimed to reform art and everyday life, played a significant role in the growth of the market for Japanese ceramics to the newly emerged middle class. From the early twentieth century, Japanese ceramics were increasingly seen as works of art, reflecting the establishment of the historiography of Japanese ceramics within the narrative of national Japanese art history. The aesthetic quality of individual ceramic pieces was emphasized, as well as individual “artist-potters.”

Early days 1850s – 1870s: for research and education

The scope of interest in Japanese ceramics in Europe in the 1850s and 1860s was limited to utilitarian pieces such as plates, cups and saucers, and teapots, made of porcelain with painted decorations in polychrome enamels (Imai “Changes in French tastes” 105-107). This tendency can be understood from the prevalence of such Japanese ceramics on the Western market, rather than as individual taste. The limited interest was informed by the then needs of the ceramic industry in Europe, as well as by the notion of what constituted Japanese ceramics at the time, which was in turn constructed by the objects available on the market.

The limitation in the types of Japanese ceramic objects available in the West during this period can be examined both from the supply and demand sides. From the Western demand side, such pieces were virtually the only type known as Japanese ceramics at the time. The idea of Japanese ceramics as porcelain with polychrome enamel decoration had prevailed since the late seventeenth century, when the Dutch East India Company ordered Japan to replace China’s porcelain production in the mid-seventeenth century. Imari-style

Arita ware with painted decoration in multiple colours became highly popular, and was collected by royal families and nobles of eighteenth-century Europe, for example Augustus the Strong (1670 – 1733) in Dresden, Germany. While the ceramic trade between Japan and Europe declined from the mid-eighteenth century due to the re-emergence of the strong Chinese supply, Imari-style porcelain remained the only type of Japanese ceramics known to Europeans until the mid-nineteenth century. It is thus no surprise that this type of ceramics was considered as “Japanese” and was sought-after by the Western collectors and traders when Japan lifted its seclusion policy in the 1850s. Along with Imari-style porcelain, Satsuma *nishikide* earthenware with rich enamel decoration also became highly popular in the West from the late 1860s, after examples were exhibited by the Satsuma domain government at the Paris International Exposition in 1867.⁴⁸

The attention to Japanese ceramics with polychrome decorations was partly derived from the socio-economic needs in Europe. This was a time in Europe, in particular in France, when the reformation of industrial design and the creation of the national style of decorative art was a pressing business, as a reaction to the predominance of industrial manufacturing from the early nineteenth century. The completely different styles of designs and motifs found in Japanese objects that started to appear in the mid-nineteenth century were considered good models to learn from. In the late 1860s two French art critics, Philippe Burty (1830 – 1890) and Ernest Chesneau (1833 – 1890), stressed the need to learn from motifs and asymmetric compositions found in Japanese designs for the revival and improvement of the

⁴⁸ It was one year before the Meiji Restoration, and both the Shogunate and Satsuma domain participated in the Exposition. For the detail of Satsuma *nishikide* ware and its popularity in the early Meiji period, see Pollard.

French decorative art industry (Miura 44-45).⁴⁹ One of the earliest examples of Japanese motifs appearing on French ceramic objects was the Rousseau Dinner Service designed by Felix Bracquemond (1833 – 1914) around 1866, which adopted motifs of birds and flowers from Japanese woodblock prints or printed books illustrated by Katsushika Hokusai (1760 – 1849) or Utagawa Hiroshige (1797 – 1858) (Miura 45).

Within this increasing momentum of industrial design reformation in Europe, Japanese ceramics were collected for research and educational purposes. Ceramics were one of the major items to be shown in the modern visual institutions such as international expositions and museums, which primarily functioned to educate both the maker (craftsman) and the consumer of industrial and cultural objects (the middle class). For these reasons, Japanese ceramic pieces with painted decoration were collected by European collectors and museums in the 1850s to 1870s, mainly for the purposes of research and education, especially as prototypes for new enamel designs. Good examples of collections of this kind include the Japanese ceramic collections of Albert Jacquemart (1808 – 1875), a scholar of ceramics, and Paul Gasnault (1828 – 1898), a curator of Musée des Arts Décoratifs, both established in the 1860s, which consisted of utilitarian pieces such as plates, cups and saucers, teapots and bottles, collected not for use but for research (Imai “Changes in French tastes” 105-107). Later, these collections became part of the Limoges Museum (today’s Musée National Adrien Dubouche) through Adrien Dubouche (1818 – 1881), who served as director of the museum from 1865 to 1881. This museum was originally built as a regional

⁴⁹ Burty wrote about Japanese art in *Les Emaux cloisonnés anciens et modernes*, published in 1868. Chesneau’s lecture at the conference of l’Union centrale des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l’industrie in Paris on February 19, 1869, was published as *L’art japonais* in 1869 (Miura 44-45, 49). According to Miura, l’Union centrale des Beaux-Arts appliques a l’industrie was organized in 1864 by French makers of decorative arts, to vie with British counterparts (45).

archaeology and history museum in 1845, with the ceramic section added in 1852 to promote the region's ceramic industry. Dubouche considered that the museum collection should serve as inspiration to the students of the affiliated art school ("The Museum's History"). The Japanese ceramics were clearly treated here as an educational tool for French potters. Likewise, many other museums in France and Britain, such as the Musée national céramique de Sèvres, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, and the South Kensington Museum, collected Japanese ceramics for industrial educational purposes.⁵⁰

The popularity of ceramics with painted designs in the Western market had an impact on the Japanese supply side in the early Meiji period. In particular, the huge success of Satsuma ware in the West from the late 1870s led the major trend in the ceramic industry and many ceramic manufacturers, including those in Kyoto, who started to produce their own versions of ceramics with coloured enamel decoration for the foreign market (Pollard 139).⁵¹ For the Japanese ceramic makers, who had been experiencing a decline in demand in the domestic market due to the social changes brought by the Meiji Restoration, producing for foreign markets was a way to survive. It also provided jobs for professional painters, who had lost commissions from feudal lords and turned to designing for export wares including ceramic, lacquer and metalwork. In port cities such as Yokohama and Kōbe, workshops were established which devoted themselves solely to decorating blank Satsuma pieces transported from Kagoshima or elsewhere (Pollard 139).

⁵⁰ South Kensington Museum (today's Victoria and Albert Museum) was originally established in 1852 for the education of craftsmen, and collected contemporary crafts all over the world. For detail, see Jackson and Jaffer.

⁵¹ This includes painted porcelain produced by Kawamoto Masukichi I (1831 – 1907) in Seto; *akae kinrande* style (literally "red picture brocade style") of Kutani ware in Kanazawa; and exquisitely decorated porcelain made by Kōransha Company in Arita (Pollard 139-140).

The production and sale of export objects were officially promoted by the Japanese government, mainly through international expositions and the subsequent trades. The establishment in 1873 of a semi-governmental corporation, Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha (The First Japanese Manufacturing and Trading Company), after the Vienna International Exposition, exemplifies the Meiji government's interest in promoting Japanese crafts to the Western market. This company, although short-lived, was significant not only in exporting Japanese products to the West, but also in marketing and actually producing them.⁵² At the beginning, the priority of the production was placed solely on the design of the painting decoration of ceramics (Yasunaga 49). This demonstrates the high interest in the design aspect of Japanese ceramics both from the demand and supply sides.

In the 1860s-1870s, the main countries for Japanese ceramic export, England, Germany, and France,⁵³ themselves had active, well-known producers of ceramics. The demand for Japanese ceramics was, therefore, not due to a need for utilitarian products, but rather from interest in their design (Miyaji 51). More interest in their design aspects during this time, however, resulted in less attention to the practical or technical aspects of their production, such as strength, heat-resistance, or quality of enamels (Miyaji 51), which would later lead to the decline in Japanese ceramic exports in the 1880s.

During these periods, the dominance of the types of Japanese ceramics with polychrome painted decoration in the Western market contributed to the formation of the idea of what were considered “authentic” Japanese ceramics. The collection of James Lord Bowes (1834 – 1899) in Liverpool well reflected this trend: it mainly consisted of Imari

⁵² For the significance of Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha in producing export items within the Meiji government's policy of applied art, see Yasunaga.

⁵³ For the details of ceramic export in Japan in 1873-1927, see Miyaji 46-57.

porcelain and Satsuma earthenware with colourful enamel decoration. Bowes' collection and the publication *Keramic Art of Japan*, co-authored with George A. Audsley (1838 – 1925) and published in 1875 (fig. 17), played a significant role in creating an idea of authenticity in Japanese ceramics, by stating that these decorated wares were objects that represented the whole aesthetic of Japan. Bowes' view would later be harshly criticized by Edward S. Morse (1838 – 1925), who had lived and collected ceramics in Japan, which resulted in a heated debate between the two in the 1880s.⁵⁴ While Bowes' perception was his “specific interpretation of Japanese art” (Rousmaniere “A.W. Franks” 33), given the conditions for the early Western market discussed earlier it is understood as a good example of how knowledge can be constructed from the objects *available* to the collector or author—and hence how ambiguous the idea of “authenticity” through objects can be.

Expansion of the definition of Japanese ceramics from the mid-1870s

The types of Japanese objects collected in the West gradually shifted in two directions from the mid-1870s. Collectors' interests shifted from items with painted designs made exclusively for export to those in more rustic styles, preferably old, made for the Japanese domestic market. This shift was a result of the collectors' new desire for more “authentic” Japanese ceramics. At the same time there emerged middle-class *consumers*, eager to catch up with the cultural phenomenon of the craze for Japanese things—which had previously been restricted to wealthy collectors—who sought affordable versions of utilitarian pieces of Japanese porcelain. This current expanded the definition of Japanese

⁵⁴ For the detail of this debate, see Wilson “Tea Taste,” 30-39; and for the debate's meaning within the context of collecting Japanese ceramics in late nineteenth century Britain, see Rousmaniere “A. W. Franks” 32-33.

ceramics. This expansion, however, cannot be understood simply as a deeper understanding of Japanese ceramics in the West, as it was a product of multiple factors, from both the Japanese and the Western points of view.

In Japan, the late 1870s was a period when there was an urgent need for a systematic study of ceramic production country-wide, and the two publications on Japanese ceramics discussed above, *Kanko Zusetsu* and *Kōgei Shiryō*, were written. The sense of history or coherent lineage within ceramic production, as well as the general shift in the notion of “old” things in Japan, increased the significance of ceramic objects made in the past, called “*kotō*” or “old ceramics.” The Japanese government’s selection of *kotō* for the Philadelphia Exposition in 1876 reflected this change. At this stage, however, the transitional nature of this shift is still observed in the fact that contemporary Meiji pieces for export were more expensive than older ceramics from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Jackson and Jaffer 169). This demonstrates that the Japanese perception of “value” and hence “authenticity” among different types of Japanese ceramics was still being negotiated during this period.

Old ceramics from various kilns across Japan selected by the Japanese themselves were exhibited at the international expositions in Philadelphia in 1876 and Paris in 1878, and were subsequently acquired by European museums.⁵⁵ At the 1878 Paris Exposition, in addition to the old ceramics selected by Wakai Kenzaburō (1834 – 1908), founder of Kiryū

⁵⁵ Those shown in Philadelphia were purchased by the South Kensington Museum in London. The catalogue of this collection of 216 pieces from some sixty kilns was written in 1880 by A. W. Franks, the keeper at the British Museum. Sixty-nine pieces exhibited in Paris in 1878 remained at Musée national céramique de Sèvres as an exchange with a Sèvres porcelain piece to the Museum Department of the Ministry of Interior (today’s Tokyo National Museum). These included pieces from Iga, Bizen, or Shigaraki kilns, in addition to Arita and Satsuma pieces of painted decoration. For the details of this ceramic exchange between Japan and France, see Itō, “1878 nen Pari bankoku hakurankai.”

Kōshō Kaisha, were exhibited pieces from some French private collections, such as those of Siegfried Bing (1838 – 1905) and E. Vial (dates unknown) (Imai “Changes in French Tastes” 110). They included a variety of domestic non-porcelain ceramics, rather than export wares (Weisberg *Origins* 37).⁵⁶ According to Imai Yūko, collectors who started collecting Japanese ceramics from the 1870s to the 1880s were interested in items used in *chanoyu*, such as tea bowls, tea jars, and incense containers (“Changes in French Tastes” 110-114). In the late 1870s, through these exhibits at international expositions and the museum collections, types of Japanese ceramics besides export wares came to be known to the Western public. As a wider variety of Japanese ceramics became available, Western collectors and scholars now sought to understand Japanese ceramics in a systematic way and to identify “authentically Japanese ceramics.” For this purpose, Ninagawa Noritane’s *Kanko Zusetsu*, translated into French and English around 1880, served as a timely reference with an empirical approach. As many studies have already demonstrated, the influence of Ninagawa’s work on E. S. Morse, A.W. Franks, and S. Bing, among others, was immense.⁵⁷

In particular, the Japanese ceramic collection of Sir Augustus W. Franks (1826 – 1897) (fig. 18), Keeper of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography at the British Museum from 1866 to 1896, exemplifies the shift in the types of Japanese ceramics collected and in the idea of authentic Japanese ceramics. Franks originally had more pieces with polychrome decorations than simple domestic ceramics in his collection. According to the first edition of the catalogue of his private collection, *A Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental*

⁵⁶ Weisberg however, states that the pieces from the Bing collection exhibited on this occasion “to modern eyes are hardly representative of the traditions of Old Japan and do not pre-date the 1800s” (*Origins* 37).

⁵⁷ For the details, see Rousmaniere on Franks, C. Ninagawa on Morse, Weisberg on Bing.

Porcelain and Pottery, written by Franks himself in 1876,⁵⁸ the collection included 115 porcelains and only nine pottery items (i.e. stoneware and earthenware). However, the second edition, written one year later, in 1877 (but published three years later, in 1879), shows a shift in his interest towards pottery—he added 327 pieces of pottery, while 205 items were added to his porcelain collection (Rousmaniere “A.W. Franks” 31). Although the total number of porcelain and pottery items at the time of the second edition was almost the same, Franks’ increased interest in non-porcelain pieces after the mid-1870s was obvious. In addition, Franks made a clear distinction between export wares and those of more domestic taste; he states in the preface of the second edition that:

“[w]ith regard to both porcelain and pottery it may be well to remark that the taste of the Japanese is quite different from that of Western nations. ... in the ceramic production, a rough artistic specimen is far more valued in Japan than one of those marvels of finish admired in Europe. Most of the large and highly ornamented specimens are in fact made for exportation not for home use”
(qtd. in Rousmaniere “A.W. Franks” 31).

The idea of “truly Japanese ceramics” vis-à-vis “export ware” started to be discussed around this time, after the mid-1870s.

Within this shift, the role of dealers cannot be overlooked: the leading dealers of Japanese objects in Paris, such as Siegfried Bing, Wakai Kenzaburō, and Hayashi Tadamasu (1853 – 1906), played the central role not only in the importation of objects but also in the

⁵⁸ Franks published another catalogue, *Japanese Pottery: Being a Native Report*, in 1880 on the collection of Japanese ceramics exhibited at the Philadelphia International Exposition and subsequently purchased by the South Kensington Museum. See Note 55.

“interpretation of Japanese art in Europe” (Wilson “Tea Taste” 24). In particular, Bing and his broad sampling of Japanese ceramics functioned as a disseminator of the characteristics of Japanese ceramics (Weisberg “S. Bing in America” 37). In terms of his impact on the circle of collecting Japan in France, Philippe Burty noted that “M. Bing caused a revolution” (*Artistic Japan* III: 17, 1889, qtd. in Wilson “Tea Taste” 24).

The examination of the idea of authentic Japanese ceramics during these periods, however, requires a quick note on how the Japanese tea practice of *chanoyu* was interpreted in the West at the time in relation to collecting. The shift in the types of Japanese ceramics collected in Europe in the 1880s has usually been understood as a movement “from exotic curiosities to embrace something closer to native sensibilities” (Wilson “Tea Taste” 25); in other words, a progression from exoticism to a “deeper understanding” of authentically Japanese taste. A close examination of the ways in which the idea of authenticity was constructed at that time, however, suggests that this view may be too simplistic and hasty in perspective.

In Japan, the development of ceramic production had closely been associated with the tradition of *chanoyu*. Within this practice, ceramic items such as tea bowls, tea caddies, water jars, flower vases, and incense containers had been intensively collected by Japanese tea enthusiasts. It was thus natural that Western collectors who encountered domestic Japanese ceramics discovered the practice of *chanoyu* and tea utensils and started to collect them too. However, it may be too simple and hasty to conclude that Western collectors’ interest in tea utensils is evidence of their understanding of *chanoyu*.⁵⁹ I would argue instead that it was the

⁵⁹ This view can be seen, for example, in Imai, “Changes in French tastes” 120.

acceptance of *chanoyu* as a form of an *idea* of “authenticity,” rather than an understanding of *chanoyu*’s context or contents.⁶⁰ The quest of Western collectors for ceramics of truly Japanese taste found its manifestation in tea-related objects—in other words, it was yet another expression of the “craze for things Japanese,” or exoticism. Simple, rustic tea utensils were understood to exemplify Japanese domestic taste *in general*, in great contrast to the decorative pieces that hitherto had prevailed in the West, rather than as a representation of the specific aesthetic of the tea tradition of *chanoyu*.

In early Meiji Japan, the national project of modernization and Westernization disapproved of all traditional cultural activities, including *chanoyu*. The tea organizations and practitioners lacked the means to rationally defend themselves against the criticism that tea practice was a superficial entertainment that adhered to bothersome rules (Yoda 78). To Westerners’ eyes, *chanoyu*’s highly ritualistic and formalistic aspects looked more conspicuous and puzzling than attractive (Yoda 74).⁶¹ The *chanoyu* practice thus did draw Western attention but merely as “a tradition being lost,” much like many other old customs in Japan. A. W. Franks, for example, clearly states in 1880 in the introduction of *Japanese Pottery: Being a Native Report* that “the [tea] ceremonies in fact are dying out, and will probably have entirely disappeared in a few years” (3-4).⁶² While tea-related ceramics were objects of interest for Western collectors, their interest in the tea tradition was limited and did

⁶⁰ For example, Yamamoto states that the introduction to the West of *chadō* (the way of tea, another term for *chanoyu*) in the Meiji period was through ideas (“*kannen-teki*”) rather than practical understanding of *temae*, the actual methods of serving tea (“*Bijutsu-shō Yamanaka*” 380). Yoshida observes that the system of *chanoyu* served rather as an indication of the “foreignness” of Japanese culture to the West in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries (104).

⁶¹ B.H. Chamberlain, for example, stated in 1890 that tea utensils are “little japanocities” (450), not greatly different from “curios,” and “[t]o a European the [tea] ceremony is lengthy and meaningless” (454).

⁶² Franks however writes on the brief history of *chanoyu* and the detailed descriptions of how the ceremonies are conducted (*Japanese Pottery* 4-7).

not stimulate a deeper understanding or re-evaluation of the aesthetic of tea at this stage (Yoda 74).⁶³

As we shall see in Chapter Two, Van Horne too was interested in collecting tea-related ceramics, such as tea bowls, tea caddies, and water jars. However, his interest in tea practice as a context of his collected objects was apparently limited. His collection, starting from the 1880s, can thus be situated within the Western reception of *chanoyu* as a form of exoticism, which in turn explains how he understood the authenticity of Japanese ceramic objects at the time.

1880s: emergence of middle class consumers of Japanese ceramics

The claim of expansion of exoticism in the Western market for Japanese ceramics can also be supported by the growth in the size of the market due to the emergence of the middle class as consumers of Japanese ceramics in the late nineteenth century, especially in the U.S. As a result of the cultural movement of reforming everyday life, or the Aesthetic Movement, small Japanese objects, including porcelains, came to be considered as objects to decorate the “beautiful home” (Guth “Ibunka hyōka” 331). After the 1876 Philadelphia International Exposition, more shops started selling affordable Japanese tea pots, plates and vases along with fans and lacquered boxes to middle-class consumers. These goods, called bric-a-brac, were promoted as items for interior decoration, to be “consumed” mainly by women, as

⁶³ The *chanoyu* practice did revive later in the Meiji period, due to the newly cultivated interest from nouveaux riches industrialists. For a detailed discussion of this group’s enthusiasm for tea and avid collecting of tea utensils, see Guth *Art, Tea, and Industry*.

opposed to objects to be collected by men.⁶⁴ This emergence of the “consumer non-collector” greatly contributed to the popularization of Japanese objects in the late nineteenth century, and accelerated the expansion of the definition of Japanese ceramics.

The shift in the Western market, both in quality and quantity, had an impact in turn on ceramic production in Japan. In the early 1880s, the Japanese ceramic industry had to rely on exports because of the reduction in the domestic market due to financial reforms and subsequent deflation around 1882 (Miyaji 48-50). By then, however, the Western collectors’ interest had shifted to old domestic types of Japanese ceramics, and the popularity of elaborately decorated export ceramics waned. Other reasons for the decline in popularity of Japanese export wares were the unchanging style of decoration and their lower quality and strength, especially in contrast to the higher quality of European products from Meissen, Limoges, or Wedgwood. In order to counter decreasing exports of decorative ceramics for the upper class market in Europe, the Japanese ceramic industry targeted the increasing middle class market in the U.S., where Japanese ceramics had become popular for interior decoration (Miyaji 53-54). The necessity to shift production from decorative to utilitarian products started to be actively discussed within the Japanese ceramic industry (Motomiya 344-346).

In order to fully understand the expansion of the definition of Japanese ceramics in the West from the mid-1870s to the 1880s, different aspects need to be investigated within their broad socio-cultural contexts. On the one hand, collectors became more interested in ceramics created for use within Japan (such as tea utensils) as “authentic Japanese ceramics,”

⁶⁴ In “Ibunka hyōka,” Guth discusses in detail the gendered distinction between these two, referring to Clarence Cook’s *The House Beautiful* published in 1881, as well as the loaded language of “curio” and “art” surrounding Japanese objects.

as opposed to decorative export wares; on the other hand, newly emerged middle-class consumers started pursuing porcelain utilitarian pieces with painted design of cheaper, lesser quality, to catch up with the fashion of collecting Japanese things, which was previously limited to the upper class.

Ceramics as art in the early twentieth century

In the early twentieth century, Western collectors' interest shifted to the pursuit of aesthetic quality in Japanese ceramics, reflecting the broad cultural tendency in which ceramic objects came to be seen as works of art. As this art historical perspective prevailed in collecting circles, the distinction between "collectors" and "consumers" became sharper. Japanese ceramic objects for the middle class, which supported the growth of the export market and thus the Japanese ceramic industry from the 1880s, were eliminated as "non-authentic" from the discourse of ceramics as works of art. It must be noted, however, that there are a number of occasions even today when the types of Japanese ceramics sold for middle class "consumers" are claimed by their owners, individuals or institutions alike, as "authentic Japanese ceramics," only to be dismissed by authorities of Japanese art history such as curators or scholars.⁶⁵ I would argue, however, that this kind of "misunderstanding" can be apprehended not only as a *lack* of knowledge on the part of their owners, but also from the historical contexts in which the definition and idea of authenticity of Japanese ceramics have repeatedly been negotiated at given times and places.

⁶⁵ From my experience at a public museum and an auction house, it is more than often the case that these "consumer" types of Japanese ceramics are brought in by their owners for identification, potential donation, or auction sales, often with the expectation that these objects are "hidden treasures."

The inclination towards aesthetic quality paralleled the Japanese government's efforts to create a Japanese national art history, as well as the desire of Western collectors and scholars to understand Japanese ceramics in a systematic way. The first official Japanese art history, discussed previously, included ceramics under the category of "artistic crafts," and treated individual potters, including Ninsei, as artists. By the early twentieth century, the notion of "*kanshō-tōki*" or "ceramics for appreciation" emerged in Japan, and collectors, scholars and potters alike were more interested studying the creativity and artistic quality of old ceramics than their history or provenance (Oka *Kinsei* 16-17). This shift came partly from necessity on the part of the potters: they searched in the past for ways to improve the artistic quality of ceramic creations (Oka *Kinsei* 17). It had become a pressing business, on the one hand, to maintain the status of the ceramic industry within the government's art policies, which adopted the Western hierarchy of fine arts over crafts and, on the other, to confront the increasing criticism from the West that Japanese ceramics were unvaried and outmoded.

The growth in the study of individual potters was also because more examples of pieces by master potters became available to the wider public in the early twentieth century from the treasured collections of former noble or warrior families. The pioneering *Kokka* article on Ninsei's tea jars with painted decoration in 1906, mentioned earlier, was made possible due to the discovery of these pieces in the collection of Viscount Kyōgoku. The revival of *chanoyu* in the 1920s also contributed to the development of the interest in the aesthetic aspect of ceramic objects. This would lead to the discovery and revival in the 1930s of tea ceramics from the Momoyama period (1573 – 1603), such as Shino, Oribe, Bizen,

Karatsu, and Iga wares.⁶⁶ These *kotō*, or old ceramics, came to be considered to represent the uniquely Japanese *chanoyu* aesthetic that emphasizes simplicity and imperfection. Ninsei pieces without painted decoration were also acknowledged and evaluated within this context (Oka *Kokuhō* 56).

The development of an art historical understanding of Japanese ceramics among Western scholars and collectors led to the creation of “star artist-potters” such as Ogata Kenzan (1663 – 1743). While Kenzan’s name had been mentioned in Japanese publications, his works were generally overlooked in the 1870s – 1880s (Itō “The Ninsei and Kenzan” 117). For example, Franks treated Kenzan merely as one of many local producers in his catalogue in 1880 (64). After the 1880s, however, Kenzan began to be considered an artist-potter. This was due to the socio-cultural conditions both in Japan and in the West, including the creation of a national Japanese art history, the Japanese ceramic makers’ need to create aesthetically-proven pieces, and the continuing demand from Western collectors and scholars for a systematic understanding of Japanese artistic production, all of which led to the search for canonical works of Japanese art. The Rimpa School of painting, for example, whose name was derived from that of Kenzan’s brother Ogata Kōrin (1658 – 1716), was formed and made into the original, national style of Japan, described as “most Japanese of Japanese” (qtd. in Wilson “Tea Taste” 35). Production of ceramics, too, once primarily considered as items for export, was now regarded as an artistic craft within the hierarchy of *bijutsu*, and the search for artist-potters began. In this context, the works of Kenzan were

⁶⁶ For details of the discovery and revival of the ceramics from the Momoyama period (1573 – 1603) as “authentically Japanese ceramics” in Japan in the 1930s, see Kida. Kida argues that this revival was paralleled with the art historical movement around the same period, which found the purely Japanese aesthetic in the Zen Buddhism originated in the Muromachi period (1336-1573). The global economic crisis in the 1920s and the rise of nationalism in the 1930s urged the movement (Kida 85).

interpreted in highly aesthetic terms, such as “a triumph of limited impression, simplicity, and formal effect” (Wilson “Tea Taste” 33).

According to Richard Wilson, Charles L. Freer (1855 – 1919) of Detroit (fig. 19) was one of the earliest collectors with an interest in Kenzan, and he became involved in the formation process of Kenzan’s fame by acquiring a number of his works in consultation with American historian of Japanese art Earnest F. Fenollosa (1853 – 1908) (*Potter’s Brush* 26). Freer acquired his first Kenzan piece in 1894,⁶⁷ and collected 102 works attributed to the potter. Kenzan’s name started appearing in the Van Horne collection from 1893.⁶⁸ The relatively low price paid for his first acquisition (\$15 for a pair of square dishes), compared to the later Kenzan pieces,⁶⁹ suggests the beginning of the interest in Kenzan pieces in the Western market in the mid-1890s, which continued until the beginning of the twentieth century. Western collectors’ increasing interest in individual artist-potters further enhanced the perception of ceramic objects as works of art, and led to the idea of authenticity based on aesthetic quality in the early twentieth century.

1-4: Western perception of Ninsei

Drawing on shifts in the Western idea of what constitutes authentic Japanese ceramics discussed in the previous section, I now examine the way in which Ninsei and his ceramic pieces were understood in the West in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, by

⁶⁷ F1894.5, a bowl with decoration in the Kenzan style. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery.

⁶⁸ The first Kenzan pieces recorded in the Van Horne catalogues are a pair of square plaques acquired from Bunkio Matsuki in September 1893 (Van Horne catalogue 1 n.pag.). These are now in the collection of the MMFA (1944.Dp.15).

⁶⁹ For example, in 1894 Van Horne paid \$48 for a rectangular dish with irises attributed to Kenzan (Van Horne Catalogue 1 n.pag.).

analyzing descriptions published in English, and one in French, on Japanese ceramics. While Ninagawa Noritane's empirical approach and detailed descriptions of actual pieces in *Kanko Zusetsu* was highly influential, many of the publications describe Ninsei as the "Father of Kyoto ware," borrowing from the historical interpretation of *Kōgei Shiryō* by Kurokawa Mayori. In some cases, Ninsei's reputation was elevated to the status of Japanese national potter. As opposed to the potter's high status, however, visual images of actual Ninsei pieces were not easily available at that time: Western publications on Japanese ceramics contain only a few illustrations of Ninsei pieces, some of which clearly demonstrate a large gap in the idea of what constitutes work by Ninsei between the late nineteenth century and today.

Even in Japan few seem to have had a clear idea about the authenticity of Ninsei pieces at the turn of the twentieth century, including Ninagawa. It was after 1906, when the Japanese art magazine *Kokka* published the images of Ninsei's *iro-e* ceramics with painted decoration, that a clear identity of Ninsei's works was created in Japan. In the West, too, even Edward S. Morse, a leading figure in the field of Japanese ceramics at the turn of the twentieth century, was ambiguous about the question of "what are authentic Ninsei pieces" in his publication in 1901. The fame of Ninsei thus prevailed despite the lack of concrete images of his actual work, and consequently the rarity of Ninsei works and the number of fakes became overstated by the early twentieth century, to the degree that it became unimaginable that an authentic Ninsei piece could possibly exist in a Western collection (Hobson 140).

Around 1880

Before and around 1880, Ninsei was not prominent as an individual potter in the European publications on Japanese ceramics. In Augustus W. Franks' *Japanese Pottery: Being a Native Report*, published in London in 1880, Ninsei's name appears, but does not stand out. This publication is a catalogue of the group of Japanese ceramics selected by Japanese experts for the 1876 Philadelphia Exposition and subsequently bought by the South Kensington Museum. Franks wrote the introduction and the main report was written by Shioda Masashi (1837 – 1917), one of the Japanese officials for the 1876 Exposition from the Bureau of Agriculture and Industry. In the introduction, Franks mentions Ninsei as follows: “[t]he various wares made at Kioto, by Ninsei and his followers, Kenzan, and others, are noticed in the Report” (*Japanese Pottery* 10). In the main texts, Shioda introduces Ninsei with his full name and active dates, and the description remains factual and objective. While Ninsei is described as a potter who erected kilns in various places in Kyoto, Shioda never includes any praise or definitive phrases such as “Father of Kyoto ware,” as in later publications. His descriptions of Kyoto ware focus rather on how *Ninsei-yaki* (Ninsei ware) was succeeded by the existing kilns and makers in the late 1870s. This approach was in line with *Kōgei Shiryō*'s attempts to establish the history of the Japanese ceramic production at that time and to demonstrate the continuous lineage of Kyoto ware to be shown at the international expositions.

Another reason why Shioda did not treat Ninsei as an outstanding potter could be that, at that time, both in Japan and in the West, the idea of individual artist-potters whose productions were works of art did not yet exist. This can be attested by the fact that the Japanese official catalogue of the Philadelphia Exposition published by the Japanese

Administrative Bureau of the American Exposition in 1876 categorizes ceramics as “*seizō-butsum*” or “products,” and mentions neither Ninsei nor any other individual potter (*Beikoku Hakurankai* 79-107). In addition, the attribution of authentic Ninsei pieces was not yet established at the time. In Franks’ publication four pieces are attributed to Ninsei, and one is accompanied with a black-and-white illustration (61-62) (fig. 20). Today, however, two of these are no longer considered genuine, according to the Victoria and Albert Museum website.⁷⁰

Early 1880s: Rising reputation of Ninsei

From the early 1880s, Ninsei started to appear as “the greatest” individual potter of Japan, but information about him was still highly opaque. In addition, while his fame as a representative Japanese potter was by then well known to Western collectors, few knew what his pieces actually looked like, as only a few images were included in the publications on Japanese ceramics. What is noteworthy is that, as Ninsei’s reputation rose, the idea about “more Japanese” elements in design was transformed within the context of the global nationalism of the nineteenth century. Originally, Ninsei’s high reputation was based on the understanding that he broke away from the tradition of imitating the Chinese-style porcelain and created a truly Japanese style. As Ninagawa described it in *Kanko Zusetsu*, Ninsei developed the “*honchō-fū*” style of ceramic decoration as opposed to the Kanō style, which adopted more Chinese elements. Compared to this opposition within the two Japanese styles,

⁷⁰ The two pieces numbered 103 and 105 in Franks’ publication are described on the website of the Victoria and Albert Museum, as “*style of Nonomura Ninsei*” (emphasis added) (“The Collections” n.pag.).

the tone of the term “national style” used for Ninsei’s works in the Western publications was apparently charged with a stronger nationalistic connotation.

The idea of Ninsei as the greatest individual potter of Japan was first introduced by Siegfried Bing (fig. 21). In 1883 Bing contributed a chapter on ceramics to the first edition of the two-volume *L’art japonais* by Louis Gonse (1846 – 1921). This article of over ninety pages, appearing in the second volume, extensively covers a long history of ceramic making in Japan and various production sites and kilns throughout the country. The early 1880s was the time when Western collectors of Japanese ceramics became more aware of the differences between export ware and domestic ware, and considered the latter more authentic and reflective of indigenous Japanese taste. Bing was the first and most prominent dealer who promoted Japanese domestic ceramics, and acted as a leading scholar and taste-maker in terms of what Japanese ceramics ought to be collected.

In *L’art japonais*, the special treatment of Ninsei as an outstanding potter is established in the earlier part of the publication, written by Gonse. He briefly mentions Ninsei in the painting section in the first volume, as “the greatest ceramicist of Japan,” believed to have originally been a painter (*L’art japonais* 228; vol. 1, translations mine unless otherwise noted). In the third part of the chapter on ceramics, which describes Kyoto pottery, Bing starts with Ninsei, calling him “the great ceramicist” who “raise[d] the first blow to” Japanese “national art” to “an exceptional height” (277). Here, Bing sounds as though he discovered Ninsei himself, stating, “[w]hat seems strange is that the most cultivated Japanese have not been able so far to agree to determine the great ceramicist, a title which belongs right to Nonomouro [sic] Ninsei of Kyoto” (277).

The use of the term “national art” here should be noted. The celebratory term “national,” by which Bing means Japanese as opposed to Chinese, clearly marks the introduction of the notion of nineteenth-century nationalism. In addition to mentioning Ninsei as the potter who first raised the quality of Japanese national art, Bing also describes him as the founder of Kyoto [sic] as the centre of ceramic industry: “[n]one other than Ninsei should be considered as the real founder of the big center of manufacturing which establishes one more beautiful titles of major glory of the ancient capital [i.e., Kyoto]” (282). Bing actually uses the word “*fondateur*,” which echoes the description of “Father of Kyoto ware” in *Kōgei Shiryō*.

At the same time, while Bing’s descriptions of Ninsei are grand and highly admiring, some images contained in his article clearly demonstrate a different idea about Ninsei at that time from today. Bing emphasizes the prolific and diverse nature of Ninsei’s work, and describes “the most popular” type as “the pottery of fawn or of cream-colour, finely crackled, decorated with enamels of green, blue, violet with mix of red and gold” (278), with an example shown in colour illustration.⁷¹ This piece, however, looks to us today more of the Ko-Kiyomizu style, different from Ninsei’s works. Another piece that Bing introduces as Ninsei’s is a tea bowl with sixteen painted Luohans, accompanied with a black and white illustration (279) (fig. 22), which he declares as “the most remarkable” of its kind. This type of piece, however, would no longer be attributed to Ninsei today. While Bing was aware of

⁷¹ The illustration of this piece appears as No. 8 in Plate IX, on an unpagged leaf inserted between pages 254 and 255. Most of the ceramic objects illustrated in colour in the second volume of *L’art japonais* are from Bing’s own collection, while a few pieces from Gonse’s collection are illustrated separately in the first volume. The colour illustrations in this first edition, which must have had a huge impact on readers, however, were entirely removed from the later editions of *L’art japonais*, including the English version.

the fraudulent use of Ninsei's signature by later Kyoto potters or merchants (278), the rarity of genuine Ninsei is not yet emphasized.

Late 1880s to 1890s: Ninsei as a national potter

In 1886, Gonse published a new edition of *L'art japonais* published by Alcide Picard & Kaan, a single volume with much more concise content.⁷² This version was translated into English in 1891 and into Japanese in 1893, and was reprinted four times, in 1891, 1900, 1904, and 1926. The chapter on ceramics was written by Gonse himself, not by Bing as in the first edition, although Gonse acknowledges that it owes greatly to Bing, who he calls “the first reliable information on this subject” (*Japanese Art* 232). In this new edition, while borrowing Bing's descriptions in the original version, Gonse further heightens the significance of Ninsei, his skills, and his status as the creator of the national ceramics with the highest-possible admiration.

First, Gonse clearly represents that the Japanese export ware is “only second-rate” “in the eyes of real Japanese,” in contrast to “the national ceramics” (*Japanese Art* 235). In relation to this distinction, he also makes clear the difference between porcelain and pottery, claiming that the latter is more Japanese (*Japanese Art* 237). Following Bing, Gonse views Ninsei as “an artist of great talent” “who became the creator of the national ceramics, and who today remains the greatest ceramic artist that Japan has produced” (*Japanese Art* 241).

⁷² The reason for this extensive revision was that the first edition of *L'art japonais*, especially the section on painting, was severely criticized by Earnest Fenollosa in 1884, as “narrow-minded” for using only works of art available in Europe (qtd. in Mabuchi 47). According to Mabuchi, Gonse felt so beaten by Fenollosa's harsh criticism he acted as if this 1886 edition was the first edition (47).

Gonse further elaborates: “[t]hree elements were combined in him [Ninsei] – Chinese, Korean [sic], and Japanese; and from this union there came an original art, in a word, the national art” (*Japanese Art* 241). Gonse continues praising Ninsei with strong and affirmative phrases:

“[a]n admirable logic, powerful invention, and an exquisite refinement of taste pervades all the work of Ninsei”; “[Ninsei] not only perfected and created the technical processes, but he gradually freed himself from the formulas of Chinese decorations, and framed the great laws of ornamentation in accordance with the genius of Japan. In short, he devised the fundamental forms of objects so perfectly in accord with their purpose that they have remained in current use” (*Japanese Art* 241-242).

He then proudly declares that “[i]t is to Ninsei and Ninsei alone that belongs the glory of having made the ancient capital [Kyoto] the most brilliant and energetic center of ceramic art” (*Japanese Art* 242).

The notion of Ninsei as the “Father of Kyoto ceramics” is confirmed here, along with Kyoto’s status as the centre of Japanese ceramic production. This heightened importance of Ninsei naturally leads Gonse to emphasize the rarity of genuine pieces by the potter. He states: “[a]uthentic works of this ceramist are of extreme rarity” (*Japanese Art* 243), a phrase which no author before him, even Bing, ever used. In terms of actual descriptions of Ninsei pieces, Gonse again follows Bing: “[h]is most popular works are those of a pale red or yellow pottery finely crackled, and decorated with flowers, mostly in blue and green enamels heightened with gold” (*Japanese Art* 243). Gose however changes the name of this type from

Bing's "old spotted" (veux troile) (278) to "old Kioto," emphasizing Ninsei's status as the founder of Kyoto ware. The item of this description, as mentioned earlier, sounds more like what today would be called the Ko-Kiyomizu type of Kyoto ware. In addition, the colour illustration that appeared in the first edition is not included in the later editions.

The only Ninsei piece illustrated in the second French edition of *L'art japonais* is a peculiar house-shaped vase from Gonse's collection (*L'art japonais* 299; ed. 2) (fig. 23). However, much like the tea bowl with sixteen Luohans that Bing called "the most remarkable" in the original edition, this piece not only does not represent the characteristics Gonse describes above, but its authenticity seems highly dubious from today's perspective. Interestingly, in the English version in 1891, this illustration is also missing, along with many images of other potters' pieces included in the second French edition. While more detailed examination of the images published in each edition of *L'art japonais* is required, this fact may suggest that Gonse's perception of "authentic" Ninsei pieces and Japanese ceramics in general shifted between 1883 and 1891, and the previous illustration might no longer have been considered appropriate.

The elevation of Ninsei's status as an outstanding individual potter in the late 1880s can also be found in *Japan and Its Art* by Marcus B. Huish (1843 – 1921), first published in 1889. However, Huish does not clearly define Ninsei as the "Father of Kyoto ware," as Bing and Gonse did, and restricts himself instead to objective descriptions. In *Japan and Its Art*, Ninsei's work is described as one of the "masterpieces" of faience (i.e., ceramics other than porcelain), and the potter as one of "the two great dominant names in the history of Japanese pottery," along with Kenzan (Huish 217).

In a sub-section titled “The works and influence of Ninsei,” Huish treats Ninsei as the first potter who established “the foundation of a new national school of faience which spread extensively and has been ever since continued”; as a result, “[s]oon Kyoto was filled with kilns” that started to imitate his style (218). However, Huish does not state that these kilns were established by Ninsei himself, and so his status as “Father of Kyoto ware” is not clearly expressed. The second half of the section describes how inferior the modern imitations of Ninsei and his follower Kinkō-zan are, and criticizes the existence of such pieces: “[t]his system of forging old names upon worthless modern pieces is much to be deplored, and adds greatly to the difficulty of collection” (Huish 218-219). While admitting “the difficulty” for collectors, Huish does not discuss the rarity of genuine Ninsei pieces, as Gonse does in the later edition of *L’art japonais*.

Japan and Its Art was reprinted twice: the second edition was published in 1892 and the third in 1912. From the second edition, the chapter for pottery is written by Charles Holme (1848 – 1923) instead of Huish himself. In this article, Holme comments on the European view of Japanese export ware, defending the simple taste of “the native school of connoisseurs” (230; ed. 2). He calls Ninsei the first potter of “an entirely Japanese” style: “it was reserved to Ninsei, a Kyoto potter of the 17c to be the first to give an entirely Japanese expression to this class of decoration” (235; ed. 2). Unlike Huish, Holme clearly states that many kilns in Kyoto were established by Ninsei (236; ed. 2), and thus hints at his status as “Father of Kyoto ware.” This second edition of *Japan and Its Art* contains illustrations of ceramic objects from Holme’s collection, including an incense box with painted decoration attributed to Ninsei (referred as No. 140) (227). This piece, to my eyes, looks to be more in the Kenzan style. The third edition contains three Ninsei pieces: No. 201: a tea caddy and

two tea bowls, shown with three Kenzan pieces and one Kenya (316). The increase in the number of illustrations of Ninsei pieces in the third edition suggests that more examples became available on the Western market by 1912, and therefore collectors gained more concrete images of what actual Ninsei pieces might look like.

Another publication, the ten-volume *Oriental Ceramics: Illustrated by Examples from the Collection of W. T. Walters* by Stephen W. Bushell (1844 – 1908), published in 1896-7 (fig. 24), has two parts dedicated to Japanese ceramics in volume nine: Chapter XXV “Ceramic art of Japan: Introduction. Bibliography. Table of the principal centers of the ceramic industry,” written by Bushell himself; and Chapter XXVL “A general sketch of the ceramic art of Japan,” by Gonse, a reproduction of the texts from the revised *L’art japonais*, published in 1885.⁷³ Bushell does not mention Ninsei, except for as “the celebrated Kyoto potter” (340). However, by reproducing Gonse’s texts, in which Ninsei is treated as the most important potter in Japan, Bushell endorses the view of Ninsei as the national potter. At the same time, there is not a single image of an actual Ninsei piece in this luxuriously crafted publication, which has a number of colour images. This is no surprise, because the collection of Asian ceramics of William T. Walters (1819 – 1894), to which this publication was dedicated, did not include any Ninsei pieces. This publication, therefore, further contributed to disseminating the notion of Ninsei as the foremost potter in Japan to the Western public at the turn of the twentieth century, but again without concrete images of any actual pieces made by the potter.

⁷³ While Bushell refers to these texts as reproduced from the second edition of *L’art japonais* in 1885 (350), they do not correspond to the translation of the French texts of that version (whose actual date of publication was 1886). The texts were apparently reproduced from the shortened version published in English in 1891.

Around 1900: Morse's objective and critical view

While the majority of publications by 1900 promoted the high reputation of Ninsei without examining many of his actual works, Edward Sylvester Morse (fig. 25) took an empirical approach through his collection of Ninsei pieces. He collected all together nearly 6,000 Japanese ceramics in Japan,⁷⁴ which were purchased by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston in 1892. Morse became the keeper of Japanese ceramics at the museum and published the *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* in 1901. As I examine in detail Morse and his collection in relation to the Van Horne's collecting activities in the next chapter, I focus here on Morse's depiction of Ninsei and his pieces in this publication.

Morse's descriptions of Ninsei pieces demonstrate his highly objective and critical approach. The description of Ninsei and the catalogue of thirty-five pieces attributed to him from the Morse Collection are found on pages 218 – 221 (fig. 26). While Morse acknowledges Ninsei as the foremost potter in Japan, when it comes to the examination of actual objects, he becomes highly critical of their authenticity. Morse first states that “Ninsei stands foremost in the ranks of Japanese potters,” and attributes to him the status of father of Kyoto ceramics (*Catalogue* 218). Morse writes: “Ninsei's influence so elevated the art in Kyoto that it became at that time, and has since remained, the keramic [sic] art centre of Japan,” and “[a]t these various ovens in and near Kyoto [that Ninsei established], Ninsei freely imparted his methods” (*Catalogue* 218-9). In comparison to the earlier publications, the tone of Ninsei as “a potter of national ceramics” is obscured, and Morse's descriptions

⁷⁴ Morse stayed in Japan as a visiting professor in 1877, 1878-9, and 1882, and collected a large number of Japanese ceramics.

are derived strictly from observation. As shall be discussed in the next chapter, Morse, a zoologist, aimed to establish a collection that covered the entire ceramic production in Japan and, for that purpose, he collected as diverse a variety of ceramic objects as possible. His highly objective description of “Ninsei” pieces can thus be understood as his attempt to introduce Japanese ceramics in a scientific rather than appreciative manner.⁷⁵ With this goal in mind, Morse does not hesitate to question the attributions made by his mentor, Noritane Ninagawa.

The thirty-five pieces described here include nine called by Morse “Type Ninagawa,” that is, pieces that had been in Ninagawa’s collection and published in *Kanko Zusetsu*.⁷⁶ Each is clearly marked as “Type Ninagawa” with the original figure numbers in the fourth volume of *Kanko Zusetsu* (*Catalogue* 219-220). On the one hand, Morse proudly declares that these nine pieces represent “nearly all the Ninagawa types of Ninsei” (*Catalogue* 219). On the other, Morse expresses fairly strong reservations towards Ninagawa’s attribution, stating, “I am inclined to question the genuineness of a number of these; or, ... if the Ninagawa types are genuine, then many other objects in the collection signed Ninsei are genuine, which is past belief” (*Catalogue* 219). Among the nine, one, numbered by Morse as 3046, is described as “evidently a reject,” and another, 3041, as “if genuine, an exceedingly interesting piece” (Morse *Catalogue* 220). Morse also expresses doubts about the attribution of Ninsei marks, described in *Tōkikō* (“Thoughts on ceramics”) written by Tanouchi Baiken (active 1850s) and published in 1854–5 (*Catalogue* 219). Furthermore, at the end of the descriptions of the

⁷⁵ Morse himself thought authentication of ceramics was a “precise science” (Wayman qtd. in Ōta185).

⁷⁶ One of the main purposes and goals for Morse to form this large collection of Japanese ceramics was to reconstruct the entire Ninagawa collection. In other words, Morse was eager to obtain all the objects actually introduced in Ninagawa’s *Kanko Zusetsu*. The “Type Ninagawa” pieces were directly purchased from, or given by, Ninagawa. For details, see C. Ninagawa.

thirty-five pieces, an additional thirteen pieces with Ninsei marks are clearly categorized as “fraudulent,” without any descriptions (Morse *Catalogue* 221).

Morse’s highly critical remarks about many of the pieces, along with the objective nature of his descriptions, create a total effect of warning the reader that most so-called “Ninsei works” were potentially fakes. As did many of the earlier authors, Morse also mentions the prevalence of imitations of Ninsei (*Catalogue* 219). But the tone of his statement is less accusing: Morse clarifies that such pieces have been produced since the time of Ninsei, not only in modern days, as “...from that time [when Ninsei freely imparted his methods to many Kyoto kilns] to the present, imitations have been attempted bearing the forged mark Ninsei” (*Catalogue* 219), a point which no one had mentioned before. It is understood, therefore, that Morse’s goal was to simply distinguish Ninsei “imitations” from genuine works, rather than cursing the bad nature of modern potters and merchants as in the other publications.

At the same time, the highly critical manner in which Morse examines the genuineness of the Ninsei pieces in his collection can potentially be understood as his uncertainty towards the firm attribution of the authentic Ninsei pieces. Unlike the earlier publications, Morse’s catalogue contains images of all the pieces, displayed in cases. All the pieces catalogued in the Ninsei section are illustrated in the photographic image of “Case 33” with an accompanying diagram showing the catalogue numbers on the facing page (Morse *Catalogue* n.pag.) (fig. 27). Although it is hard to identify each piece due to the crowded manner of the arrangement in the case and the small size of each object, the reader would be able to grasp an idea about the appearance of the pieces attributed to Ninsei.

Morse's ambiguity is, however, indicated in the four Ninsei pieces selected in the other featured image. Two tea bowls and two tea caddies,⁷⁷ each with a caption of "Ninsei," are shown in Plate XXIII (Morse *Catalogue* n.pag.) (fig. 28). This selection demonstrates Morse's idea of the genuine quality of Ninsei pieces. According to this image, he apparently saw the genuineness of Ninsei in the simple and elegant form, and when decorated, the fine, discreet decoration with natural motifs of plants and flowers in polychrome overglaze enamel. Compared to the examples illustrated in the earlier publications, it can be said that Morse's idea of Ninsei is closer to what is prevalent today. The problem is, however, that two of the items he identifies as genuine would not be considered so today, as they bear marks attributed today to Kiyomizu ware, not Ninsei.⁷⁸ The confusion in the idea of what were authentic Ninsei works, even in the depictions by a leading expert like Morse, indicates that the idea itself was still being negotiated at the time. In addition, the fact that Morse does not clearly articulate his idea of the genuineness of Ninsei in the texts may suggest that he himself was aware of the ambiguity.

1920s and after: emphasis on rarity

The already heightened significance of Ninsei as the foremost potter of Japan and the rarity of genuine pieces by him were further enhanced by publications after the 1920s. An example is the British Museum's *A Guide to the Pottery & Porcelain of the Far East* (1924,

⁷⁷ The four pieces are: no. 3034 and 3040 (tea bowls) and no. 3037 and 3039 (tea caddies).

⁷⁸ This confusion may have been caused from the fact that the Chinese character for "sei" of Ninsei's name is the same as the "kiyo" of Kiyomizu, as used in the mark. However, this mixed-up is not entirely a surprise, because in Kurokawa's *Kōgei Shiryō*, Kiyomizu ware is considered to be directly derived from Ninsei, to claim the status of Ninsei as the father of the entire ceramic industry in Kyoto.

1937, and 1948) written by R. L. Hobson (1872 – 1941). This publication describes the former A. W. Franks collection of Japanese ceramics at the British Museum.⁷⁹ The descriptions of Ninsei found on pages 139-140 basically follow earlier publications such as *L'art japonais*, but in a more reserved manner: Hobson states that Ninsei is a potter who developed “a national style of decoration which became typical of Japanese pottery” (140; ed. 1, my emphasis). At the same time, Hobson further emphasizes the rarity of genuine Ninsei pieces to the degree that they are “virtually unknown out of Japan” (140; ed. 1). While he states that the British Museum has “specimens of his style of enameled decoration” displayed in the two cases in the gallery (140; ed. 1), no image of a Ninsei piece can be found in this publication. This may suggest that the previous attribution to Ninsei of the pieces described in Franks’ earlier publication was no longer agreed in the Museum by 1924, due to the emphasis of the rarity of genuine Ninsei works. The contents of this section in the *Guide* did not change until the third edition, published in 1948.

The Ninsei narrative within Western publications on Japanese ceramics was developed to elevate his status as the foremost potter of Japan, and further as the national potter, by the early twentieth century. While Ninsei’s high reputation prevailed, when it comes to examination of actual pieces, most of the authors were ambiguous about what genuine Ninsei pieces look like. Along with the fact that numerous copies and fakes of Ninsei works were circulated, the rarity of genuine Ninsei pieces became inevitably heightened and overemphasized.

⁷⁹ It was originally Franks’ private collection. As mentioned earlier, Franks himself published *A Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery* in 1876, although Hobson does not refer to it.

Conclusion

During the period from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1910s, when Van Horne was collecting his Japanese ceramic objects, the idea of what constituted authentically Japanese ceramics and the significance of Ninsei pieces within the history of Japanese ceramics were still being actively created and negotiated, both in Japan and in the West within the socio-cultural landscape at that time. In Japan, within the national project of modernization, the establishment processes of the system of art, including the historiography of art, became highly politicized. Under these circumstances in the early Meiji period, exported Japanese cultural objects were assigned the role of gaining the political, economic, and cultural recognition of the Western imperial powers. Ceramics were one of the essential items of economic and cultural exchange between Japan and the West from the beginning of the Japanese modernization project, as exemplified in the high popularity of export ceramics at the international expositions and in the Western passion for *japonisme*. Despite their popularity in the West, *kōgei*, or crafts, which included ceramics, had to find a way to maintain their status vis-à-vis *bijutsu*—fine arts—as the hierarchy within the art system was established in Japan. It was within these politicized cultural conditions that the idea of Nonomura Ninsei as an individual artist-potter was elevated. In Japan, the narrative of Ninsei as the Father of Kyoto ceramics was enhanced, and by the mid-twentieth century he became the representative potter of Japan, with multiple works designated as national treasures.

In the West, as a wider variety of Japanese ceramics became available on the market from the mid-1870s, the definition of Japanese ceramics constantly expanded, and the idea of what authentic Japanese ceramics were shifted. The shifts were always a result of mutual interactions between Western demand and Japanese supply, never a one-sided projection of

Western ideas onto the objects. Reflecting these conditions surrounding Japanese ceramics as a whole, as well as the nationalistic social environment of the time, the descriptions of Ninsei by Western scholars further elevated his status from the Father of Kyoto ware to “the national potter.” At the same time, however, few actually had a concrete idea of what a genuine Ninsei work should be. The fact that countless imitations of Ninsei pieces flooded the Western market inevitably resulted in highly emphasized claims of the rarity of genuine Ninsei works.

When Van Horne acquired his Ninsei tea bowl in 1897, Ninsei’s name and his status as a master potter of the national style of ceramics was well known among Western collectors, but the idea surrounding the authenticity of his works was still highly ambiguous. While Van Horne had in total twenty-four pieces attributed to Ninsei, his interest in this potter fluctuated over the course of his collecting life. On acquiring the Ninsei tea bowl in 1897, Van Horne apparently believed it was genuine, although his descriptions of the piece in his hand-written catalogues remain minimal. As I will discuss in the next chapter, Van Horne was more interested in the classifiable aspect of Japanese ceramics than their individual aesthetic quality. The significance of the Ninsei tea bowl within the Van Horne collection was thus vague and not as high as it would be considered today. The fact that Van Horne did not find significance in his Ninsei tea bowl, however, does not necessarily mean that the collector lacked the *proper* knowledge to evaluate this piece. Instead, knowledge surrounding Japanese ceramics and Ninsei, itself was still being created during Van Horne’s collecting life from the 1880s to 1910s and was thus yet to be fixed, as the detailed examination of the first phase of meaning formation of the Japanese ceramics in this chapter has revealed. By cross-referencing the construction processes of the definition and historiography of Japanese

ceramics in Japan and in the West, it becomes clear that the actual mechanisms of knowledge-production lay in highly complex mutual references and influences between the two sides.

The ambiguous position of the Ninsei tea bowl within the Van Horne collection, along with the enduring influence of the Ninsei myth in Japanese art history even today, would later create a perceptual gap in which the Ninsei tea bowl became lodged. At issue was not merely the question of the Ninsei tea bowl's authenticity: there was also the problem of its relationship with the Van Horne collection of Japanese ceramics as a whole, which itself would fall into an interpretational gap between its high reputation during the collector's lifetime and its later low reputation. As I will explain in the next chapter, the interpretational shift was originated from the collection's distinctiveness remained unnoticed. It was in fact concealed by the idea of a Western collection of non-Western objects perceived from the notion of fixed authenticity.

Chapter Two: Van Horne's Relationship with his Japanese Ceramics and the Reception of the Collection During his Lifetime and Beyond

Introduction

In Chapter One I examined the ways in which the idea of “authentic Japanese ceramics” were constantly renegotiated as such items were circulated within the growing global cultural economy from the mid-nineteenth century, and how the “Ninsei myth” was constructed within these shifting notions of authenticity. The period from the 1880s to 1915, when Van Horne was establishing his Japanese ceramic collection, coincided with these negotiations. The transitional nature of the formation process of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection eventually contributed to the interpretation gap of this collection from “one of the best in the world” (during the collector’s lifetime) to “art historically less significant” (today), as well as the long-lasting misidentification of the Ninsei tea bowl, through the epistemological disjuncture between the imagined notion of fixed authenticity and the actual meaning-formation process, which is highly contingent.

Van Horne’s distinctive manner of collecting was another factor for the creation of meaning shift of this collection, which I examine in detail in the following. In recent studies of collection, the motive and purpose of individual collectors have often been interpreted as “the need [that] people feel to create a world of their own, which they can control,” and “an opportunity for the construction and communication of an identity” (Rovers 160). Jean Baudrillard argues that collected objects constitute a system which refers back to collectors as a source of their subjectivity and identity (7). In particular, Western collections of non-Western objects in the nineteenth century are analyzed as a reflection of colonial ideologies,

including Orientalism, in which the subject's identity, desire and domination is manifested. The act of collecting is understood as rational and objective, and as an exercise of control over Other cultures (Ter Keurs 4).⁸⁰

However, looking at a private collection as a mere space for the collector's ideological identity-formation considerably reduces the complex and contingent nature of her or his motive and the actual establishing processes of the collection. This is because, in the first place, the notion of identity is itself highly ambiguous and ever-shifting. More importantly, it is because the process of acquiring objects relies not only on the collector's personal view and taste, but also on various external factors such as market trends, availability, dealers' marketing strategies, access to the latest knowledge on the objects, opinions and advice from dealers and fellow enthusiasts, and personal and financial situations. These factors are in turn informed by the broader socio-political and economic environments surrounding collecting.

In this chapter I therefore take an approach from which the collection is understood as an unsettled arena wherein a "complex mesh of interactions" (Gosden and Larson 240) takes place, rather than as a fixed entity. This approach enables us to reveal the peculiar nature of Van Horne's relationship with the objects he collected. The characteristics of his collection are further brought into sharp relief when compared to other similar collections of the time: unlike his fellow collectors, Van Horne was more interested in the actual objects in his hands than in the ideas projected onto them, be it a desire to own the world or a sense of mission to

⁸⁰ For a discussion on collecting Asian objects solely from the perspective of Orientalism, see Chang "Collecting Asia." Chang's more recent publication, *Travel, Collecting*, however, attempts to challenge the "affirmative and occasionally celebratory approach to the work of chosen individuals [collectors]" (5).

save a vanishing tradition. In a sense, Van Horne was looking at the very “thingness” of the objects (Brown 4), beyond the ideas associated with them.

Collectors are both receivers and producers of the meaning and value of objects, projecting their subjectivity in interpreting objects multiple times as both consumers and producers of the objects’ value.⁸¹ As Van Horne interacted with dealers and fellow collectors he was not merely receiving information: he himself became the source of meaning and value for his Japanese ceramics. As his Japanese ceramic collection was established and known to the public, Van Horne’s social status as a railway baron served as the major source of its high reputation, more so than the actual items in the collection. In this simple public view, in turn, the unique, intimate relationship between Van Horne and his objects became obscured, and was ultimately forgotten after his death. The meaning of this collection would then be re-interpreted solely from the broadly shared idea of authenticity, shifting to aesthetic quality in the early twentieth century.

In the following, I first review the details of the establishment processes of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection from the early 1880s to 1915, based on analysis of his multi-volume, hand-written catalogues. During the peak period of his collecting, between late 1892 and 1903, Van Horne’s foremost interest was in the classifiable aspect of various Japanese ceramics made for domestic use, and in the act of identifying the regional kilns where individual pieces were made. Keeping a diversity and quantity of objects was thus more important for him than appreciating the aesthetic quality of individual pieces, although a slight shift in his interests towards the aesthetic can be observed in his later days of

⁸¹ Bal describes this circular function of a collector as “double-focaliser” (“Telling objects” 109-110).

collecting. Van Horne's perception towards his pieces attributed to Ninsei fluctuated throughout his collecting life.

Second, I examine the complex nature of the relationship between Van Horne and the objects he collected. How Van Horne treated ceramic objects from the newly emerging country of Japan can be understood, on the one hand, from his social status and the social conditions of Montreal in the late nineteenth century, which was strongly linked to Victorian Britain. As a white male Anglophone railway baron in Montreal, who perceived himself as a builder of the young nation of Canada, Van Horne's collecting activities can be considered from a colonial perspective, in which Japanese objects were possessed, studied, and depicted by the West. A close examination suggests, however, that there was another aspect: Van Horne's intimate connection with and attentiveness to the materiality of Japanese ceramics through the sense of touch indicates that his candid interest was in the objects in his hands, rather than in ideological ideas projected onto them. After Van Horne's death, however, this sense of tactility was eliminated from interpretations of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection. This was one of the moments where the meaning-shift of this collection emerged.

Next, I investigate the establishing process of the Van Horne collection from the ways in which he interacted with other people, who served as providers of objects and of information. Van Horne's frequent exchanges of knowledge and objects with fellow collector Edward S. Morse demonstrate the latter's considerable influence on Van Horne's perception of Japanese ceramics. The influence of art dealers was crucial too—both positively and negatively—since Van Horne never went to Japan himself, and thus acquired his objects through them. I examine Van Horne's relationship with dealers based in Paris (Siegfried

Bing and Hayashi Tadamasa) and in the U.S. (Matsuki Bunkio, Shugio Hiromichi, and Yamanaka and Company).

I then compare the Van Horne collection of Japanese ceramics with four other collections established around the same time, namely the collections of Sir Donald Alexander Smith (First Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal; hereafter Lord Strathcona) in Montreal, A.W. Franks in London, Edward S. Morse in Boston, and Charles Lang Freer in Detroit. The comparison, which focuses on three aspects—variety or selectivity (in other words, quantity or quality); a sense of mission; and the collector’s idea about “what is authentically Japanese”—reveals the distinctive nature of the Van Horne collection, and its transitional position from the classifiable to the aesthetic.

Finally, I examine the way in which the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection was received and interpreted by the public during his lifetime and beyond by analyzing various publications. I show that the complex nature of the Van Horne collection was hard to for the public to understand, partly because few people knew exactly what he was collecting, and partly because his social status as a member of the wealthy business elite functioned to typify the public perception of the collection.

2-1: Overview of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection

Sir William Cornelius Van Horne was an American-born Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) official. He started his career as a telegrapher in 1857 in his birthplace of Illinois, but with his capability and enthusiasm he climbed all the way up in the railway industry, becoming an executive of the CPR, then its general manager in 1882 and finally its president

in 1888. He oversaw the completion of the trans-Canada railroad in 1885, and launched steamship services between Canada and Asia in 1891. After resigning the CPR presidency in 1899, he was involved in railway building in Cuba and other enterprises. Van Horne is always described as a man of immense physical vitality, with wide-ranging talents, countless interests and a passion for bigness (Regehr). In business, he earned a reputation as a confident, decisive, sharp-minded master. In private, he was always remembered as a delightful companion. Van Horne's dynamic personality is known through descriptions by a number of people who knew him: he "was blessed with a rare physical endowment. He was tall and massively built, and carried himself with the native dignity of a courteous, high-bred gentleman" (Vaughan 407); and "was one of the most striking and picturesque figures among the great collectors of America," with a "big, burly figure overflowing with vitality" (Fry 39).

Van Horne's Western painting collection

In his day, Van Horne's painting collection was regarded as the most prominent in Canada and beyond. His wide-ranging collection included works by old Dutch and Flemish masters as well as French, English, Spanish, and contemporary American and Canadian artists.⁸² His interest in Post-Impressionism, such as Cézanne and Toulouse-Lautrec, is noteworthy, since he was the only collector in Montreal to "venture beyond the Impressionists" (Brooke 22). Van Horne's independent and energetic character was reflected

⁸² Van Horne's painting collection included works by Rembrandt, Hals, Delacroix, Corot, Doumier, Constable, Turner, Velasquez, and Goya. Thirty-eight paintings and fourteen drawings are now housed in the MMFA. For the detailed study of the van Horne painting collection, see Brooke.

in the manner in which he collected art as well—some art critics agree that Van Horne had “a definite taste of his own” (Conway 142), and his collection was “as varied and odd as his tastes” (Fry 40). He devoted as much of his considerable energy and ambition to collecting as to his immense business concerns. According to Walter Vaughan, Van Horne had little faith in the reliability of expert opinions and always went with his own taste, as he thought that “pictures are inherently good or bad, and it doesn’t matter a damn whether a great man painted the poor one or an unknown man painted the fine one” (qtd. in Vaughan 292-3). He could never “be persuaded to buy a painting he did not like, though a dealer might urge it upon him, saying that it was a bargain, and rare, and well worth having” (Collard 256). Collecting by “his own taste” is also observed in his other collections: Van Horne collected a great variety of things from different cultures, including ceramics from China, Persia, and Spain; oriental rugs; Chinese furniture; and old ship models, in addition to various Japanese objects.

Van Horne’s interest in various Japanese objects

It is assumed that Van Horne’s interest in collecting a variety of works of art began through his frequent business trips from his first CPR post in Winnipeg to Montreal and New York from 1881. In a letter to his wife, Lucy Adeline (fig. 29), dated January 19, 1881, for example, he wrote, “I found time to buy a picture for Addie [Van Horne’s daughter]” in New York.⁸³ While it is not known what kind of picture he purchased for his daughter, it is plausible that he might have bought a picture or two for himself too. Van Horne’s interest in

⁸³ File 14 “1876-1882,” Vol. 87, R7719-26-4-E “Family Papers, Lady Van Horne, correspondence received,” Sir William Van Horne Fonds, LAC.

Japanese objects gradually came to stand out from his collecting activities in general. After staying in Winnipeg for one year, Van Horne moved to Montreal in November 1882, first by himself, followed by his family in 1883. Montreal was the centre of commerce in Canada at that time, and was culturally connected to the New England area in the U.S., home to a number of prominent Japanophiles.⁸⁴ As things Japanese became widely available in New York and Boston after the Philadelphia International Exposition in 1876, it is plausible that Van Horne became interested in and began purchasing Japanese objects in the early 1880s in Montreal or New York, cities where more Japanese objects were available.

The earliest record of Van Horne purchasing a Japanese object is from an auction sale of the collection of Richard Austin Robertson,⁸⁵ from Thomas E. Kirby in New York on February 12 and 13, 1883.⁸⁶ There, Van Horne bought four Imari pieces, one item of Satsuma ware, and two other Japanese ceramic objects, in addition to a few Chinese ceramics. Van Horne wrote from New York to his wife on February 20, 1883 that he had “found time one afternoon to attend the sale of a celebrated porcelain collection and bought a few things for the mantiso [sic] and shipped them to Milwaukee,” where his family had still lived at the time.⁸⁷ This letter almost certainly refers to the items he purchased from the Robertson collection, bought for the new house in Montreal to which the family would soon move. He carefully instructed his wife that it was “[b]etter not to open it until we move.”⁸⁸

⁸⁴ For example, John La Farge, William Sturgis Bigelow, Edward S. Morse, and Earnest Fenollosa.

⁸⁵ R. Austin Robertson was one of three founders of American Art Association, along with James F. Sutton and Thomas E. Kirby, established in NY in 1883.

⁸⁶ “Invoices: Porcelains, Bric-a-brac, Painting, Etchings.” Box-Folder 13-1, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archives.

⁸⁷ File 15 “1883-1893,” Vol. 87, R7719-26-4-E “Family Papers, Lady Van Horne, correspondence received,” Sir William Van Horne Fonds, LAC.

⁸⁸ See Note 87.

As seen in this occasion, Van Horne's early interest in Japanese ceramics inclined to decorative porcelain made for export, derived from his intention for interior decoration.

His interest in Japanese objects was not limited to ceramics, but was highly diverse throughout his collecting life, including bronze objects, lacquerware, *inrō* (small cases for seals and medicines), *netsuke* (miniature sculptural objects), ivory carvings, *ranma* (wooden transoms), and arms and armor such as swords, *tsuba* (sword guards), and arrow heads.⁸⁹ One of the earliest invoices from W. Scott and Son in Montreal, dated September 11, 1883, for instance, shows that he obtained three bronze objects and a Japanese punch-bowl (whose material is unknown).⁹⁰ According to an inventory taken by Van Horne himself on November 25, 1898, a number of Japanese objects were to be found throughout his Montreal residence.⁹¹ For example, in the morning room were a “Japanese black lacquer cabinet inlaid” and “Japanese brocade *obi* (sash).” In the dining and breakfast rooms were a “Japanese ceremonial tea-set—lacquered stand”; a “Japanese tea-set—12 plates, 1 tea pot, 1 bowl, sugar bowl, 12 cups, and 12 saucers”; and “24 Japanese (Banko) dishes (orchid décor).” In the lower hall were a “Japanese large gong and stand,” and in the middle hall was a “Large silk embroidered wall hanging—Japanese.”⁹²

Ceramics certainly had special significance to Van Horne however. At the end of this 1898 inventory, Van Horne noted that “Porcelain collections are separately catalogued,”⁹³

⁸⁹ See Note 86. Some of these objects are now housed at the MMFA, for example, a lacquer mask (1944.Ee.9), *netsuke* (1945.Ee.4 and 5), and swords (1944.K.5a-b and 1944.K.6a-b), as well as at the ROM, for example, over eighty arrow heads (944.16.39-.121), a helmet (944.16.38), and stirrups (948.35.1.a-b).

⁹⁰ See Note 86.

⁹¹ “Inventory” taken by Van Horne on November 25, 1898. Box-Folder 11-2, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archives.

⁹² See Note 91.

⁹³ See Note 91.

which demonstrates his different attitude towards his ceramic collections to the objects recorded in this inventory. In any case, the variety of Japanese objects Van Horne collected demonstrates his wide-ranging interests in Japanese things available in the West at that time, except for *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints, the most popular genre among Western collectors. As a skilled amateur painter himself and a collector of Western paintings, it is interesting that Van Horne was not as keen to collect Japanese pictorial art: he owned only two Japanese woodblock prints, probably by Utagawa Hiroshige, along with some twenty hanging scroll and framed paintings.⁹⁴

Van Horne's Japanese ceramic collection

From his early, eclectic collection of Japanese objects started around 1883, Van Horne's interest in ceramics gradually grew, probably from around 1887. As shall be examined, Van Horne kept multiple volumes of hand-written and illustrated catalogues of his Japanese ceramic collection starting in 1893, which are now reserved in the archives of the MMFA and the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO). Since the actual objects remaining today at the ROM and MMFA represent only one quarter of the entire Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection, these catalogues (hereafter, collectively referred as the "Van Horne Catalogues") provide a useful insight into his collection. In the catalogues, Van Horne recorded serial numbers up to "1547." This number does not necessarily correspond to the exact total number of pieces that Van Horne collected, as he constantly renewed and re-numbered his collection. However it seems safe to say the size of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic

⁹⁴ "Collection of WC Van Horne: Japanese Graphic Arts," Box-Folder 13-3; and lists of art objects, Box-Folder 4-11. Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archives.

collection was about 1,500 items in total, given the number of pieces recorded in the inventory of Van Horne's artistic property, presumably taken shortly after his death in 1915.⁹⁵

Components of the Van Horne Catalogues

The Van Horne Catalogues were all written and illustrated by Van Horne himself, and consist of six volumes of three types:

- 1) Four working catalogues, fully illustrated, most likely consecutive;
- 2) One working catalogue, partly illustrated, not complete; and
- 3) One "fair copy," with partial colour illustrations, not complete.

Details of the catalogues are as follows:

- 1) Four volumes of working catalogues, fully-illustrated (hereafter referred to as Catalogues 1, 2, 3, and 4):⁹⁶
 1. Titled "*D.B.*," dated January 1, 1893, 174 pages, with black and white illustrations (fig. 4). Containing items numbered 1 – 719. Recorded acquisition dates from 1892 to 1897, but including a considerable number of non-dated acquisitions, presumably earlier than 1892.

⁹⁵ "Inventory of the artistic property and furnishings contained in the residence of the late Sir William Van Horne, 513 Sherbrooke Street." Box-Folder 7-1, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archives. This inventory itself is not dated, but it is most likely recorded in 1915.

⁹⁶ Catalogue 1 and 2 are now at the MMFA archive; and 3 and 4 are at the AGO archive (Box-Folders 9-4 and 12-2, Van Horne Family Fonds).

2. Titled “A.B.,” not dated, 120 pages (covering only the first half of the entire note), with black and white illustrations (fig. 30). Containing items numbered 727 – 1265. Acquisition dates from 1898 to 1899. (The second half of this volume, starting backward, is a catalogue of paintings from Van Horne collection, dated December 6, 1892.)
3. Not titled, not dated, entries cover twenty-four pages (the rest of the notebook remains blank), with black and white illustrations (fig. 31). Containing items numbered 1267 – 1331. Acquisition dates from 1900 to 1901.
4. Titled “C.B.,” dated 1903, entries cover seventy-two pages (the rest of the notebook remain blank), with colour illustrations (fig. 32). Containing items numbered 1332 – 1547. Many items are without acquisition dates. Recorded dates are mainly from 1902 to 1905, with random insertion of earlier acquisitions in 1890, 1892, 1894, and 1895.

Throughout these four volumes, each object is assigned a serial number, roughly in chronological order,⁹⁷ accompanied by a brief description, the source and the date of acquisition, cost, comments by other people if applicable, and a small illustration (about 1.5 - 3 cm high) drawn by Van Horne himself. Catalogues 1 to 4 were repeatedly revised, re-numbered, and re-organized, sometimes as a result of donations or exchanges, and, occasionally, for the purpose of re-categorization of objects by type rather than by date of acquisition. As a result, the serial numbers do not always correspond to the chronological

⁹⁷ The beginning of the first catalogue (Catalogue 1) is not chronological. Numbers #1 to #90 are dedicated to tea caddies. Van Horne Catalogue 1 “D.B.,” MMFA archive.

order of acquisition. Frequent revisions can be observed in Catalogues 1 and 2, fewer in Catalogue 3, and nearly none in Catalogue 4.

The serial numbers were recorded not only in the catalogues, but also on the objects themselves, with paper stickers on which corresponding numbers are printed (fig. 33). Some objects have two different stickers, one pink and the other white, bearing different numbers. It is certain that the pink ones correspond to the serial numbers in the Van Horne catalogues, and thus I assume that Van Horne himself applied these stickers on the objects. Some objects also bear inscribed numbers in red or white pigment, with the numbers corresponding to those in the catalogues and on the pink stickers. The white stickers were most likely applied when the collection was divided by Van Horne's heir in 1944.

The scope of Van Horne's Japanese ceramic collection observed from these catalogues is wide-ranging: from export wares of Imari-style Arita ware or Satsuma *nishikide* ware with multi-coloured enamel decoration, many of which he collected from 1883 to 1892,⁹⁸ to simple and unassuming pieces made in various regional kilns throughout Japan for domestic use, which he collected intensively after December 1892 until around 1905. In terms of forms, his major interest lay in utensils made for the tea practice of *chanoyu*, such as tea bowls, tea caddies, tea jars, and water jars. In addition, Van Horne seems to have had a fondness for bottle-shaped objects, such as sake flasks and vases.

⁹⁸ According to the inventory taken presumably in 1915, Van Horne possessed approximately one hundred items of Imari or Satsuma export wares. See Note 95.

- 2) A working catalogue, partly illustrated (fig. 34): This one-volume, partly illustrated working catalogue is titled “*Notes on Japanese pottery and Porcelain in the Collection of W.C. Van Horne*” (not dated, possibly 1892).⁹⁹

The serial numbers in this version (1 – 858) mostly correspond with Catalogues 1 and 2 mentioned above. As the title indicates, this volume contains more descriptions and explanations of each object than the fully-illustrated versions. I assume that Van Horne had initially intended to create two different versions of his catalogues: one with concise information and illustrations to look through (Catalogues 1 and 2), and the other with detailed information without illustrations (this version).¹⁰⁰ The explanatory nature of this version can be observed from the following notes appearing on the front page under the title, regarding the information provided by other people:

Abbreviations

“M” refers to Prof. E.S. Morse

“S” H. Shugio, Washington DC

“A” S. Akusawa, Tokio Japan

and where these occur in no other connection they indicate that the piece has been identified by one or the other.¹⁰¹

Edward S. Morse, Shugio Hiromichi (1853 – 1927) and Akusawa Susumu (1857 – ?)¹⁰² were regular informants for Van Horne’s Japanese ceramic collection, and their comments are

⁹⁹ Box-Folder 9-1, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO archives.

¹⁰⁰ In this version, only twenty pieces of 858 are illustrated in black and white.

¹⁰¹ “*Notes on Japanese pottery and Porcelain in the Collection of W.C. Van Horne.*” See Note 99.

¹⁰² Edward S. Morse was an American zoologist and ethnographer who had lived in Japan. He had an extensive collection of some 6,000 Japanese ceramics. Shugio Hiromichi and Akusawa Susumu were Japanese art dealers based in Japan (Shugio temporarily stayed in Washington D.C. in 1893, and had business in New York).

observed throughout the six catalogues. This kind of explanatory note, however, appears only in this version. While comments by Matsuki Bunkio (1867 – 1940) are also frequently quoted in addition to these three people, his name is not mentioned here.¹⁰³

Although this version and Catalogues 1 and 2 were presumably recorded around the same time, there are discrepancies in the information on certain pieces. As this explanatory version is also heavily revised, tracking all the revisions is almost impossible and so is cross-checking these two versions. It seems that, while trying to catalogue the same objects in two different catalogues, Van Horne did not maintain full coherence. This may explain why this explanatory version did not continue after the item number 858, unlike the above working catalogues.

3) A partially colour-illustrated catalogue (fig. 35): This one-volume version is titled in pencil “*List of Japanese ceramics*” (not dated, possibly 1895-6).¹⁰⁴

This catalogue is distinguished from the others because each object is elaborately illustrated in colour. The descriptions are simple and short, written in bigger and clearer letters, with purchase costs in Morse code. Considering the format, Van Horne might have intended this version to be a “fair copy” of the whole catalogues. However, entries are not consistent and only a small part of his collection, about 380 pieces, is catalogued in this version.¹⁰⁵ Van Horne does not seem to have managed to complete this version either, as the entries stop at the item numbered 686. As mentioned above, the fourth working catalogue

¹⁰³ The reason for Matsuki not appearing here is yet to be investigated.

¹⁰⁴ Box-Folder 9-2, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO archives.

¹⁰⁵ Out of 172 pages with item numbers (four numbers a page), only 95 pages in the middle, from items #306 to #686 (from pages 77 and 172) contain detailed information. From pages 1 to 76, although the serial numbers are written down, either only the names of the kiln or maker are recorded, or remain blank.

(Catalogue 4), dated 1903, is also colour-illustrated and has prices in Morse code. Van Horne may have created Catalogue 4 as the sequel to this version.¹⁰⁶ Interestingly, the source of acquisition of the pieces in this particular catalogue is mostly Matsuki (although dates of acquisition are not mentioned). While Van Horne acquired objects from many other dealers as well, this catalogue may indicate a stronger influence from Matsuki and the objects acquired from him on the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection around the time when this version of catalogue was created, which is assumed to have been around 1895 – 1896, slightly after Catalogue 1.¹⁰⁷

Analysis of Van Horne Catalogues

The scope and size of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection represent the collector's strong interest in the classifiable aspect of Japanese ceramic. While a detailed analysis of the Van Horne catalogues demonstrates his shifting interests over the course of his thirty-year collecting life, his primary passion lay in researching and identifying the regional kilns where the individual pieces were made. This trait was especially conspicuous during the peak periods of his collecting, from December 1892 to around 1903. The way the catalogues were recorded from 1893 on and repeatedly revised with information and comments obtained from his informants demonstrates the major direction of his interest in

¹⁰⁶ Catalogue 4, however, contains longer descriptions written in less clear manner. This is the reason why this has been considered one of the working catalogues, rather than another fair copy. I discuss the detail of Catalogue 4 in relation to Van Horne's increasing interest in the aesthetic quality of individual objects later in this section.

¹⁰⁷ This is because the serial numbers in this catalogue correspond to the revised numbers in Catalogue 1. Also the correction note dated 1897 on #309 in the explanatory catalogue, does not appear in this version—this indicates that Van Horne started this version before 1897.

the classifiable aspect of Japanese ceramics. While Van Horne also drew fine small illustrations for each piece on the catalogues, they were more for the purpose of recording than representing his fascination with the beauty of the individual objects.

To fulfil his interest in researching the objects he collected, Van Horne often purchased ceramics from dealers in bulk at low prices. For him, it was not necessary to examine the aesthetic quality of each object he was to acquire: whether it was classifiable or not was more important. This attitude towards collecting may echo the scientific collection of botany and zoology, aiming for taxonomy. Van Horne's collecting Japanese ceramics from the aspect of scientific classification is not surprising, because he had previously been an avid collector of fossils.¹⁰⁸ Van Horne shared his passion for researching Japanese ceramics with Edward S. Morse, an American zoologist, who also amassed a large collection of diverse Japanese ceramics strictly from the perspective of scientific specimen gathering.¹⁰⁹ However, compared to Morse, Van Horne's approach was less exhaustive. Van Horne did not systematically categorize his Japanese ceramic collection: the organization of his catalogue basically remained chronological, and grouping by type as seen in the Morse collection was not the main purpose.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, towards his later days of collecting, after the 1900s, Van Horne seems to have shifted his interest to the aesthetic quality of individual objects. This ambiguous nature of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection,

¹⁰⁸ Van Horne had created an extensive collection of fossils, which was eventually bequeathed to the University of Chicago, and later transferred from Walker Museum to the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, in the 1960s (Brooke 22). According to Knowels, he stopped fossil collecting in the 1880s to turn to Japanese ceramics (295).

¹⁰⁹ See Note 75.

¹¹⁰ In early days of collection, Van Horne tried to categorize by type as well, such as tea caddies (which Van Horne called "tea jars") or Satsuma ware, but this method did not continue. Van Horne Catalogue 1, MMFA archive.

along with many other factors, eventually played a crucial role in creating the gap in its later interpretation.

The earliest record of Van Horne purchasing Japanese ceramics dates to 1883. At that time, he was furnishing his new house in Montreal and the types of Japanese ceramics he acquired inclined to decorative export wares. As discussed in Chapter One, such items were highly popular and much sought in the West until the 1880s, reflecting the Japanese government's promotion of export wares as well as the needs in the West for industrial design reformation. A shift in collectors' interest to more domestic types of objects started in Europe in the early 1880s, and Van Horne seems to have followed a similar path, albeit slightly later.

When situated in the broader context of collecting Japanese objects in North America in the late nineteenth century, it is notable that Van Horne started his Japanese ceramic collection fairly early. Only a few North Americans began collecting before him, including Edward S. Morse, who started in 1878; William T. Walters, who began in 1876 (at the Philadelphia Exposition); and Thomas E. Waggaman (1839-1906), who probably started in the 1880s. Charles Lang Freer, one of the most well-known American collectors and the founder of the Freer Gallery of Art, a Smithsonian Institute Asian art museum in Washington D.C., started collecting Japanese ceramics only in 1892 (Lawton 59). It is likely, however, that Van Horne was not even aware that his first purchase of Japanese ceramics in 1883 was to be the beginning of a large and varied collection. The Van Horne Catalogues do not clearly record the starting point of his serious collecting either, although it is vaguely indicated as possibly in 1887 or 1888. This fact implies the ambiguity of the beginning of a collection, as Mieke Bal argues ("*Telling Objects*" 105-110).

The earliest part of Catalogue 1 is very hard to decipher due to heavy revisions and re-numbering,¹¹¹ especially from the pieces originally numbered 91 to 200 (fig. 36). What can be roughly observed after cross-checking with other materials is that items #91 to #304 seem to have been acquired between the late 1880s and 1890. Some of the entries, especially those acquired from Akusawa Susumu, a Japanese dealer in Tokyo, do not have dates, however. Among these early acquisitions mainly from Akusawa and the American Art Association (AAA) in New York, 152 of 214 pieces are colourfully decorated export ware of Imari, Satsuma, Kutani, or Nabeshima.¹¹² Some of these appear in Catalogue 4, dated 1903, where it is clearly indicated that they were acquired in the late 1880s to 1890, during the early days of Van Horne's collecting.¹¹³ It should be noted, however, that the entries are not strictly chronological in the first part of Catalogue 1: sixty-two pieces of domestic ceramics acquired later appear *before* these early export ware items. The fact that the domestic objects precede the early decorative ones in fact demonstrates the very reason why Van Horne started producing these catalogues at the beginning of 1893.

In December 1892, Van Horne purchased thirty-four pieces at once from Matsuki Bunkio, a Japanese dealer based in Salem and Boston, his first purchase from this dealer. These objects were considerably different from those Van Horne had collected before: a variety of forms and types of pieces made for domestic use, including sake bottles, bowls,

¹¹¹ The difficulty is also due to the fact that Catalogue 1 originally included entries of Chinese and Persian pottery as well, but at one point, Van Horne decided to remove them from this catalogue and the numbers originally assigned to those items were re-assigned to Japanese pieces.

¹¹² For example, #200 (white Satsuma bottle) and #280 and #281 (a pair of Hirado vases), were purchased from the AAA, dated March 1890.

¹¹³ Van Horne Catalogue 4, 8 and 10. Box-Folder 12-2, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archives. There also exist a few invoices for these export wares, from T.E. Kirby in NY in 1883 and 1887, and from Akusawa in around 1889. "Invoices: Porcelains, Bric-a-brac, Painting, Etchings." Box-Folder 13-1, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archives.

dishes, and tea pots from Karatsu, Bizen, Seto, Tamba, Soma, Shigaraki, Banko, or Kyoto. A few Raku ware tea bowls were also included. The fact that these pieces appear in the catalogue before the earlier acquisition of decorative export wares attests that Van Horne's new interest in a wider variety of types of Japanese ceramics was the catalyst for starting the catalogues, and, more importantly, that his primary interest shifted from the decorative quality of Japanese ceramics to researching a number of diverse objects.

Van Horne's new-found curiosity was, however, accompanied by a certain insecurity. Regarding the above thirty-four pieces, Van Horne wrote at the bottom of the page of the catalogue: "Note—all pieces purchased from B. Matsuki Dec. '92 approved by Prof. Morse."¹¹⁴ Van Horne still needed Morse's authentication for this particular purchase, perhaps because it was his first purchase from a young dealer. Also, because the objects purchased were different to those Van Horne had collected previously, he might have felt uncertain about them. This kind of note appears nowhere else in the catalogues, but indicates the distinctive impact of these pieces obtained from Matsuki in 1892, which marks the turning point in Van Horne's collecting activities for Japanese ceramics.

In late 1892 Van Horne became more devoted to his collecting activities in general: this coincides with the period when he began cataloguing his painting collection as well. As Janet Brooke explains, Van Horne might have "gained sufficient confidence as a collector to begin to catalogue his paintings in a notebook" (20) and he "auspiciously" titled this

¹¹⁴ Van Horne Catalogue 1, n.pag. MMFA Archive.

notebook “Catalogue of oil paintings at 6th December, 1892: this book contains only those which I regard as of superior class” (fig. 37).¹¹⁵

The entries in the Van Horne catalogues demonstrate that he constantly sought information on individual items, particularly regarding their place of origin, by asking his “informants,” whose details will be described later in this section. The original entries are often in ink, and the information obtained later is usually in pencil. For example, the entry for a tea bowl numbered 1198 in Catalogue 2 reads:

Karatsu tea bowl
AD 1680; \$10.00 ¹¹⁶

These notes are written in ink, indicating that they were the original information obtained upon purchase in 1899. Later, in 1900, Van Horne added in pencil:

Morse says (May 1900) Kioto/ Mat. [Matsuki] Jun 1900 thinks Kosobe &
says he has seen a better ... [illegible]¹¹⁷

This entry shows that neither Morse nor Matsuki agreed on the attribution of this tea bowl as Karatsu ware, originally provided by Yamanaka and Co., from whom Van Horne purchased this piece. It can be seen from this example that Van Horne’s interest in his objects did not end after he acquired them, and he continued to seek as much information as possible.¹¹⁸ Van Horne’s quest for information focused most on pieces with makers’ marks, either stamped or

¹¹⁵ As mentioned earlier, the second half of the notebook containing this painting catalogue is Catalogue 2 of his Japanese ceramics, starting backward.

¹¹⁶ Van Horne Catalogue 2, n.pag. MMFA Archive. This piece was purchased from Yamanaka in October 1899 as indicated in the margin.

¹¹⁷ Van Horne Catalogue 2, n.pag. MMFA Archive.

¹¹⁸ Valerie Knowles describes this attitude of Van Horne’s as “[w]hen seeking new finds, Van Horne sought precise information from every available source” (296).

incised, which demonstrates that Van Horne shared a similar interest with Morse in deciphering and identifying place of origin. For this Van Horne considered each piece meaningful and did not indicate any sense of hierarchy among the pieces in terms of quality. That he created and used these four working catalogues demonstrates that, for Van Horne, his Japanese ceramic collection was something to continue researching, rather than a group of objects merely to accumulate and display.

The notable characteristic of his catalogues also lies in its visuality—each entry is accompanied by a small illustration in ink drawn by Van Horne. Van Horne was a self-taught amateur artist and painting was one of his many hobbies throughout his lifetime. While the early illustrations are quick and rough, they become highly refined in later catalogues. Van Horne’s ability to extract the essence of the objects and his high level of skill in precise execution can be seen in these illustrations. In addition, in 1896, Van Horne produced a number of watercolour drawings of selected pieces from his Japanese ceramic collection (figs. 38a-c).¹¹⁹ In these intricate, objective depictions of individual pieces, one or two per sheet, he simply focuses on the details of individual pieces, with no background. These watercolours demonstrate Van Horne’s close engagement with his objects through objective recording based on close observation.

Visually recording collected objects was a trend in the late nineteenth century, both in the West and in Japan, when the notion of systematic, scientific collection emerged.¹²⁰

Publications of Japanese ceramic collections produced during this period shared a similar

¹¹⁹ Seventy-four of Van Horne’s watercolours are reserved at Box 27, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive, and one at the ROM (946x97.6). Each sheet signed and dated on the back as “W.C. Van Horne, 1896.” Van Horne also collected Chinese and Persian ceramics, but Japanese ceramics were apparently the only kind of ceramic objects chosen by him as a subject of his painting.

¹²⁰ For visuality in collections in late nineteenth century Japan, see Suzuki 171-197.

format and style, accompanied by a number of finely produced illustrations: for example, Ninagawa's *Kanko Zusetsu*,¹²¹ with its hand-coloured lithograph illustrations,¹²¹ Gonse's *L'art japonais*, published in Paris in 1883 with its colour lithograph illustrations, and the catalogue of the Morse collection in Boston in 1901, with its photographic illustrations. Van Horne also had some of his Japanese ceramic pieces photographed individually by the Notman Studio, although the dates of these photographs are unknown (fig. 39).¹²² These photographs were taken in a scientific manner, with minimal background or context, like the watercolours. A few of the photos are hand-coloured, possibly by Van Horne himself.

Van Horne continued collecting intensively between 1896 and 1900. In addition to his regular purchases from Matsuki, including the Ninsei tea bowl in 1897, Van Horne acquired a number of objects from Yamanaka & Company after 1898. He also dealt with other Japanese dealers such as Shugio Hiromichi, Naito Shoten, and K. Fukushima during this period.¹²³ Because diversity and quantity were important for Van Horne's research, he often acquired inexpensive objects in bulk. For example, the thirty-four pieces purchased from Matsuki in 1892 ranged from three to thirty dollars each, much less than the prices of the Satsuma pieces Van Horne had purchased from Akusawa earlier: for example, 315 dollars for a single Satsuma incense burner (numbered #201).¹²⁴ This tendency continued until late 1900.

¹²¹ Van Horne did own copies of seven volumes of *Kanko Zusetsu*. "Catalogue—Sir William Van Horne Library." Box-Folder 34-2, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive.

¹²² Box 23, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive. Photographs include some Chinese pieces as well. I have found no documents regarding the details of these photographs.

¹²³ Other minor sources mentioned in the Van Horne Catalogues are E. Greey (NY), Prof. J.K. Goodrich (Yokohama), K. Sano (NY), J.S. Inglis (NY), and Cottier & Co. (NY).

¹²⁴ Van Horne Catalogue 1, n.pag. MMFA Archive. This piece is now housed at the ROM (944.12.11).

From December 1900, Van Horne occasionally bought more expensive pieces, costing from fifty to 120 dollars each, along with lower-priced items.¹²⁵ After 1901, the number of acquisitions significantly declined. More importantly, from around 1903 Van Horne's interest in Japanese ceramics seems to have shifted slightly to aesthetic quality from research, according to the way he recorded his catalogues. The last volume of the working catalogues, Catalogue 4, dated 1903, appears to focus more on the formal quality of individual pieces. The format of the catalogue also appears much more organized than the earlier ones (fig. 32). While Catalogue 4 mainly records recent acquisitions after 1902, Van Horne occasionally inserts pieces acquired earlier. For example, from the beginning of the catalogue, from #1332 to #1354 are pieces acquired in 1901 or 1902: from #1355 to #1359, however, are those acquired from Akusawa sometime in the late 1880s (recorded as "188-").¹²⁶ These were Karatsu and Ninsei pieces originally recorded in Catalogue 1, numbered #270, #263, #257, and #358 respectively. Van Horne kept renumbering the items in his collection, and thus the insertion of these items is not surprising. It is notable, however, that further insertion from #1381 to #1396 included decorated export wares of Imari, Kutani, Nabeshima, and Hirado pieces, acquired from Akusawa earlier in 1889 – 1890. This is noteworthy because these export wares cannot be found after the earliest part of Catalogue 1 up to this point. Decorative Japanese ceramics in which Van Horne had lost interest in the early 1890s started re-appearing in his catalogues after 1902.

¹²⁵ For example, #1267 Old Satsuma bottle-vase bought from Naito cost seventy-five dollars. Van Horne Catalogue 3, n.pag. Box-Folder 9-4, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archives.

¹²⁶ "188-" possibly means 1887 or 1888, since he clearly notes the year 1889 for other pieces. Van Horne Catalogue 4, 8 and 10. Box-Folder 12-2, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archives.

Van Horne's renewed interest in decorative Japanese ceramics can also be found later in Catalogue 4. He acquired eight pieces from Hayashi Tadamasa (1851 – 1906), a leading dealer of Japanese art in Paris around 1903. They are porcelain vases, exquisitely formed and flawlessly glazed, made by two potter-artists of the Meiji period, Makuzu Kōzan (1842 – 1916) and “Takamoto [sic]” (most likely Takemoto Hayata (1842 – 1892)).¹²⁷ These pieces were exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, although Van Horne acquired them later. This type of refined porcelain was made exclusively for world expositions under the Meiji government's instruction in the late nineteenth century, a type of Japanese ceramic that Van Horne was not very keen on in the 1890s. Van Horne met Hayashi for the first time on July 28, 1898, when Hayashi visited Montreal on the way to New York.¹²⁸ By then, Hayashi was Commissioner of Japan for the Paris International Exposition in 1900 and was preoccupied with his duties. While it is not known exactly when Van Horne purchased the above pieces from Hayashi, it was likely after the Paris Exposition,¹²⁹ presumably around 1903.¹³⁰ The addition of these decorative export wares to his collection after the early 1900s suggests a slight shift in Van Horne's interests in Japanese ceramics, from classifiable to individual beauty.

Van Horne's last major acquisition was the eighty-one pieces from the Thomas E. Waggaman collection purchased through Matsuki in 1905. While this acquisition covered a

¹²⁷ Items #1410-1413, #1415-1417 are by Makuzu Kōzan, and #1418 and #1421 are by “Takamoto [sic],” all noted as “From T. Hayashi/ World Fair, Chicago.” #1413, a bottle vase, has an extra note “Makudsu's [sic] prize piece at Worlds Fair, Chicago.” Van Horne Catalogue 4, pp. 27-30. Box-Folder 12-2, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archives.

¹²⁸ Hayashi's letters to Van Horne, dated July 29 and August 12, 1898. File “Miscellaneous 1867-1915,” Vol. 87, R7719-26-4-E, Sir William Van Horne Fonds, LAC.

¹²⁹ In his letter to Van Horne on August 12, 1898, Hayashi mentions that “As soon as my business at the Exposition will permit, I will take my marked pottery and submit to your examination.” See Note 128.

¹³⁰ It is also possible that Van Horne purchased these pieces at the auction of Hayashi's collection on the closing of his shop in Paris in 1902 and 1903.

wide variety of types and kilns, the way he recorded them in Catalogue 4 was more organized and tidy, with the prices in Morse code, and with fewer additional comments or revisions.¹³¹ The more organized recording suggests a turn towards the aesthetic aspect of objects. No acquisition dated after 1906 is recorded in any of the Van Horne catalogues. It is clear that the early 1900s was the second turning point for Van Horne and his Japanese ceramic collection. Several reasons could be considered. First, Van Horne resigned the presidency of CPR in 1889 and started working on the Cuban national railway in 1900. The fact that he frequently traveled to Cuba might have meant that he had less time and energy to spare for his collections. Second, this coincided with the time when the pricing of Matsuki's objects increased, from around 1900. The higher pricing may have made Van Horne reconsider the direction of his collection, and start inserting earlier decorative pieces into his catalogues from around 1903. Matsuki's shift was, in turn, a reflection of the wider circumstances involved with collecting Japanese objects, which I discuss in detail later.

Although Van Horne stopped adding new objects to his collection in 1906, he continued re-organizing it. For him, "weeding" was part of his collecting activities, as stated in a letter to Sir Edward Clouston dated January 31, 1912, he wrote:

... there is no royal road in collecting things of which so few have accurate knowledge and everybody is bound to get stuck more or less, and I must confess to having had my full share of such experiences. Now that I have paid

¹³¹ The former Waggaman pieces are meticulously recorded in the Catalogue 4 as #1434-1514. Box-Folder 12-2, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archives.

and weeded, and weeded again, and again I feel that I have pretty good value for my money and my trouble...¹³²

Van Horne rarely expressed his ideas on collecting in writing, and this letter is almost the only occasion he did and clearly demonstrates his attitude. Over the course of more than thirty years of collecting Japanese ceramics, he did not merely acquire and accumulate objects, but actively “weeded,” or renewed the contents and disposed of some objects.

The first case of disposal was as early as in 1895, when Van Horne entrusted Matsuki to sell about twenty objects from his collection. These objects are indicated in Catalogue 1 with a note “Out M,” and listed on the third last page with a description “To B Matsuki June 1895 to be sold for NY sale [query].”¹³³ This was the first disposal and it resulted in the first re-numbering in the catalogue. In Catalogues 1 and 2, disposed objects are indicated by cross-lines in pencil either in black, red, or blue. Their destinations are often indicated, such as “Out M [Matsuki]” or “Toronto” (this refers to his donation of 150 pieces to the Museum of University of Toronto, the predecessor of the ROM around 1910), but sometimes simply “Out.” Several other pieces removed from the collection are indicated as “[to] Ster” or “[to] STET,” however, the dates and destinations of these disposals are unknown. On some occasions, Van Horne gave objects to fellow collectors, such as Edward S. Morse and Cleveland Morgan, but the details of these gifts are not recorded in the Van Horne catalogues.¹³⁴ The reasons or criteria behind the removal of most of the objects cannot be

¹³² Box-Folder 3-25, AGO Archive.

¹³³ Van Horne Catalogue 1, n.pag. MMFA Archive.

¹³⁴ These gifts are briefly mentioned in Morse’s published catalogue (1901), and in the Cleveland Morgan Catalogues in MMFA Archive. In addition, Van Horne donated two Japanese porcelains to Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: one in 1899 and the other in 1901 (accession numbers 99.45a-b and 01.8381 respectively), but according to Victoria Reed, Curator of Provenance, MFA, the detail is unknown (Reed).

traced, but there is one exception. In May 1893, Van Horne selected a Satsuma vase from his collection as a wedding gift for a friend's daughter. In a letter to his wife dated May 25, 1893, he describes this particular piece as “the tallest and heaviest in the cabinet,” with a brief sketch.¹³⁵ The reason for giving it away was: “[i]t is a fine one but hardly goes with the rest of the collection.”¹³⁶ This was right after he started collecting domestic types of Japanese ceramics, and he might have felt this large Satsuma vase would not fit his new vision for his collection.

His efforts to learn about Japanese ceramics can be observed not only in his catalogues but also in a hand-written notebook, titled “*Japanese Notebook, W.C. Van Horne*,” possibly recorded around 1899 – 1900.¹³⁷ Van Horne took meticulous notes regarding Japanese ceramics, such as technical terms in Japanese, names of generations of the Raku potter family, and kilns in Japan. He sometimes referred to translations of Japanese sources, such as *Banpō Zensho*, an encyclopedia published in the early eighteenth century. The information and translations were mainly provided by Japanese dealers such as Matsuki, Yamanaka & Co., and Shugio, as well as other Japanese persons whose details are unknown. This notebook shows Van Horne's wide network among Japanese dealers and experts, as well as his eagerness to obtain as much knowledge on Japanese ceramics from the original sources as possible, rather than the secondary sources written in Western languages.

¹³⁵ File 15 “Van Horne 1883-1893,” Vol. 87, R7719-26-4-E, Sir William Van Horne Fonds, LAC.

¹³⁶ Letter to his wife dated May 25, 1893. See Note 135.

¹³⁷ Box-Folder 1-6, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archives.

Ninsei pieces in the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection

While Van Horne owned all together twenty-four ceramics attributed to Ninsei, the way he acquired Ninsei pieces, and thus his perception towards them, was not stable throughout his collecting life. From the late 1880s to 1894, Van Horne acquired five Ninsei pieces from Akusawa for high prices.¹³⁸ Van Horne then asked his informants their opinions about whether these were genuine Ninsei, only to receive rather negative responses. In 1896, another five objects considered by Ninsei entered the Van Horne collection, but they were either gifts or purchased for low prices.¹³⁹ After receiving negative comments from his commentators in the previous periods, Van Horne seems to have been less confident purchasing pieces attributed to Ninsei. This explains why the entries on some Ninsei pieces he acquired in this period are crossed out, meaning that these pieces were either removed from the collection or considered insignificant.

From 1897 to mid-1898 Van Horne resumed buying pieces attributed to Ninsei, in total eight, including our tea bowl (#667), for fair prices.¹⁴⁰ This was part of Van Horne's extensive acquisition of 200 ceramics from Matsuki's large stock he acquired directly in Japan during this period. Various theories can be considered as to why Van Horne started to buy Ninsei pieces again: during this period of bulk purchasing, Van Horne was more concerned with quantity than content, and thus he did not really care whether Ninsei works were included; Van Horne may have felt more confidence in Matsuki's attribution or in his

¹³⁸ The price of these five pieces ranged from 24.60 to 114.75 dollars each. Van Horne Catalogue 1, n.pag. MMFA Archive.

¹³⁹ One of these five cost him only nine dollars, and the rest were gifts. Van Horne Catalogue 1, n.pag. MMFA Archive.

¹⁴⁰ The price for these eight pieces ranged from 25 to 200 dollars each (one was gift). Van Horne Catalogue 1 and Catalogue 2, both n.pag. MMFA Archive.

own judgement; or perhaps Van Horne acquired them even though he was aware they might be imitations. In any case, fewer comments from other experts appear about these newly acquired Ninsei works, compared to the earlier days when Van Horne had attempted to identify the genuineness of his Ninsei pieces. From the late 1898 to mid-1900 Van Horne again stopped purchasing Ninsei. He seems to have focused even more on quantity at this time: in November 1898 alone, for instance, Van Horne bought fifty-three pieces from Matsuki and fifty-five from Yamanaka and Co., many of which cost him less than ten dollars each,¹⁴¹ but no pieces attributed to Ninsei. From December 1900, Van Horne resumed purchasing pieces attributed to Ninsei: four in 1900, one in 1902, and another probably in 1905.¹⁴² One of the four purchased in 1900 cost him ninety-five dollars, the highest amount he paid for a Ninsei piece.

Van Horne's fluctuating manner of acquisition of Ninsei pieces from the late 1880s to the early 1900s suggests the ambiguity of his ideas about the authenticity of Ninsei's works, reflecting the fact that the "Ninsei myth" was still being created and negotiated at the time, as discussed in Chapter One. While the reputation of Ninsei was elevated to that of national potter by the 1890s, few had a solid idea of actual authentic works by Ninsei. Imitations of Ninsei flooded the Western market, and the rarity of genuine Ninsei pieces was greatly overstated. Although Van Horne acquired our tea bowl as a genuine Ninsei from Matsuki in 1897, his interest in this piece was minor: the descriptions of the tea bowl, numbered #667 in Catalogue 1 (fig. 40), remain minimal and there is no trace of further investigation, unlike

¹⁴¹ Catalogue 2, n.pag. MMFA Archive.

¹⁴² The price range for these pieces was from twelve to ninety-five dollars each (two without price recorded). Van Horne Catalogue 3, Box-Folder 9-4; and Van Horne Catalogue 4, Box-Folder 12-2, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archives.

many other entries that were repeatedly overwritten with informants' comments over the years. Within the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection, the importance of this Ninsei tea bowl was thus not as high as it would be today.

2-2: Relationship between Van Horne and the collected objects: his social status, self-identity, and direct interest in the actual objects

This section examines the complex nature of the relationship between Van Horne the collector and the objects he collected, from multiple perspectives: Van Horne's social identity as a member of the Anglophone business elite in late nineteenth-century Montreal; his self-image as a nation builder of young Canada; his disinterest in visiting Japan and his paradoxical attraction to things Japanese; and his intimate engagement with the materiality of Japanese ceramics through the sense of touch. Van Horne's social status as a railway baron and his interest in identifying the origin of individual objects can certainly be understood as part of Victorian Britain's obsession with scientific taxonomy (Earle 864). However, his interests in Japanese ceramics cannot be understood solely from the colonial viewpoint, in which the non-West is perceived as an undeveloped periphery that can be reached, opened, and possessed by the West. This is because his strong attentiveness to the materiality and the tactile aspect of Japanese ceramics, within the context of the Victorian curiosity for the sense of touch, demonstrates his direct interest in the objects themselves, rather than the imagined idea of Japan vis-à-vis the West.

Van Horne's social status and the city of Montreal in the late nineteenth century

Van Horne's self- and social identities must be examined not only within the context of Canada but also from a broader perspective. He was an American, and after working for several railway companies in the U.S., was appointed general manager of the CPR and came to Canada in 1882 at the age of thirty-nine. He moved to Montreal in 1883 as part of its Anglophone upper class, which controlled the wealth both in the city and throughout the territory of Canada, in contrast to the Francophone working class which comprised the majority of the city's population.¹⁴³ Van Horne was naturalized as a Canadian only in 1914 (Regehr). He lived in Montreal for the rest of his life, a city which maintained a stronger connection with the New England region of the U.S. than with the rest of Canada in the late nineteenth century. In addition, the influence of Victorian Britain was prominent among Montreal's Anglophone business elite. In terms of Van Horne's national identity, rather than Canada giving Van Horne a sense of identity, he contributed to the creation of the national identity of Canada by overseeing the construction of the trans-national railway (fig. 41) as well as discovering and promoting the Canadian landscape to the world through the business of the CPR.¹⁴⁴ Van Horne's involvement in promoting immigration to northwest Canada for both the region's development and the CPR's benefit, and his antagonistic protest against the enactment of the Reciprocity Pact in 1911, were derived from his vision as a nation-builder of Canada.

Montreal's upper class settled on the southern slopes of Mount Royal, the "Golden Square Mile," which looks down on the central district of the working class. The inhabitants

¹⁴³ In 1901, 60.9% of the population was of French origin (Germain and Rose 218).

¹⁴⁴ For the ways in which Van Horne contributed to the creation of Canadian national identity through CPR's advertising projects, see Pringle.

of the Golden Square Mile—the households of white males mainly of British descent—played a leading role in the development of the newly emerging nation of Canada during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At that time, however, Montreal was more a part of Britain than of Canada, as Anne Germain states: “[a]lthough Canada’s largest city it [Montreal] was not so much Canada’s metropolis ... as imperial Britain’s metropolitan foothold in North America” (254). More than half of the elite class in Montreal was born in Scotland (Remillard 22), and their close connection with Great Britain in politics, economics, and culture was eminent. The existence of numerous exclusive men’s clubs attested the influence of refined British culture in late nineteenth-century Montreal. The strong ties that the Montreal upper class felt with Victorian Britain constructed their world view from the perspective of “men who are controlling the world,” and hence their attitude towards the objects they collected. The Montreal business elite’s perception of Japan and Japanese objects, therefore, can be examined through the way these were perceived in Victorian Britain.

According to Yokoyama Toshio, the Victorian view of Japan was not based on an accurate understanding of Japan and its objects (46). Rather, it was a reflection of what the British *wanted to find* in the image of, and the objects from, Japan: a re-affirmation of themselves as the more civilized, superior power (Yokoyama 175). The favourably imaginative yet condescending image of Japan that the British had retained since their encounter with this newly discovered country in the 1850s was used as a means by the British media to express unrestricted opinions or deep anxiety about Britain itself in intellectuals’ minds (Yokoyama 175). Yet, when Japan began imitating modern European countries, Japan started to be described as “unreal and romantic” but “lacking originality,”

reflecting the nationalistic self-image of Britain as the authority (Yokoyama 175). Japanese objects were seen in the same way: the unquestioned feeling of British superiority was implied behind the “faint praise” bestowed on the objects, expressed by terms such as exquisite workmanship and the beauty of everyday objects (Earle 864). The combination of exoticism and condescension, as Joe Earle argues, produced a tendency to emphasize curiosity and craftsmanly ingenuity, as opposed to content and form (865).

The tendency to use taxonomic classification on human artefacts in addition to botanical and zoological studies, which had used it since the eighteenth century, emerged in Britain in the 1880s (Earle 866). This application of scientific taxonomy to Japanese objects was an exemplification of the sense of British superiority over Japan and its objects. Classification was “the most powerful intellectual tool of British writers on Japanese art from the 1880s to the 1930s and beyond” because it signifies “the ideal of authenticity,” and its self-contained nature functioned to eliminate the efforts to understand wider cultural issues surrounding the objects and the existence of unmarked or unsigned pieces (Earle 867). With the tool of classification, British collectors pursued the goal of creating a complete taxonomic structure of artefacts from Japan, without engagement in the wider world of Japanese culture (868).¹⁴⁵ A.W. Franks’ diverse collection of Japanese ceramics for the British Museum is an example of this type of collection. The upper class in Montreal must have shared this Victorian British perspective and attitude towards Japan and Japanese objects. Van Horne’s keen interest in identifying the origin of production of diverse Japanese ceramics certainly evokes the British enthusiasm for taxonomy with a sense of authority. As we shall see, despite his passion for collecting Japanese ceramics Van Horne never went to Japan, even

¹⁴⁵ In Earle’s opinion, Americans were able to more freely deal with foreign civilization than British (868).

though he had several opportunities. His disinterest in experiencing the real Japan attests his shared attitude with the British at that time.

Canadian industrial elites also shared the American aspiration of expansionism. Albert Boime describes American industrial elites' view of Japan and Japanese objects in the 1860s – 1870s as follows: “[t]heir fascination for this [Japanese] art is related to the imperialistic and colonizing aspirations, and the popularity of Japanese objects manifested the materialization of the expansionist ideals of the time” (134-135). Van Horne was the leading figure in the launch of CPR’s steamship services to Asia (Hong Kong and Yokohama), which attests his aspiration and interest in reaching Asia within the context of North American expansionism.

The arrogant worldview and self-image of the Montreal business elite strongly connected to Victorian Britain and North American expansionism appeared even more prominently among the *nouveaux riches* in Montreal. The wealthy class of Montreal was a mixture of old money from Europe and the *nouveaux riches*, “individual[s] raised in poverty who, through hard work or good fortune, managed to amass wealth without having grown up as a member of the upper classes” (Remillard 22-3). *Nouveaux riches* were especially status-seeking, and they created their status by collecting objects, decorating their residences, and through philanthropy.¹⁴⁶ These were considered symbolic acts of leading society or noblesse

¹⁴⁶ For example, William Henry Vanderbilt (1821 – 1885) collected over 200 paintings in less than four years (1878-82). He published catalogues of his collection solely for the purpose of dissemination, not for an exhibition or auction, which was the first of its kind. His collection was open to the public, where a number of receptions were held. It was innovative at that time too (Zalewski).

oblige. The Montreal business elite thus became a new category of collector, as in the U.S. and Great Britain, and created a vast new market (Brooke 13) in the early 1880s.¹⁴⁷

By 1912, Montreal had acquired a reputation in North America and beyond as a centre for the collecting of Old Masters and modern paintings (Brooke 12). The boom in art collecting in Montreal from 1880 to 1920 was inseparably linked to the fortunes emerging from the building of the transcontinental railway (Brooke 12), as in the U.S. (Boime 124).¹⁴⁸ The executives of the early CPR—Sir George A. Drummond, Charles R. Hosmer, James Ross, R.B. Angus, and Lord Strathcona, in addition to Van Horne—all amassed large collections of art.¹⁴⁹ The emergence of this new business elite class was also closely linked to the establishment of early museums and art collections in North America (Boime 124). Van Horne himself was involved with the development of the Art Association of Montreal (AAM, the predecessor of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts) (fig. 42), which indicates his self-identity as a leading figure of the society and its cultural institutions.

The AAM was established in 1860, but until 1879 its activities were confined to a handful of exhibitions and the occasional drawing class. With the bequest of Benaiah Gibb in 1877, the Art Gallery was opened in 1879, and started a collection of European paintings and sculptures. In the 1880s it expanded its collection, and established the school of art (Cogeval 7). Van Horne was involved in the AAM for a long time and was influential in the organization's decision-making.¹⁵⁰ As shall be discussed later, however, his sense of serving

¹⁴⁷ For the impact of American collectors on European dealers, see Boime.

¹⁴⁸ Henry Clay Frick commented that “railroads are the Rembrandts of investment” (qtd. in M. Josephson, *The Robber Barons* [NY, 1962], 343, qtd. in Brooke 13)

¹⁴⁹ For the detail of the painting collections of Montreal railway barons, see Brooke.

¹⁵⁰ Van Horne became an annual member immediately after he moved to Montreal in 1883, when the AAM was still in the early stage of its formal establishment. He served as a councillor for twenty-four years from 1894, and acted as Vice President for three years in 1894-1897, and as President for seven months between 1901 and

the public was not as pronounced as that of his fellow collectors. For example, the periods when he served as the head of the council were relatively short (less than four years in total), considering his twenty-four-year service as a councilor. In terms of donations, Van Horne contributed \$5,000 in 1910 to the fund for the AAM's new building to be built in 1912. It was however his first and only sizable donation to the AAM.¹⁵¹ A gift of a painting in 1913,¹⁵² presumably to commemorate the new building, was Van Horne's only donation of an art object. While Van Horne was involved with the development of the AAM, the moderate level of involvement may suggest less interest in a grand desire to make a name as a great philanthropist.

The emergence of the new collectors in North America in the late nineteenth century influenced the movement of Japanese objects. The Philadelphia International Exposition in 1876 served as the first and most significant event for the increasing popularity and greater availability of Japanese objects in North America. For both the upper and the middle classes, collecting Japanese things and decorating their houses with them became a trend reflecting the Aesthetic movement that flourished in North America around the 1870s to 1880s, even though the types or quality of objects collected varied, as seen in Chapter One. The development of a new market for new collectors led to the increasing importance of the emerging art dealers and critics on the art market and art collecting (Brooke 13).¹⁵³

1902. He resigned the presidency in the middle of his term (it supposed to be three years), although the reason is not known.

¹⁵¹ With this donation, Van Horne's membership status was finally raised from Annual member to Benefactor after twenty-seven years. (There were four categories of membership depending on the amount of donation: Annual member, Life member, Governor, and Benefactor.)

¹⁵² This painting is attributed to Marinus van Reymerswaele (ca.1490-1495 – ca.1567), *Saint Jerome in His Study*, about 1530, oil on panel. Acquisition number 1913.188, MMFA.

¹⁵³ For example, Siegfried Bing, the major art dealer in Paris who acted as a taste-maker for the circulation of Japanese objects in Europe, started sales in North America, first in 1887 through Edward C. Moore in New York. His first auction in the next year sold 1,334 Japanese objects (Japonisumu Gakkai 20-21).

Among the upper class in North America, Japanese objects often served as a tool to demonstrate the owner's social status. The "Japan Room" created in the residence of American railway tycoon William Henry Vanderbilt (1821-1885) in New York in the early 1880s was an extreme example of the use of Japanese objects for this purpose. This room was filled with highly decorative Japanese objects made of porcelain, bronze, and lacquer. Christine Guth argues that Vanderbilt's Japan Room represents the male gaze towards Japanese objects, which creates a spectacle space that is clearly distinct from everyday life (*Ibunka hyōka* 332). Vanderbilt's social status was elevated through the circulation of a photographic image of this spectacular room in a publication titled *Artistic Houses: Being a Series of Interior Views of a Number of the Most Beautiful and Celebrated Homes in the United States* published in 1883-84, which in turn gave the Japanese objects in this room cultural and social value (Guth *Ibunka hyōka* 332).

This trend of collecting decorative Japanese objects was also seen in Montreal, but on a smaller scale. Japanese objects seem to have circulated in the city by the early 1880s, given the fact that Van Horne purchased some of his earliest Japanese objects from W. Scott and Son Company in Montreal in September of 1883.¹⁵⁴ Japanese export ceramics were common elements to decorate the business elites' houses in Montreal too, according to photographs taken by William Notman and Son. For example, the residence of the first president of the CPR, Sir George Stephen (1829 – 1921), was elaborately decorated with large Imari vases, as shown in photographs taken in 1884 (fig. 43 left).¹⁵⁵ The house of Lord Strathcona (1820 – 1914), built in 1887, was also adorned with Asian objects, including large Imari vases and

¹⁵⁴ See Note 86.

¹⁵⁵ See, for example, II-73820 *Fireplace, Mrs. George Stephen's house, Montreal, QC, 1884*. McCord Museum Collection. When and from whom Stephen acquired these vases is unknown.

other ceramics (fig. 43 right).¹⁵⁶ These rooms might not as spectacular as Vanderbilt's Japan Room, but nonetheless convey the owners' perception of Japanese objects as a tool to demonstrate their high status in Montreal society. Van Horne, who started acquiring Japanese objects in early 1883, most likely shared this perception during his early days in Montreal.

Van Horne as the nation-builder through CPR

As much as the social context of the Anglophone upper class in Montreal, Van Horne's self-image as a nation-builder of Canada as an executive of the CPR must have been a significant factor that shaped his perception of Japanese objects. The vast project of laying a transnational railway involved cultivating undeveloped land and naming mountains, rivers and cities, promoting immigration, and connecting within and between continents. All of these must have greatly impacted the railroad executives' sense of controlling the world. As a member of the CPR's upper management in its crucial time of building the trans-Canada railway, Van Horne, too, contributed to the establishment of the young nation of Canada.

The trans-national railway in Canada was originally conceived as a project in the 1840s to improve the economic and military conditions of Britain and reach the Asia Pacific through the Province of Canada (MacKay 16). As Donald MacKay describes, the initial motive for building a transcontinental railway was "[t]he lure of the Orient, rather than the opening up the West" (47). It was also driven by Britain's competition with the U.S. to establish a trading relationship with Asia (MacKay 17, 23). The project was passed to the

¹⁵⁶ VIEW-16059 *Fireplace, Lord Strathcona's house, Montreal, QC, 1916*, by William Notman and Son. McCord Museum Collection.

newly established nation of Canada, but the initial attempt failed in 1873. After 1879, the necessity of uniting Canada from coast to coast, in addition to competition with the U.S., became a more urgent reason for building the railway. As a result, the CPR was established in 1881. The drive for trade with Asia remained the main purpose, but the development of the northwest of the country became the more pressing matter for the success of the CPR's business.

In order to bring immigrants to northwest Canada, as well as tourists from around the world, Van Horne promoted the magnificence of the natural environment. Van Horne's extensive use of visual images of the northwestern landscape in the CPR's advertisements eventually contributed to the creation of a Canadian national identity that has lasted until today.¹⁵⁷ Van Horne also played a prominent role in establishing the regular steamship service from Vancouver to Yokohama and Hong Kong, which launched in 1886. The CPR steamship service was the final portion of the trading route connecting Europe, Canada, and East Asia via the trans-Canada railway. Van Horne, as president of the CPR, took great pride in this project as his own, as can be observed in his own words written in 1888: "... we have had four China steamships in port within ten days besides many others. I take a special pride in this because it is the result mainly of my own work."¹⁵⁸

In the late nineteenth century, when nascent nations such as the U.S. and Canada were competing for economic resources, Van Horne's acts of creating a national identity as well as establishing an economic route to Asia inarguably gave him the self-image of a nation-builder. These acts were not initially driven by Van Horne's political intention to

¹⁵⁷ For the detail of Van Horne's role in CPR promotions and advertisement, see Pringle.

¹⁵⁸ Letter to his wife, dated July 8, 1888, from Vancouver. File 15 "Van Horne 1883-1893," Vol.87, R7719-26-4-E "Family Papers," Sir William Van Horne Fonds, LAC.

serve the nation, but by the economic desire to maximize the CPR's profit. However, they eventually contributed to the construction of the political, economic and cultural autonomy of Canada as a united entity, if not a fully independent country.

Van Horne's contradictory attitude towards Japan

Despite his keen interest in Japanese objects, Van Horne never actually visited the country, unlike many others who established large collections of Japanese objects in the late nineteenth century.¹⁵⁹ Collecting Japanese objects first-hand by actually visiting their place of origin added authenticity to collectors and their collections during a time when such a remote country was inaccessible for the majority of the public. The unequal power relationship between the West and Japan, both political and economic, enabled Western collectors to acquire a large number of objects, which gave them a sense of authority as well. In addition, collecting was, for some, a missionary act of saving the vanishing cultural tradition of Japan, as in Morse's case.

Given Van Horne's passion for collecting and researching Japanese ceramics, as well as his many business-related connections with Japanese people, it is a mystery why he never actually visited Japan, despite apparently having several opportunities: as a wealthy man with many personal connections, if he had truly wanted to, he could have done so relatively easily. For example, in late 1909, Van Horne was invited to Japan by businessman Morimoto

¹⁵⁹ For example, Henri Cernuschi visited Japan in 1871, Théodore Duret in 1871, Philippe Sichel in 1874, Émile Guimet in 1876, Christopher Dresser in 1876, E.S. Morse in 1877, 1878-9, and 1882, Siegfried Bing in 1880, William Sturgis Bigelow in 1882, Charles S. Smith in 1892, and Charles L. Freer in 1895.

Shintarō (dates unknown),¹⁶⁰ to investigate the sugar business in Formosa (now Taiwan) for Japanese consumption. Van Horne declined. In his letter to Morimoto he wrote “... I may be possibly get away for that [a short visit to Japan] in March or April [of 1910]; but it is almost too much for me to hope for.”¹⁶¹ Another opportunity arose in late 1913, when Van Horne was invited by Shugio Hiromichi to participate in the Tokyo Taishō Exhibition to be held in 1914 to celebrate the coronation of the Taishō Emperor and to encourage industry.¹⁶² Judging from the content of the letter dated November 10, 1913 from Shugio to Van Horne, Van Horne declined this invitation too.¹⁶³ Although it is not clear why, it might have had something to do with his failing health at the time.

Van Horne’s apparent unwillingness to visit Japan suggests that he was one of the Western collectors who were interested in Japanese objects but not in engaging in the wider context of Japanese culture.¹⁶⁴ For example, while Van Horne collected a number of tea-related ceramics such as tea bowls and tea caddies, there is no evidence that he had any interest in *chanoyu*, for which those pieces were made and used; instead, Van Horne’s interest was limited to identifying the makers or kilns of individual pieces. This goes back to the discussion of *chanoyu* in the late nineteenth-century West in Chapter One: that *chanoyu* served as another representation of exoticism which drove the collectors to collect truly

¹⁶⁰ Morimoto Shintarō was a representative of Toyo Kisen Kaisha (Toyo Steamship Company) in Mexico from March 1910.

¹⁶¹ Letter to Morimoto, dated November 13, 1909. File 6 “Shintaro Morimoto 1909-1910,” Vol. 75, R7719-20-3-E, Sir William Van Horne Fonds, LAC.

¹⁶² Letter from Shugio to Van Horne, dated November 10, 1913. File 19 “1913, part 3,” Vol. 79, R7719-21-5-E, Sir William Van Horne Fonds, LAC. Shugio was the chief judge for the craft section for this exhibition.

¹⁶³ See Note 162.

¹⁶⁴ Philippe Sichel (dates unknown), a Parisian dealer active in the late nineteenth century, for example, expressed his disinterest in learning the context of Japanese objects as follows: “if I speak frankly I wasn’t interested in day-to-day life at all: all I wanted was to get the lacquers from the bazaar” in *Notes d’un bibeloteur au Japon* published in 1883 (qtd. in De Waal 55). Another good example of this type of collector is Edmond de Goncourt (1822 – 1896), a French art critic. See Chang, *Travel, Collecting* 111-160.

Japanese ceramic objects. In other words, *chanoyu* was received in the West as a general idea that helped in constructing the notion of authentic Japanese ceramics at that time, rather than its contents and contexts being fully understood. At the same time, Van Horne's Japan was not entirely as imaginative as that of the Victorian British or Parisian collectors who yearned for an idealized past (Chang *Travel, Collecting* 129). His interest in Japan was focused instead on his relationships with living people, the food he tasted, and the actual objects in his hands: in other words, things that had something to do with his own life.

Van Horne's personal connections with Japanese people both in Japan and in North America were wide-ranging. He was in contact with leading diplomats, statesmen and businessmen such as Itō Hirobumi, Ōkuma Shigenobu, Komura Jutarō, Morimoto Shintarō, Nose Tatsugorō, Hotta Zuishō, and Consuls-General of Japan in Vancouver.¹⁶⁵ Van Horne's close relationship with T. Yada (dates unknown), a Japanese Consul-General, can be seen in the fact that Van Horne invited him and his family to the summer house in St. Andrew's in July 1915.¹⁶⁶ Many of the dealers from whom Van Horne acquired Japanese ceramics were Japanese too, including Akusawa Susumu, Shugio Hiromichi, Hayashi Tadamasa, Takayanagi Tōzō, K. Sano, K. Kitajima, K. Fukushima, and Naito Shoten, in addition to the

¹⁶⁵ Itō Hirobumi (1841 – 1909) was Prime Minister from 1900 to 1901; Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838 – 1922) was Prime Minister from 1914-1916; Komura Jutarō (1855 – 1911) was Minister of Foreign Affairs 1901-1906 and 1908-1911; Morimoto Shintarō was a representative of Tokyo Kisen Kaisha in Mexico; Nose Tatsugorō (1857 – 1911) was a Consul-General from 1895 (the end of service unknown); Hotta Zuishō (1837 – 1916) was a sculptor and lacquerer, who visited Van Horne in 1897. Various correspondences can be found in Volumes 79, 80, and 87, Sir William Van Horne Fonds, LAC.

¹⁶⁶ Yada's letter to Van Horne, dated July 6, 1915. File "1915 (part1)," Vol. 80, R7719-21-5-E "Chronological correspondence," Sir William Van Horne Fonds, LAC.

major dealers Matsuki Bunkio and Yamanaka & Company.¹⁶⁷ Van Horne attempted to obtain information on his objects from original Japanese sources as much as possible.

Van Horne's fondness for Japanese food was apparent from his correspondence with Matsuki: he frequently received from Matsuki Japanese food that would not have been easily obtainable in Canada at the time, such as soy sauce, miso, sake, bamboo shoots, and even *karasumi* (dried mullet roe) and *konowata* (salted entrails of trepan), rare delicacies eaten while drinking sake.¹⁶⁸ Van Horne's interests in Japanese culture were thus focused on the people, food, and objects that he could experience directly. Van Horne's present-oriented approach towards Japanese culture and objects is also seen in his interest in the tactile aspect of Japanese ceramics and his close relationship with them in his study, as discussed below.

Van Horne's intimate engagement with Japanese ceramics

The locations in which Van Horne kept his Japanese ceramics are significant in examining his relationship with the objects. Van Horne drew a clear line between decorative export wares and domestic simple pieces. The nearly one hundred pieces of Satsuma or Imari export wares that Van Horne possessed were displayed in common areas of his residence such as the entrance, reception room, drawing room, and dining room on the first floor, along with Western paintings and other decorative objects including bronzes (fig. 44).¹⁶⁹ In these

¹⁶⁷ Van Horne dealt with K. Sano (details unknown) around 1894, whose comments can be found in the Van Horne catalogues; Takayanagi Tōzō (dates unknown) in New York in 1894-96; K. Kitajima (details unknown) in Jun 31, 1896; K. Fukushima in New York in 1898-1900; and Naito Shoten (details unknown) in 1900-01.

¹⁶⁸ Correspondences between Van Horne and Matsuki around 1912-1914. Box-Folder 5-2, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archives.

¹⁶⁹ "Van Horne Art Collection: Ceramics: Potteries and China," Valuations by Sidney Carter, 1941. Box-Folder 32-6, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive.

rooms, Japanese ceramics functioned as decoration, as seen in the residences of other business elites in Montreal, such as Sir George Stephen and Lord Strathcona. On the other hand, over 1,000 pieces of Japanese domestic ceramics were kept in Van Horne's study, a private space used exclusively by him (fig. 45). According to a diagram of the cabinets in his study, the placement of the objects was more organized than decorative, with the objects roughly grouped according to his own numbering system.¹⁷⁰ Here, Van Horne researched and identified individual pieces, often holding and examining them in his hands—in examining Japanese ceramic objects, it is essential to take them in the hands, feel their texture and weight, and turn them around to see the sides and bottom. Legend has it that Van Horne was good at identifying Japanese ceramics by touch alone.¹⁷¹ This is a customary exercise performed in traditional Japanese authentication meetings (C. Ninagawa 393). Van Horne's intimate engagement with the domestic types of Japanese ceramics, in contrast to export wares, suggests his fascination with the materiality of Japanese ceramics and the tangible aspect of his collecting activities.

In fact, Van Horne's close engagement with his collected objects is not surprising considering how Japanese objects were first introduced to the West. A lack of substantial knowledge of Japan opened up new ways of appreciating of its objects through immediate responses and senses. Japanese objects were understood as objects that evoked feelings, especially a "tactile imagination" (Tilley 1).¹⁷² Heather Tilley describes the role of the sense of touch in Victorian society as follows: "[t]he tactile sense became crucial to the ways the

¹⁷⁰ A diagram of the cabinets in the study, with the Van Horne numbers. Box-Folder 34-1, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archives. The date of this record is not known, but most likely sometime after Van Horne's death.

¹⁷¹ A frequently quoted anecdote is that Van Horne won a Japanese ceramic piece from the dealer Matsuki by identifying its type blindfolded (Knowles 296). The catalogue entry for a Satsuma sake bottle, numbered #868 in the Van Horne Catalogue 1, says that his piece was "*Won from Matsuki*" in September 1897.

¹⁷² For the recent studies on the sense of touch in the Victorian Britain, see Tilley.

Victorians conceived of reality” and “touch was increasingly promoted as a complex, compound sense, central to the ways in which humans gathered and conceptualized information about their world” (6). Edmund de Waal, in his family memoir surrounding the inheritance of a collection of Japanese netsuke, also introduces several quotes by Western collectors of Japanese objects in the late nineteenth century: Edmond de Goncourt, an early collector and dealer of things Japanese in Paris, mentioned the sense of touch as a means to appreciate Japanese objects (50); and John La Farge, an early American admirer of Japanese art, emphasized the need of “innocently” encountering with Japan and its objects without knowledge from books (51).

The haptic sense, one of the proximate senses along with those of taste and smell, has long been conceptualized in relation with “baser (and feminine) ways via which to engage with the world,” as opposed to the distant senses of vision and sound associated with “more rational (and masculine) forms of knowledge” (Tilley 5). While this “base” sense provides a crucial insight for understanding the collectors’ motivations and relationships to their collected objects in the late nineteenth century West, it has been overlooked due to a greater focus on the sense of vision in the modern era. In Van Horne’s case too, the intimate and tactile connection he established with his Japanese domestic ceramics were lost after they were donated to a museum, an institution of knowledge based primarily on looking, where touching is discouraged. The absence of this sense of tactility from later re-interpretations of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics forms one of the moments when the perception gap of this collection was created.

Van Horne’s perception towards Japanese objects can thus be summarized as twofold. On the one hand, his relationship with the collected objects is understood from his social

status as a railway baron in Montreal, and thus from the colonial perspective in which Japanese ceramics were collected to affirm the collector's self-identity as part of a superior power. On the other hand, Van Horne intimately engaged himself with the objects themselves through the sense of touch and with the act of identifying individual objects. This leads to the later discussion of Van Horne's less concern with the abstract ideas projected on the objects, such as the Western imagination of an idealized past of Japan, a missionary desire to save a disappearing tradition, or an aspiration to serve the public by donating his collection to museums.

2-3: Personal connections surrounding the Van Horne Collection: informants and art dealers

In this section, I examine the formation process of Van Horne collection from the perspective of how Van Horne interacted with his fellow collectors, art dealers, and scholars who were involved in his collecting process as providers of both objects and information. In the previous section I examined the multifaceted nature of the relationship between Van Horne and his objects, which problematized the post-colonial understanding of the collection as a space solely to reflect the collector's subjectivity. Now I go further, by looking into the ways in which Van Horne's perception of his objects was impacted by the ideas and activities of the people surrounding the establishment of his collection. Van Horne's decisions about what to collect were not simply determined by his own judgment, but were also affected by external factors such as the availability of Japanese objects in the Western market, or the intellectual trends within the circle of collecting Japanese ceramics in the West

at the time. These currents in collecting did not occur naturally: they were in fact informed by the intentions, concerns and desires of influential dealers, collectors, and scholars. When looking at the establishment of a collection not only from the collector's taste, but also from these external factors, a collection can be understood as a complex space in which multiple subjectivities and economies are intertwined.

Edward Sylvester Morse

Some individuals played more significant roles than others in guiding Van Horne's ideas about authentic Japanese ceramics. Fellow collector Edward Sylvester Morse (fig. 25) was almost certainly the primary inspiration for Van Horne to start focusing on Japanese domestic ceramics in late 1892, a shift away from his previous attention to decorative pieces. Morse was an American zoologist who was invited by the Japanese government to teach at the Imperial University of Tokyo in 1877. Morse is well known for his introduction of Darwinism and archaeology to Japan. He was also interested in ethnography, and documented everyday life in Japan before it was transformed by Western modernization.¹⁷³ Morse started collecting Japanese pottery in 1878, and amassed a collection of about 6,000 ceramic objects, 5,400 of which are now at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFAB). The Morse collection of Japanese ceramics is one of the world's largest, containing ceramics made in various kilns in fifty-nine regions throughout Japan, most of them utilitarian objects for domestic everyday life made in the late Edo period. His collection aimed to cover the

¹⁷³ Morse's ethnographical observations of Japan were published as *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings* in 1886, and *Japan Day by Day: 1877, 1878-79, 1882-83*, in 1890. He also collected a number of ethnographical objects, which are now housed in Peabody Essex Museum in Salem.

whole range of ceramic production in Japan, classified by origin, type, and date, and was fully catalogued by Morse himself and published as *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery* in 1901 by the MFAB (hereafter, “Morse Catalogue”). Thanks to Morse’s enthusiasm and meticulousness, his collection contains some types of objects that can no longer be found today even in Japan (Takeuchi 110).

Morse considered his method of identifying individual Japanese ceramic objects a “precise science of classifying objects based on several physical characteristics” (Wayman qtd. in Ōta 185), derived from his zoological studies. The 1880s was a time when the tradition of botanical or zoological taxonomy from the eighteenth century was considered suitable for the study of human artefacts as well (Earle 866); Morse’s approach to Japanese ceramics reflected this taxonomical tendency in Europe and North America. His is thus a collection of specimens rather than works of art, as Morse himself admits in the preface of the Morse Catalogue: “I am thus explicit in justification of the apparent redundant exhibition of specimens in some of the provincial groupings, and the display of certain specimens which are more curious than beautiful, and in some instances even positively ugly” (iv).

Morse’s inspiration for collecting Japanese ceramics was Ninagawa Noritane, the author of *Kanko Zuzetsu*. During his second stay in Japan between 1878 and 1879, Morse frequently visited Ninagawa and quickly absorbed knowledge on Japanese ceramics from him, as well as receiving objects from his collection.¹⁷⁴ Ninagawa’s work inspired Morse’s attempt to cover as many examples of Japanese ceramics from as many kilns as possible, in line with his scientific approach of specimen-gathering. Morse’s ultimate goal was to acquire

¹⁷⁴ According to C. Ninagawa, Morse received more than 1,000 Japanese ceramics from Ninagawa (396).

all the objects described in Ninagawa's publication, although his dream was not fully realized. Morse collectively called the pieces originally in the Ninagawa collection or similar types of ceramics from *Kanko Zuzetsu* "Ninagawa's types of Japanese pottery" or "Ninagawa Type," as seen in the descriptions of Ninsei pieces in Chapter One.¹⁷⁵

Van Horne and Morse formed a close friendship over the course of the establishment of Van Horne's Japanese ceramic collection, at least from the early 1890s until Van Horne's death in 1915. While how exactly they got to know each other is not known, they knew each other fairly well by 1892, because Morse acted as the primary source of information from the start of the Van Horne Catalogues at the beginning of 1893. Van Horne and Morse must have frequently corresponded, although only a few examples are extant.¹⁷⁶ These few letters, however, indicate their close relationship and their approach to the objects. A letter from Van Horne to Morse dated October 26, 1899, for example, shows that Van Horne had recently visited Morse, and they discussed some Japanese ceramic pieces in the Morse collection.¹⁷⁷ Van Horne submits a question about Morse's identification of a particular piece with an illustration (fig. 46). Van Horne says:

I hope you will look at that Soma section again with both Maiko and Suma, Harima in mind. The bottle resembling this rough sketch (from memory) [here an illustration by Van Horne is inserted between the texts] near the left hand and of the upper shelf must surely be Maiko and I suspect two or more others

¹⁷⁵ Morse wrote the short article "Ninagawa's Types of Japanese Pottery," in *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, published in 1913.

¹⁷⁶ Most of the correspondence between Morse and Van Horne is not in the archive materials from both sides, but there are a few examples in The Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum.

¹⁷⁷ File 14-7. *Meiji Japan: The Edward Sylvester Morse Collection*. The Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum.

on the same shelf. I am probably wrong but my anxiety concerning the infallibility of the attributions in the Morse collection leads me to lay at your feet any doubt I may have (original emphasis).¹⁷⁸

By 1899, Van Horne had collected a significant number of Japanese ceramics and obtained a considerable amount of knowledge on them. This letter demonstrates Van Horne's confidence in arguing about Japanese ceramics with Morse, who was by then a leading scholar of Japanese ceramics in the U.S. and working as a keeper of Japanese ceramics at the MFAB. While Van Horne is polite, he nevertheless challenges Morse's attribution of certain objects. It is not difficult to imagine that this kind of argument over the identification of Japanese ceramics was a frequent occurrence between them.

Another letter that shows the close relationship between the two men is dated May 31, 1901, regarding the Morse Catalogue published shortly before.¹⁷⁹ In this letter, Van Horne first apologizes for not having written about the catalogue, "because I wished to study it first."¹⁸⁰ Van Horne expresses his amazement at the amount of work Morse has done, and congratulates him on his success with the catalogue. He adds, however: "I only wish that you had scattered those extra plates through the book instead of making an appendix of them. The index would then be where it ought to be and justice would have be [sic] done to those beautiful plates."¹⁸¹ Van Horne further points out a discrepancy in the book: "Your reference to "the last century" may be a little confusing [...] since you wrote according to the title page in 1901."¹⁸² While Van Horne admits that these points are not significant, it would clearly

¹⁷⁸ A letter from Van Horne to Morse, dated October 26, 1899. See Note 177.

¹⁷⁹ A letter from Van Horne to Morse, dated May 31, 1901. See Note 177.

¹⁸⁰ See Note 179.

¹⁸¹ See Note 179.

¹⁸² See Note 179.

not have been possible to make such comments without a relationship of mutual trust and respect.

In return, Morse mentioned Van Horne as one of the contributors to his collection in the Preface of the Morse Catalogue. Van Horne's name is included among thirty-four contributors who are today considered significant collectors of Japanese art, such as William Sturgis Bigelow, Denman Ross, Charles Weld, Henry Havemeyer, Thomas Waggaman, Charles L. Freer, Louis Gonse, and S. Bing (*Morse Catalogue* iv). If the order of the appearance in the acknowledgment indicates the extent of contribution, Van Horne, who appears eighth before Waggaman, Freer, Gonse or Bing, can be considered as highly significant to Morse. The details of the contribution are, however, not recorded.

Both Van Horne and Morse were well-connected among Japanese art collectors in North America. For instance, Shugio Hiromichi, whose comments are also frequently found in Van Horne's Catalogues, wrote to Morse on February 9, 1897: "P.S. Sir William is coming down in a few days. Can you come when he is in town. [sic] It would be a great fun."¹⁸³ One imagines that the three often met and enjoyed exchanging their knowledge and opinions on Japanese ceramics.

As Morse's comments on the Van Horne collection are frequently found in the Van Horne catalogues, I assume that Morse examined the whole collection several times. Morse even reviewed the collection in 1918, after Van Horne's death, for the purpose of the estate appraisal requested by Van Horne's heirs.¹⁸⁴ It is no surprise, therefore, that Van Horne was strongly influenced by Morse in terms of the direction and content of his Japanese ceramic

¹⁸³ File 13-6. *The E.S. Morse Collection*. The Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum.

¹⁸⁴ Morse's comments in 1918 appear throughout the Van Horne catalogues, written in pencil.

collection. When Van Horne first met Morse, probably around 1892, Morse was already a well-known leading expert on Japanese ceramics, and had already established a large collection which the MFAB had just purchased. More importantly, at the beginning of the 1890s Morse was advocating that the authenticity of Japanese ceramics existed in the diverse pieces made for the Japanese domestic market rather than in export wares, in contrast to James Lord Bowes between 1890 and 1891.¹⁸⁵ Van Horne had already been collecting Japanese ceramics since the 1880s, but had been more interested in decorative export wares. The encounter with Morse and his idea of what constituted authentic Japanese ceramics was most likely the decisive factor for Van Horne to discover the diverse nature of Japanese domestic ceramics and a taxonomic approach to them. The fact that the turning point of Van Horne's collecting activity in December 1892 was triggered by his first purchase from Matsuki Bunkio also indicates Morse's involvement in this shift, as Matsuki was Morse's disciple, and this first purchase was "all approved by Prof. Morse," as discussed earlier.¹⁸⁶ The shift in Van Horne's Japanese ceramic collection in late 1892 was thus strongly impacted, conceptually by Morse, and materially by Matsuki.

Morse's influence on Van Horne was, however, not absolute. Van Horne did share with Morse both the taxonomic approach to domestic Japanese ceramics and interests in other Japanese objects.¹⁸⁷ Similarities can also be found in Van Horne's recording methods in his catalogues and photographs, as well as his storage methods. However, there was a fundamental difference in the nature of the collecting activities of these two, particularly in

¹⁸⁵ For details of this dispute, see Note 54.

¹⁸⁶ See Note 114.

¹⁸⁷ Morse and Van Horne also shared interests in collecting Japanese roof tiles and ceremonial arrow heads. Van Horne's donation to the ROM around 1910 included two ridge-end tiles; and the donation in 1946 by his grandson included a number of arrow heads.

terms of the scope and the ultimate goals of their collections. In brief, Morse aimed for completeness, and collected 6,000 objects from a sense of a mission to save a vanishing tradition of Japanese ceramics. Van Horne, on the other hand, did not simply accumulate objects: he was more interested in the act of handling them, and there is no suggestion that he had a missionary aim. Van Horne's intimate engagement with the objects he collected, exemplified in his catalogue illustrations and watercolours, is a clear difference from Morse's objective attitude towards his objects. This difference is significant in examining the transitional positioning of the Van Horne collection within the shifting focus of Japanese ceramic collecting in the early twentieth century, from classification of various objects to appreciation of aesthetic quality of individual objects.

Art dealers and their influence

Unlike his fellow collectors Van Horne himself never went to Japan, and thus he acquired Japanese ceramics only from dealers, both in Japan and in North America. While Van Horne is described as a collector who acquired only pieces that he liked without much influence from dealers, it is also true that his selection of Japanese ceramic objects was confined to those available to him through them. Art dealers served, and still serve, as the providers of both actual objects and the information about them. During a time when sources of information on Japanese ceramics were extremely limited, dealers played a significant role in forming and disseminating knowledge based on the objects they stocked. In other words, as Richard Wilson argues, the availability of works of art shapes one's knowledge of art ("Tea Taste" 38).

In terms of the availability of Japanese ceramics, the North American market was slightly behind Europe in the late nineteenth century.¹⁸⁸ As latecomers to the circle of collecting Japan, collectors in North America were not fully exposed to as much information or as wide a variety of objects as their European counterparts until the late 1880s (Weisberg “Japonisme: The Commercialization” 16-17), despite the fact that domestic types of Japanese ceramics were shown at the Philadelphia International Exposition in 1876.¹⁸⁹ While French collectors had shifted their interest from export wares to domestic types and then to tea ceramics by the mid-1880s (Imai “Changes” 110-116), there were only a few collectors of Japanese ceramics in North America who went beyond export wares in the 1880s.¹⁹⁰ This attests that the availability of domestic types of Japanese ceramics on the North American market was limited. This was one of the reasons why Van Horne was not interested in Japanese domestic ceramics before 1892: not as a matter of taste, but because they were simply not available to him.

Paris dealers: Bing and Hayashi

The time lag in the availability of information and actual objects between Europe and North America was partly due to the fact that the major taste-makers and suppliers of Japanese ceramics were based in Europe, mainly in Paris. The major dealers in Paris, such as

¹⁸⁸ For the difference in the ways how ceramic makers responded to the influence from Japanese ceramics between the U.S. and Europe, especially France, see Gomi.

¹⁸⁹ These pieces did not remain in the US, but were purchased by the South Kensington Museum in London after the exposition.

¹⁹⁰ For example, Thomas E. Waggaman in Washington D.C. purchased in 1885 the majority of 800 Japanese ceramics from the collection of Frank Brinkely (1841 – 1912), an English journalist who had lived in Japan from 1867 to 1912, through dealer Edward Greey in New York. William and Henry Walters (1820 – 1894 and 1848 – 1948) in Baltimore also collected a variety of Japanese ceramics from 1876 on, and Henry and Louisine Havemeyer (1847 – 1907 and 1855 – 1929) acquired a number of Japanese tea caddies in 1884.

Siegfried Bing (fig. 21) and Hayashi Tadamasa (fig. 47), who had introduced Japanese objects and disseminated the idea of “authentic Japanese taste” in Europe since the 1870s, started marketing in North America only in the late 1880s.

Bing, a German art dealer based in Paris, also well-known for his development of the Art Nouveau style at the turn of the twentieth century, played a highly significant role in shaping the taste for Japanese art among Western collectors. He was more than a dealer: a collector, promoter and disseminator of things Japanese, Bing’s influence as a tastemaker was apparent (Shimizu 35). Bing’s art magazine *Le Japon artistique* was published monthly between 1888 and 1891, in French, English, and German, and became widely influential. In terms of ceramics, Bing promoted from the late 1870s simple and sober stoneware and earthenware, often tea-related, rather than the painted porcelain or export ware that had previously been popular. For his discovery and promotion of domestic types of ceramics, Bing received inspiration from Ninagawa Noritane, whom he met in Japan in 1880, as Morse did.¹⁹¹

In general, the availability of objects on the market depends on the conditions of the producers, consumers and intermediaries, all of whom are interconnected. However, when dealers come to act as taste-makers—in other words, as information authorities—their marketing strategies have a conspicuous impact on what is available on market. Bing’s self-awareness of being a tastemaker (Shimizu 48), and of his marketing tactics on what was to be offered in North America, demonstrates the power of a dealer over the construction of the idea of authentic Japanese ceramics (Weisberg “S. Bing in America” 56-57). According to

¹⁹¹ Bing met with Morse when the latter traveled to Europe between 1883 and 1889, and exchanged knowledge on Japanese ceramics, in particular regarding the pieces published in Ninagawa’s *Kanko Zusetsu* (C. Ninagawa 407-419).

Gabriel Weisberg, Bing did not offer objects of the highest quality when he expanded his market to the other side of the Atlantic, because he thought American collectors were lacking “the necessary degree of sophistication to build a towering collection” (Weisberg “S. Bing in America” 57). Although Bing was not necessarily willfully deceiving his clients (Weisberg “S. Bing in America” 57), his marketing strategies as the most influential art dealer were a significant factor in shaping the idea of what should be collected—hence that of authenticity, among North American collectors.

Bing’s influence on the Van Horne collection was limited, however—or more precisely, his marketing affected Van Horne in a *reverse* way, most likely due to the higher prices of his items. Bing’s objects were known to be more expensive than those of other dealers, even though he might not have offered the best pieces to American market: Morse, for example, complained about Bing’s high prices (C. Ninagawa 407). Van Horne’s relationship with Bing started in 1887 and 1888, when he bought some Chinese ceramics from him through New York dealer Thomas B. Clarke.¹⁹² Van Horne’s concern with the price can be seen in his notes, in which he proudly recorded the discounts he received for the purchase in 1888: “Total 24 pieces – \$600/ Original price \$1447; (reduction from original price 58.4/10% [sic]).”¹⁹³ In 1894, Van Horne bought three items at Bing’s first sale of Japanese objects in New York.¹⁹⁴ They were two Karatsu tea bowls and a small Seto tea bowl, which cost him forty, twenty-five, and ten dollars respectively.¹⁹⁵ The two Karatsu

¹⁹² This purchase is noted as “Purchased through Thomas B. Clarke, New York: from S. Bing, June 4th 1888.” “Invoices: Porcelains, Bric-a-brac, Paintings, Etchings.” Box-Folder 13-1. Van Horne Family Fonds. AGO Archive.

¹⁹³ See Note 192.

¹⁹⁴ Van Horne Catalogue 1, n.pag. MMFA Archive.

¹⁹⁵ #462 Karatsu bowl, #464 Karatsu bowl, and #487 Seto small tea bowl, bought from “S. Bing Sale, NY” through Duran Ruel. Van Horne Catalogue 1, n.pag. MMFA Archive.

bowls were slightly costlier than those he acquired from other dealers around the same time. After this purchase, Van Horne did not acquire any more Japanese ceramics from Bing.

Bing's limited involvement in the Van Horne collection cannot be explained from his geographical location alone, since Van Horne often visited Paris and London for business, as well as for his painting collection. For example, he traveled to London and Paris in December 1894.¹⁹⁶ In London, he did "a little shopping first," and in Paris he visited art dealer Stephen Bourgeois. He was again concerned with price: "[he saw] some very nice pictures – no ordinary ones, all very expensive."¹⁹⁷ The lower price of Japanese ceramics was a significant factor in Van Horne's desire to collect them in large quantities for research. The relatively high prices that Bing demanded is a possible reason why Van Horne did not acquire many objects from him. By the time Bing started marketing in North America in 1894, other dealers had also started dealing domestic types of objects, but for lower prices. To realize the goal of his Japanese ceramic collection—to satisfy his quest for identifying various pieces, Van Horne did not have to deal with Bing; the dealer may have felt the same about this client.

Similarly, Van Horne's interaction with Hayashi Tadamasa, a leading Japanese art dealer active in Paris from the 1880s to 1905, was also limited. As mentioned earlier, Van Horne met him only in 1898, and acquired from him in around 1903 eight pieces by Makuzu

¹⁹⁶ Van Horne's letters to his wife, dated Dec 13 and 22, 1894. File 16 "1894-1901," Vol. 87, R7719-26-4-E, "Family Papers," Sir William Van Horne Fonds, LAC.

¹⁹⁷ See Note 196. On this trip, Van Horne also visited Edward Colonna (1862 – 1948), a German designer who worked for CPR designing railway cars from 1888 to around 1894. Colonna moved to Paris afterwards, where he was to work at Bing's Art Nouveau shop from around 1897 to 1903. While working at Bing's, Colonna served as a go-between for Van Horne and Bing. According to a letter from Colonna to Van Horne dated December 25, 1901, for example, Colonna told Van Horne that Bing thanked him for certain information, and that Bing could not find the ceramic piece he had requested (Van Horne's letters to his wife, dated Dec 13 and 22, 1894. File 16: 1894-1901, Vol. 87, R7719-26-4-E, Family Papers, Sir William Van Horne Fonds, LAC). For details of the life and works of Colonna, see Eidelberg.

Kōzan and Takemoto Hayata. Their first transaction seems somewhat late, considering that Van Horne had started collecting Japanese ceramics seriously in 1892, and Hayashi was well-known in Paris and offering domestic Japanese ceramics from the mid-1880s. While Hayashi dealt with Henry O. Havemeyer in New York in 1895 (Hayashi Tadamasa Simpoijum Jikkō Inkai 405), Hayashi's marketing in the U.S. was not as extensive as Bing's. The prices offered by Hayashi, an established dealer in Paris, could have also been a reason why Van Horne decided not to deal with him.

Akusawa Susumu

Akusawa Susumu, the first Japanese dealer that Van Horne dealt with, did play a significant role in the early development of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection. Van Horne's earliest recorded purchase from Akusawa was in 1889, but it is possible that Van Horne had also purchased from Akusawa slightly earlier, in 1887 or 1888.¹⁹⁸ How they got to know each other is not certain, as little is known about Akusawa's background. Records indicate that he learned English and worked for the Japanese commissioners for the Philadelphia Expo in 1876.¹⁹⁹ As of 1916, he was a wealthy moneylender living in Kōjimachi, Tokyo.²⁰⁰ From Van Horne's records, Akusawa acted as a Tokyo-based art dealer at least from the late 1880s to late 1890s.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸ See Note 126.

¹⁹⁹ Akusawa's name appears as an attaché of the Japanese Empire in the United States Centennial Commission. "Statistical Appendix: Japan" in *International Exhibition, 1876 Official Catalogue* 259; and in *Kansas at Centennial* 31.

²⁰⁰ Akusawa's name is listed in "Third National Survey of Men of Property over 500,000 Yen," in 1916.

²⁰¹ Other existing records are the passenger record of Japan Weekly Mail, which show that a person named S. Akusawa visited Vancouver from March to June, and from September to December 1889, and this was most likely Susumu Akusawa. *Japan Weekly Mail*, Vol. 11, no.12 and 22, and Vol.12, no. 11 and 23.

Between around 1887 and 1893 Van Horne acquired from Akusawa approximately 160 pieces of refined ceramics with colourful painted decoration—porcelain pieces of Imari, Kutani, Nabeshima, and Hirado, as well as Satsuma *nishikide*-type earthenware—all made exclusively for export.²⁰² The prices for these pieces were often higher than those paid by Van Horne for domestic types of ceramics after December 1892. It is clear that Akusawa was one of the earliest inspirations for Van Horne to start collecting Japanese ceramics. When Van Horne started writing his catalogues at the beginning of 1893, he referred to Akusawa as one of his three major sources of information, along with Morse and Shugio (fig. 34). Van Horne's trust in Akusawa's knowledge is apparent. However, Akusawa's contribution to the later development of the Van Horne collection was limited: his comments appear mainly on enamel-decorated pieces of export ware, and are no longer seen in the catalogues after September 1893. Van Horne's interaction with Akusawa significantly decreased after 1893 as his interest in Japanese ceramics shifted to domestic ceramics, although they maintained a personal connection.²⁰³ Van Horne purchased occasionally from Akusawa until 1896 (and once in 1900), but the dealer seemingly disappeared from Van Horne's circle of contacts by the early 1900s.

Akusawa's business with Van Horne reflected the current of collecting Japanese ceramics in North America in the 1870s – 1880s: his emphasis was on export ware of Imari, Kutani, Nabeshima, and Satsuma. However, Akusawa apparently failed to see and follow the change in the Western market or Van Horne's interests after the early 1890s. His unchanging

²⁰² Invoices dated 1889 – 1890, and those not dated, Box-folder 13-1, AGO Archive.

²⁰³ Akusawa's New Year's greeting card to Van Horne, dated December 5, 1895, with a fine colour illustration of Van Horne in a robe of Bodhidharma, indicates their close friendship. File 5: 1890-1899, Vol. 79, R7719-21-5-E, Chronological correspondence, Sir William Van Horne Fonds, LAC.

marketing of limited types at higher prices could not compete with the later comers such as Bunkio Matsuki or Yamanaka and Company.

Matsuki Bunkio

Van Horne's encounter with Matsuki Bunkio (fig. 48), a Japanese dealer based in Salem and Boston, had a direct impact on the later development of his Japanese ceramic collection. Van Horne's first purchase from Matsuki in December 1892 was a pivotal moment for the shift in his interest from colourfully decorated export ware to humbler and simpler types made in various kilns throughout Japan for the domestic market. Matsuki remained the major dealer for Van Horne throughout his collecting life. A close examination of their client-dealer relationship has revealed that the shifts and currents in Van Horne's collecting activities reflected not only the conditions on Van Horne's side, but also those on Matsuki's—his business and marketing strategies as well as his personal life.

Matsuki was born in Nagano, Japan, to a family with commercial and artistic roots. At the age of fifteen, Matsuki moved to Tokyo and studied at Buddhist temples, learning Buddhist texts and Chinese classics. In addition, Matsuki learnt English, which widened his worldview and eventually changed his objectives. He lived in China from 1886 to 1888, when he went on to Boston. When Matsuki first met Edward S. Morse, he impressed the American with his knowledge of Japanese art, Buddhism, and Chinese language. Morse was then engaged in cataloguing his collection of Japanese ceramics, and desperately needed someone to help with translation and deciphering potters' marks. In 1888 Morse became an official guardian of Matsuki, who lived with Morse's family and studied at Salem High

School. While studying, Matsuki worked as an agent of Japanese merchandise for Almy, Bigelow & Washburn, a leading department store in Salem, as well as for Morse. The Japanese objects Matsuki selected during his annual trips to Japan quickly became very popular at Almy's. He gradually started his own business from around 1892, and opened a shop in Boston in 1893.

It is not known exactly when and how Van Horne met Matsuki for the first time, but it is most likely that Morse introduced his disciple to Van Horne. When Van Horne acquired his first thirty-four pieces from Matsuki in December 1892, this purchase was approved by Morse, which indicates the relationships among the three.²⁰⁴ This first purchase from Matsuki introduced a much larger variety of types of objects to Van Horne's Japanese ceramic collection (figs. 49a-c). The launch of multi-volume catalogues at the beginning of 1893, as well as a colour-illustrated "fair copy" catalogue mostly with objects from Matsuki probably created around 1896 (fig. 35), demonstrate the impact of the encounter with Matsuki and his merchandise.

Van Horne's interactions with Matsuki are recorded in 1892 – 1894, 1896 – 1901, and 1905. The peaks of Van Horne's purchasing from Matsuki were, first between 1893 and 1894, when Van Horne acquired 167 objects; and second between 1897 and 1899 when he bought 251 objects. These pieces are mainly small stoneware from diverse kilns throughout Japan, and very rarely Imari or Satsuma wares with enamel decorations.

When looking at it from Matsuki's side, the period between 1890 and 1895 was the time when Matsuki introduced to the public in North America selections of Japanese objects

²⁰⁴ See Note 114.

that were “different” from the previously accessible types (Hirayama 222-225). His selection of ceramics was diverse: he offered “a considerable assortment of items from many provinces of Japan, naming at least a dozen different types of ceramics at any given time” (Hirayama 226). By then, people’s fascination with Japan was already more than a decade old, and it is likely that Matsuki’s customers in Salem already possessed certain knowledge of Japanese arts and crafts (Hirayama 217). It was also the time when the “consumer non-collector” of the middle class emerged, as opposed to the upper class “collector” of Japanese ceramics. As the Japanese ceramic industry targeted the former and produced affordable utilitarian ceramics, the quality of production decreased. Matsuki, an ambitious young dealer, made the best use of a newly established retailing tool: advertisement as informational column (Sharf 144). In his advertisement, he explained that the Japanese objects widely available on American market were “cheaply made, therefore easily broken ... miserable” or “not genuine, but imitations ... *Yokohama-muki* (Yokohama fashion) which are made so as to deceive the admirers of the Japanese art” (qtd. in Hirayama 222). In contrast, Matsuki authenticated his own merchandise as “the true work of the best artists in Japan,” “found in daily use in the Japanese homes themselves” (Hirayama 222). This notion of originality and authenticity echoed the search for authenticity that found *chanoyu* as its source within the circle of collectors.

Matsuki was able to offer a variety of types of Japanese ceramics because he traveled to Japan annually, not only to make purchases for his business, but also to conduct research for Morse on various local kilns. Hina Hirayama suggests that Matsuki was able to develop an extensive network among living potters and traders in Japan, and he even commissioned some ceramic objects specifically for his shop (227). Another factor that enabled Matsuki’s

business to flourish was that he offered lower prices compared to other dealers in Salem and Boston. This can be observed from the Van Horne Catalogues: for example, among the items bought from Matsuki in December 1892, the highest price recorded is thirty-five dollars (figs. 49a-c), while Van Horne had occasionally paid as much as 315 dollars for a Satsuma piece offered by Akusawa in the earlier days. It is interesting to see that Van Horne, who did not mind paying considerable amounts to buy Western paintings, painstakingly catalogued a number of Japanese ceramics that cost him as little as five to ten dollars each. This means that the low pricing was an important factor that enabled Van Horne to purchase a large number of objects at once and satisfied his eagerness for studying and identifying individual objects.

For Van Horne, Matsuki was not only a source of acquisition, but also of information. His name is not listed along with other informants (Morse, Shugio and Akusawa) on the cover of the explanatory catalogue, but this may be because Van Horne had not yet developed a trust in Matsuki in the early 1893. Matsuki's later contribution can be seen in his numerous comments recorded in the Van Horne Catalogues as well as the "Japanese Notebook," which contains notes from Japanese sources translated by Matsuki.

Van Horne and Matsuki maintained a client-dealer relationship for a long time. Matsuki sometimes visited Van Horne in Montreal (Morgan 49; Knowles 296), and even had an exhibition of his own collection of Japanese ceramics at the AAM in 1902 (AAM annual report; N. Morgan 47). Norma Morgan suggests that Van Horne introduced Matsuki to F. Cleveland Morgan (1881 – 1962), a collector and the founder of the decorative arts department at AAM in 1916, who started collecting Japanese ceramics with an influence from Van Horne (49).

The decrease in Van Horne's acquisitions after 1901 seems to have been affected by the shift in Matsuki's marketing, in addition to changes in Van Horne's life from his work on the Cuban national railway from 1900. By then, Matsuki was attempting to transition from being a dealer of affordable objects to an *art* dealer of more expensive pieces (Hirayama 229), and he began auction sales in various locations such as Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. This was reflected in Van Horne's acquisitions: for example, #1276, a vase attributed to Ninsei, purchased from Matsuki in December 1900, cost him seventy-five dollars,²⁰⁵ a price rarely found in his earlier purchases from this dealer.

Matsuki's shift, in fact, reflected the change in the environment surrounding "collecting Japan" at the turn of the twentieth century, when the popularity of Japanese ceramics declined with the increasing popularity of Chinese ones. The North American market for Japanese ceramics started to be separated into "art ceramics" for collectors and "utilitarian ceramics" for consumers in the 1880s to 1890s (Imakiire 14-15). In the subsequent decade, with the greater desire from collectors and scholars for a systematic, and art historical understanding of Japanese art both in Japan and in the West, ceramic objects were increasingly seen as works of art. Dealers, including Matsuki, had to follow this current of pursuing the aesthetic quality of individual ceramics rather than just variety and quantity.

Matsuki's attempts to become an art dealer, however, did not succeed, and he had major financial problems in the early twentieth century (Lawton 108). While Van Horne and Matsuki remained in contact until Van Horne's last days in 1915, the relationship soured for

²⁰⁵ Van Horne Catalogue 3, n.pag. Box-Folder 9-4, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive.

Van Horne: correspondence between them in 1914 indicates that they had a conflict over financial and trust issues.²⁰⁶

Shugio Hiromichi

Shugio Hiromichi (fig. 50) served as one of Van Horne's major sources of information, more than of objects, from the early days of his collecting activities. The two men maintained a close connection throughout Van Horne's collecting life, and he had a high degree of trust in Shugio's personality and knowledge. While the degree of direct influence of Shugio on Van Horne and his collection is difficult to measure, the former's wide and comprehensive apprehension of Japanese art, along with Morse's thorough knowledge of ceramics, must have helped Van Horne in cultivating his idea of Japaneseness.

Shugio worked extensively for the Meiji government to promote Japanese art and crafts to the West, for example, as the manager of the New York branch of Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha between 1880 and 1889, and as a government representative for several international expositions (Chicago in 1893, Paris in 1900, St. Louise in 1904, and Britain-Japan Exposition in 1910).²⁰⁷ Thanks to his sociable personality and fluency in English, he was well-connected among the gentlemen's circles in the U.S, and took many opportunities to introduce Japanese art. For example, he became a member of the prestigious Tile Club in New York in 1880, and then the Grolier Club in 1884. He gave a talk at the latter on

²⁰⁶ Letter from Van Horne to Matsuki dated December 28, 1914. Box-Folder 5-2, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive. Freer also had a difficult time with Matsuki around 1909, regarding "their long-standing financial entanglement" (Lawton 108).

²⁰⁷ For a detailed chronology of Shugio's life and activities, see I. Shugio.

Japanese books and printing in 1887 and organized the first exhibition of Japanese *ukiyo-e* prints in the city in 1889 (Meech-Pekarik “Shugio” 79). After 1890, Shugio frequently traveled back and forth between Japan and abroad for his service for the government, and in 1897, he started running an art dealing business in New York with two other Japanese.²⁰⁸

Van Horne and Shugio likely met before 1892, possibly during Shugio’s days in New York.²⁰⁹ Van Horne acquired about seventy Japanese ceramic pieces from Shugio, either purchased over several occasions in 1893 and 1897, or received as gifts (dates unknown). Shugio’s involvement in the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection as a dealer was not as intensive as that of Matsuki or Yamanaka and Co. More importantly, however, Shugio was one of the principal sources of information about Japanese ceramics, and his comments appear throughout the multiple volumes of Van Horne’s catalogues. Shugio’s importance from the early days is apparent in his appearance as one of the three commentators specified on the cover of the explanatory catalogue supposedly started by the beginning of 1893 (fig. 34). Here, Shugio’s location is identified as Washington D.C., where he resided between February and November 1893, cataloguing the Japanese ceramic collection of Thomas E. Waggaman,²¹⁰ as well as attending the Chicago International Exposition as a government official.

The close relationship between Van Horne and Shugio can be observed in Shugio’s letter to Morse dated February 9, 1897, mentioned earlier.²¹¹ Shugio’s delighted anticipation of meeting his friends demonstrates that the three had established a close relationship by

²⁰⁸ For Shugio’s detailed biography and activities in relation to *japonisme* in the U.S., see Hada.

²⁰⁹ Van Horne wrote in his letter to Sir Edward Clouston in Montreal dated January 31, 1912, that he had known Shugio for more than twenty years. Box-Folder 3-25, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive.

²¹⁰ The catalogue of the Waggaman Collection was published in 1893, 1896, and 1900.

²¹¹ See Note 183.

then. Shugio had visited Van Horne just before this, in January 1897, and made comments on some of the pieces in his collection. For example, in the explanatory catalogue, item #310 is recorded as “Satsuma (M + S) tall white pitcher”: this indicates that the item was originally identified as Satsuma by Morse and Shugio (“M + S”), but the comments below read:

Shugio says (January '97) that he is now quite sure that this is not SATSUMA but AWATA and probably by TAIZAN./ I have always doubted its being Satsuma/ wcvh [Van Horne's initials].²¹²

This indicates that Shugio had seen this particular piece before but changed his attribution on his second look in January 1897. Van Horne's somewhat self-congratulatory remark about always having doubted that the vase was Satsuma ware suggests his growing confidence in identifying Japanese ceramics by this time. Shugio visited Van Horne again on September 2, 1900, and saw several pieces from his collection. The list of pieces on which Shugio made comments on this occasion, which Van Horne apparently scribbled on the spot as Shugio went through them, is extant.²¹³ Van Horne later re-wrote some of these under each piece's entry in the catalogues.

These examples, as well as Shugio's undated comments that appear throughout the multiple Van Horne catalogues, indicate his frequent visits to Van Horne. While it does not necessarily mean that Van Horne followed Shugio's opinions, his comments certainly served as significant references for Van Horne to study individual pieces of his collection. Van Horne's faith in Shugio's knowledge of Japanese things can be seen in his letter to Sir

²¹² “*Notes on Japanese Pottery and Porcelain in the Collection of W.C. Van Horne,*” 155. Box-Folder 9-1, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive.

²¹³ Box-Folder 9-1, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive.

Edward Clouston dated January 31, 1912.²¹⁴ The main subject of this letter is Van Horne's recommendation of Shugio to work on cataloguing Lord Strathcona's wide-ranging Japanese collection. In this letter, Van Horne wrote:

Mr. Shugio's taste and knowledge are more catholic and he has a knowledge [sic] of "things Japanese", which Professor Morse, whose special knowledge does not extend far beyond ceramics [sic], does not have.²¹⁵

Van Horne's favourable comment on Shugio's comprehensive knowledge of things Japanese over Morse's special knowledge of ceramics is understandable, since Lord Strathcona's collection represented a Victorian eclectic taste for ornamentation. Although this plan apparently did not come to a realization, it demonstrates the continuous relationship between Van Horne and Shugio until 1915, even though the latter was based in Tokyo.²¹⁶

Yamanaka and Company

Along with Matsuki, another major source of objects for Van Horne between 1898 and 1900 was Yamanaka and Company, although their relationship was short-lived. The Yamanaka family of *kyōji* (scroll-mounting craftsmen), based in Osaka since the beginning of the nineteenth century, started dealing antiques during the time of the second generation, Yamanaka Kichibē II (1806 – 1872).²¹⁷ His second son Kichirobē (1845 – 1917) established

²¹⁴ Box-Folder 3-25, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive. See Note 209.

²¹⁵ See Note 214.

²¹⁶ Shugio's last letter to Van Horne found in the archival records is dated on March 18, 1915, several months before Van Horne's death. File "1915 s-z (pt.1)", Vol. 80, R7719-21-5-E, Chronological correspondence, Sir William Van Horne Fonds, LAC.

²¹⁷ For the detail of the history of Yamanaka and Company, see Yamamoto "Bijutsu-shō."

the business in 1882, and sent his nephew-in-law Sadajirō (1866 – 1936) to the United States to open the first overseas branch in New York in 1895. The company further expanded its business internationally, and opened a branch in Boston in 1899, followed by London in 1900, Paris in 1905, Beijing in 1917, and Chicago in 1928.

Van Horne mainly dealt with the Yamanaka in Boston from 1898 (fig. 51),²¹⁸ purchasing a variety of Japanese ceramics in bulk, as he did from Matsuki: for example, he acquired 120 pieces from the Yamanaka in Boston in 1898—eight pieces in March, thirty-one in May, twenty-six in July, and fifty-five in November.²¹⁹ A letter from Yamanaka and Co., Boston to Van Horne, dated January 6, 1899, indicates that the company considered him an important client.²²⁰ It describes a collection of 150 pieces of Japanese ceramics, which Mr. Yamanaka of Boston had recently “specially” selected in Japan with Van Horne’s suggestions in mind—many pieces are “with mark.” Therefore, the letter continues, “we feel that you [Van Horne] should have the first opportunity to examine them.”²²¹ The fifty-five pieces Van Horne bought from Yamanaka in March 1899 may have been among those mentioned in this correspondence. Van Horne seems to have established a firm client-dealer relationship within a year. Yamanaka and Co. also provided Van Horne various information on Japanese ceramics. Throughout the Van Horne Catalogue can be found comments

²¹⁸ Although the website of Yamanaka and Company gives the opening of Boston branch as 1899, Van Horne had already dealt with them as early as March 1898, and received letters from the company with its official letterhead with the address of “272 Boylston Street, Boston” as early as July 26, 1898. Letters from Yamanaka & Co. to Van Horne, Box-Folder 6-2, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive.

²¹⁹ Van Horne Catalogue 2, n.pag. MMFA Archive.

²²⁰ Box-Folder 6-6, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive.

²²¹ See Note 220.

identified as “Yamanaka” or “Y,” and Van Horne sometimes asked the company to identify potter’s marks on his Japanese ceramic pieces.²²²

Van Horne’s relationship with Yamanaka did not last long, however. The number of pieces Van Horne purchased from Yamanaka declined dramatically in 1900 and 1901. And in 1902 he made only one purchase from this dealer, which marked the end of their relationship. The broad shift in trends in Japanese ceramic market at the turn of the twentieth century, in which the more aesthetic aspect of individual objects became emphasized, may explain the disappearance of Yamanaka and Co. from Van Horne’s collecting circle. As discussed in the case of Matsuki, this was the time when dealers of Japanese objects experienced a transitional phase from traders to art dealers.²²³ Unlike Matsuki, who struggled with the shift, Yamanaka and Co. was successful in establishing itself as an art dealer, and its overseas business further flourished after 1900 by dealing also with the then-emerging Chinese works of art.²²⁴ Although Van Horne himself slightly shifted his interest towards the aesthetic quality of Japanese ceramics, the overall direction of his collection did not show a considerable change. Unlike Matsuki, who continued offering Japanese ceramics to Van Horne until 1905, the short-lived relationship between Van Horne and the Yamanaka exemplifies the changing dynamics between the collector and dealers as the notion of what constituted authentic Japanese ceramics shifted in the Western market.

²²² For example, a letter from Yamanaka and Co. to Van Horne dated July 26, 1898 is about the three marks identified, most likely on Van Horne’s request, and the one which “we have been still trying to make out.” Box-Folder 6-2, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive.

²²³ For the shifting function of Japanese art dealers as the country’s art system was being established, see Satō “Nihon bijutsu no shijō,” and Yamamoto *Karamono*.

²²⁴ The company’s success is well exemplified in the fact that its New York branch moved to a five-story building on Fifth Avenue in 1917, and that it received the royal warrant from George V in 1919 (Yamanaka & Co.).

2-4: Comparisons of the Van Horne Collection with other similar collections

The idiosyncratic nature of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection is brought into sharp relief when it is compared to similar collections. This section examines four collections of Japanese ceramics established in Europe and North America around the same time as Van Horne's: those of Sir Donald Alexander Smith (Lord Strathcona) in Montreal; of A.W. Franks in London; of Edward S. Morse in Boston; and of Charles Lang Freer in Detroit. Through analysis of these collections, I attempt to look at the Van Horne collection from a comparative perspective, and situate it within the international current of collecting Japanese ceramics. I discuss three aspects of the collecting activities of these individuals: whether the collector was interested in the classifiable aspect of Japanese ceramics or in the aesthetic quality of individual pieces; whether he had a sense of "mission" in collecting, personal or national; and his idea of "what is authentically Japanese ceramics." The comparisons ultimately reveal the distinctive character of the Van Horne collection, which places it in a transitional position in terms of the focus of collecting Japanese ceramics that shifted from classification to aesthetic. It also becomes clear that Van Horne did not have any missionary purpose for his collection, neither of saving a vanishing tradition of Japan or of serving the Canadian public.

Sir Donald Alexander Smith, Lord Strathcona

The *japonisme* phenomenon, which swept Europe and America during the second half of the nineteenth century, reached Canada slightly later. Interest in Asia grew as Canada was taking shape as a nation-state: the Pacific coast became part of Canada in 1871, the

trans-Canada railway was completed in 1885, and steamship service from British Columbia to Asian ports was inaugurated in the late 1880s. Although there is no comprehensive study of Japanese art collections in Canada, it is known that several major collectors in Montreal collected Japanese works of art in the late nineteenth century, including Lord Strathcona, Sir Hugh Allan, Sir Thomas George Shaughnessy, and Sir George Drummond.

Sir Donald Alexander Smith, the First Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal (fig. 52), was one of the co-founders of the CPR and collected Japanese objects, including ceramics. His collection of Japanese objects consisted of the emblematic Meiji export wares that reflected the eclectic Victorian taste, as seen in the photo taken in 1916 (fig. 43 right)—large Imari vases, a gilded Buddha (Japanese or Chinese), lacquered chests (not necessarily Japanese, but in the Asian style), Japanese bronzes. Lord Strathcona's interest in Japanese objects must have begun earlier than Van Horne's. The time difference is suggested from an apparent gap in their tastes—porcelain with polychrome painted decoration versus non-porcelain with simpler decoration. Their taste for ceramics made by Kyoto potter Eiraku Hozen (1795 – 1854) attest this difference. Four tea bowls collected by Lord Strathcona and later donated to the MMFA by his grandson in 1927 are all in elaborate porcelain of *kinrande* style, that is, decorated with gold and red enamels (fig. 53). While Van Horne also collected several pieces by Eiraku, his pieces are in simpler and more rustic. For example, a tea bowl with a seal of Eiraku, numbered 1282 in Van Horne Catalogue 2, is of thickly built stoneware covered with white a slip with geometrical patterns in grey, in the style of Sawankhalok ceramics of Thailand (fig. 54).²²⁵

²²⁵ Van Horne Catalogue 2, MMFA archive. This piece is now reserved at the ROM (909.22.30).

Lord Strathcona's interest in decorative Japanese objects can also be seen in his collection of *shifuku*, fabric bags for preserving ceramic tea caddies (fig. 55). Japanese ceramic tea caddies, small, simple, often dark brown jars usually with tiny ivory lids, were popular collectables in the West in the late nineteenth century. An example is the large collection of tea caddies acquired by Henry O. Havemeyer in New York in 1884, which were delightfully called "brownies" by his second wife, Louisine (Meech-Pekarik "Early Collectors" 99).²²⁶ Van Horne also collected over ninety tea caddies, which are proudly recorded at the very beginning of his very first catalogue, started in 1893.²²⁷ Lord Strathcona's 122 tea caddies and 127 *shifuku* were part of his grandson's donation to the AAM in 1927, although it is no longer certain which bag accompanied which caddy.²²⁸

A *shifuku*, often made of precious fabrics such as gold-brocade, satin damask or silk, is not merely a storage bag but is a work of art in itself, and is an important tea utensil. Every tea caddy collected in the West should originally have come in "a silk bag," as Louisine Havemeyer recalls (qtd. in Meech-Pekarik "Early Collectors" 98-99).²²⁹ However, *shifuku* were often overlooked or separated from tea caddies, partly because they were thought mere storage material by Western collectors or museums, and partly because the ceramics and fabrics drew the interests of different groups of collectors. If *shifuku* remain in a tea caddy collection in the West, this generally demonstrates the collector's better understanding of the context of *chanoyu*. In the case of Lord Strathcona's collection, however, considering the

²²⁶ Havemeyer's tea caddies are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

²²⁷ Van Horne Catalogue 1 "D.B.," MMFA archive. Van Horne's tea caddy collection is now housed at the MMFA.

²²⁸ Whether this was the original state from the Strathcona collection, or caddies and bags were separated later by the AAM, is not known.

²²⁹ For the collection of Louisine W. Havemeyer, see her memoir *Sixteen to Sixty: Memoirs of a Collector* (New York, privately printed, 1961).

overall decorative nature of his Japanese collection, his *shifuku* can also be understood as reflecting his interest in the decorative aspect, rather than their context of *chanoyu*. As discussed in Chapter One, the culture of *chanoyu* was received in the West in the 1880s more as another form of exoticism than a demonstration of deep understanding of the custom.

Lord Strathcona's Japanese objects thus embodied an earlier type of collection, in which the collector's interest in the exotic, decorative nature of export ware can be interpreted from a colonial perspective, that is, the desire of a member of the Western ruling class to show off his power and social status by possessing objects from Other cultures. Unlike the other three collections that I discuss in the following, the question of the idea of authentic Japanese ceramics, is in fact inapplicable to Lord Strathcona. The issue of authenticity was insignificant for him, or not even questioned.

Van Horne showed no interest in *shifuku* that accompanied his ceramic caddies. For his quest of identifying the origin of each object, he needed only tea caddies themselves. Compared to Lord Strathcona's collection, Van Horne's approach towards Japanese ceramics went beyond the earlier interest in the exotic, decorative quality of the objects for the purpose of the affirmation of the collector's self-identity.

Sir Augustus W. Franks

Sir Augustus W. Franks, Keeper of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography at the British Museum from 1866 to 1896, collected a wide range of Japanese objects, including ceramics, *netsuke*, *tsuba* and paintings, both privately and publicly, most of which are now housed in the British Museum. His Japanese ceramic collection of about

1,700 pieces, established between the late 1860s and the early 1880s, constitutes half of the Museum's entire Japanese ceramics inventory (Rousmaniere "A.W. Franks" 34). This collection, which aimed to be comprehensive and "truly Japanese" (Rousmaniere "A.W. Franks" 28), was created from the collector's sense of a national mission, which was shaped around the political and cultural circumstances of the time.

As the large size of his ceramic collection suggests, Franks aimed to create a collection that would "illustrate fully the different historical varieties of Japanese ceramic" (Rousmaniere "A.W. Franks" 29). He was not interested in "rare or fine specimens, but rather in accumulating broadly" (Rousmaniere "A.W. Franks" 30). For Franks' approach for the collecting, the influence of Noritane Ninagawa cannot be overlooked. Ninagawa's *Kanko Zusetsu* served as one of Franks' major sources and is considered to be the deciding influence that shifted his interest from porcelain to non-porcelain "potteries" (Rousmaniere "A.W. Franks" 31). Franks never met Ninagawa in person, but the two apparently had a personal connection, as Nicole Rousmaniere suggests that Franks received or purchased twenty ceramic pieces from Ninagawa ("A.W. Franks" 32).

The shift in Franks' interests in Japanese ceramics can be seen in the catalogue of his private collection, *A Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, written by Franks himself, as discussed in Chapter One. The increase in the number of potteries from the first and second edition, written in 1876 and 1877, as well as Franks clear remark that distinguishing export wares and domestic types, was already noted. Furthermore, more interest can be found in the second edition in pursuing the origin of the objects, or the classification. In the first edition, Franks was not interested in the places of production of individual pieces; instead, he placed more importance on describing their appearance,

patterns, and forms. In the second edition, however, Franks recorded the places of production, makers, and marks of individual objects wherever the information was available. His increasing interest in the “scientific” approach to collecting Japanese ceramics is apparent.

All these attempts were made in order to illustrate ceramics of “the taste of the Japanese” (qtd. in Rousmaniere “A.W. Franks” 31), but Franks’ sense of authenticity needs to be understood within the socio-cultural contexts surrounding him and his social status. The goal of Franks’ collection was, according to Nicole Rousmaniere, “collecting for and *as* the nation” (“A.W. Franks” 31, original emphasis). As a Keeper, Franks worked at the British Museum for thirty years. Building the Museum’s collection was thus his life’s work, and almost became his identity. At the zenith of the British Empire, Franks’ personal identity was closely connected to national identity, and he felt an imperialist responsibility to shape and organize the history of objects from Other cultures. And as a nineteenth century archaeologist and scientist, he used the scientific activity of taxonomy, which flourished in the Victorian era, to make his collection “[a]s scientifically accurate as possible, not to be swayed by beauty or passion” (Rousmaniere “A.W. Franks” 31).

Compared to Franks’ grand idealism, Van Horne, while also interested in the classifiable aspect of Japanese ceramics, lacked the sense of national mission that Franks obviously saw as his duty. While Van Horne identified himself as a nation-builder of Canada and shared the British colonial worldview, his attitude towards Japanese ceramics was more to do with his personal interest in and enthusiasm for the actual objects that he could touch.

Edward S. Morse

Details of the Japanese ceramic collection of Edward S. Morse and his strong influence on the Van Horne collection were discussed earlier. As a zoologist, Morse pursued even more wholeness in scientific specimen-gathering than did Franks. Morse's goal was to cover as many samples of Japanese ceramics from as many kilns as possible. He was able to collect a much larger number of objects than other collectors because he had stayed in Japan for a longer time. The Morse collection was clearly a collection of specimens as opposed to one that focused on the beauty of individual objects, as Morse himself admits in his publication (*Catalogue* iv).

While Morse's collection was eventually acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston in 1892, unlike Franks, Morse did not originally collect Japanese ceramics as a national mission. Rather, it was Morse's personal mission of "saving the vanishing tradition," derived from his experience as a foreigner in early Meiji Japan. Morse witnessed first-hand the height of the country's modernization and Westernization, with its traditional manners and customs being abandoned, and this drove his collecting.²³⁰ His attempts to thoroughly understand Japanese culture from an ethnographic perspective and his empathy towards truly Japanese taste were exemplified in his active involvement in local Japanese communities and activities during his stays in the country. For example, Morse attended collectors' gatherings in Japan at which people competed to identify ceramics by touch, often blindfold. It is said that Morse, the sole foreigner at the gatherings, was able to identify them best and in the shortest time (Ōta 183). Morse's quest for truly Japanese taste was also obvious in his debate

²³⁰ In Morse's obituary, Poultney Bigelow (1855 – 1954) refers him as "a grand good friend of Japan" and "a biographer of Japanese everyday life" who made every effort to preserve meticulous details (qtd. in Ōta 197-198, my translation).

with James Lord Bowes in the 1880s regarding the authenticity of Japanese ceramics, in which Morse stood for simple domestic potteries over decorated porcelain made for export to the West.²³¹ For Morse, humble non-porcelain made for utilitarian purposes represented authentic Japanese ceramics.

Morse's approach was well demonstrated in his pursuit of completeness and objective description. His descriptions in his 1901 *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery* are highly objective, as seen in the examples of Ninsei pieces discussed in Chapter One. In this regard, Morse and Franks shared the same intention to build collections of scientific specimens, rather aesthetic quality. Even though Morse, an American, had less sense of a national mission than did the British Franks, his collection can still be situated within the prevailing colonial idea in the late nineteenth century that the West was in the position of possessing and describing Other cultures, and thus saving them from disappearance.

Van Horne, while he shared with Morse an interest in the classifiable aspect of Japanese ceramics, and personally exchanged knowledge and actual objects with him, did not develop a sense of mission as Morse did. Van Horne never visited Japan, and had no ethnographic interest in the context in which the types of ceramics he was collecting were actually used. Van Horne's approach was more present-oriented, that is, his focus was on the objects themselves, not in the abstract ideas projected onto them.

²³¹ For the details of this debate, see Note 54.

Charles Lang Freer

Charles Lang Freer was an American businessman who built his wealth through railroad-car manufacturing. He became interested in Japanese art in the late 1880s through his artist friend James McNeil Whistler (1834 – 1903), who was one of the earliest admirers of the art from Japan. At first, Freer collected Japanese paintings, but in 1892 he bought his first ceramic objects and eventually accumulated about 820 Japanese ceramics (Pope 19). In 1900, at the age of forty-six, he retired and devoted himself to collecting art. He traveled widely in Asia, first from 1894 to 1895, and again between 1905 and 1906, from Japan to China and Egypt, and collected a large number of objects at their places of origin (Lawton 66).

While his collection of Japanese ceramics had a wide coverage of the field, Freer's attitude towards the collection was different from Franks' or Morse's desire to include the whole of Japanese ceramic production. The smaller number of objects clearly demonstrates that he was more selective than exhaustive. Like Morse, Freer also visited Japan and collected with a sense of "mission to recover a 'lost tradition'" (Wilson "Tea Taste" 33), but he did so more from an aesthetic perspective than from ethnographic interest. This approach naturally had to do with his personal preference, but also with some external influencing factors. One of these was his acquaintance with Ernest F. Fenollosa, the most influential Western historian of Japanese art in the early Meiji period.²³² Freer began his friendship with Fenollosa in 1900, and often asked him for guidance to reflect the "Japanese point of view" (Pope 19) in his collection. For example, Freer was attracted by non-porcelains, especially

²³² During his twelve-year stay in Japan from 1878 to 1890, Fenollosa contributed to the re-evaluation of traditional Japanese art at the height of modernization, and to the establishment of art history and art education. He also collected a large number of Japanese works of art, the majority of which are now at the MFAB.

tea utensils of stoneware and earthenware, which is considered to be due to influence from Fenollosa (Pope 19-20).

Freer's dominant interest in "artistic" objects is exemplified in his collection of pieces made by, or in the style of, Ogata Kenzan, whose status as one of the master potters in the eighteenth century was constructed from the 1880s along with that of Ninsei. Freer was one of the earliest collectors interested in Kenzan, and contributed to the formation of Kenzan's fame by acquiring many of his works (*Wilson Potter's Brush* 26).²³³ Fenollosa later called Freer "the instigator" of Kenzan (*Wilson Potter's Brush* 35). Freer's fondness for Kenzan was certainly his personal preference, but it was also affected by the socio-cultural conditions both in Japan and in the West in the early twentieth century, in which Japanese ceramics were increasingly seen as works of art, as I demonstrated in Chapter One.

It is clear that, unlike Franks and Morse, who collected for a scientific taxonomical purpose and tried "not to be swayed by beauty or passion" (Rousmaniere "A.W. Franks" 31), Freer collected for reasons of aesthetic choice. At the same time, however, Freer did share with Franks and Morse the intention to give his collection to a public museum. He decided to offer it to the U.S. government as early as 1905, and it was accepted by the Smithsonian Institute to create the Freer Gallery of Art (today's Freer and Sackler Galleries) in Washington D.C. in 1923. Freer's sense of mission was on a national scale.

Van Horne had personal contact with Freer at least by 1896, and from then the two exchanged a few visits and correspondences,²³⁴ if not as frequently or closely as Van Horne

²³³ For the formation process of the high status of Kenzan, as well as the Rimpa school of Japanese painting see also Wilson "Tea Taste" 33-35.

²³⁴ I am grateful to Dr. Thomas W. Brunk for the detailed information about the exchanges between Freer and Van Horne.

did with Morse. It is recorded that Van Horne visited Freer in January 1904 and left comments on two of his Japanese ceramic objects.²³⁵ They must have been well aware of each other's collecting activities, as they dealt with the same dealer, Matsuki Bunkio.²³⁶ While the peak period of Van Horne's collecting of Japanese ceramics was before 1900, Freer accumulated more objects after 1900.²³⁷ This slight time gap led to the differences in the directions of their collecting: Van Horne did not share Freer's aesthetic approach towards his Japanese ceramic collection. The latter's strong aspiration for the philanthropic act also marks a clear difference between the two collectors.

Characteristics of the Van Horne Collection

Comparisons with the above collections of Japanese ceramics bring forward some characteristics of Van Horne's approach to his collection. Analysis of these collections also reveals that the aim and direction of a collection is not simply determined by the collector's personal preference, but is also considerably influenced by his relationship with dealers, the availability of objects and of knowledge of the objects at the given time and place, and the broader social and cultural circumstances, both in Japan and in the country where the collector resides.

²³⁵ Thomas Brunk's "Freer-Van Horne Notes" and personal correspondence with Louise Cort, Curator for Ceramics, Freer and Sackler Gallery of Art. March 12, 2013. The two pieces are F1892.31 and F1901.101 at the Freer Gallery of Art. Van Horne also gave a Chinese porcelain to Freer in 1906 (F1906.18).

²³⁶ For example, Matsuki's letter to Van Horne dated November 3, 1898, mentions that Freer took seventeen Japanese ceramic bottles that Van Horne had not selected. Letter from Matsuki to Van Horne, November 3, 1898. Box-Folder 6-1, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive.

²³⁷ According to John A. Pope, Freer had about 300 Japanese ceramics by the end of the nineteenth century, which grew to 823 by 1919 (19).

Lord Strathcona's earlier collection of Japanese decorative export ceramics was aimed at affirming the collector's self-identity, in which the idea of authenticity was not questioned. Franks and Morse shared the scientific desire to collect samples of all types of ceramics produced in Japan. Their idea of "authentic Japanese ceramics" was exemplified by unassuming domestic objects, that is, the opposite of decorative export ware. For them, the completeness of the collection was extremely important from the scientific point of view which prevailed in late nineteenth-century West. Furthermore, they collected for missionary purposes: Franks from the national mission of understanding Others, and Morse from the personal mission of saving the vanishing tradition of Japan. In contrast, Freer collected based on his aesthetic choices. Heavily influenced by the current of art historical understanding of Japanese art at the turn of the twentieth century, his idea of "authentic Japanese ceramics" was formed by this art historical approach. At the same time, from the beginning Freer had the intention to make his collection part of a national domain, as did Franks.

Compared to Lord Strathcona, Van Horne was more interested in domestic types of Japanese ceramics, and in identifying the actual objects. Compared to Franks and Morse, however, his goal was not to cover the whole of ceramic production in Japan. The total number of objects in the Van Horne collection was always kept at around 1,500, far fewer than Morse's 6,000. For Van Horne direct and intimate connection with individual objects was more important than completeness. The smaller number of objects, however, does not necessarily mean that Van Horne was concerned with aesthetic quality. When compared to Freer, it is clear that Van Horne's focus was more on quantity than quality, and more on the classifiable nature of Japanese ceramics than the beauty of individual objects. Furthermore, unlike Franks or Freer, Van Horne did not intend to build a private museum or to bequeath

his collections to museums. Similarly, Van Horne did not share Morse's sense of duty to save traditional Japanese culture either. Van Horne's interest was in the present, in direct connection with the objects in his hands, rather than in grand ideals generated from the act of collecting, which addressed either the past or the future.

As I explain in the next section, however, Van Horne's intimate, present-oriented connection with his objects was concealed from the public view of the collection during his lifetime, and then quickly lost after his death in 1915. In fact, collections of Japanese ceramics that aimed for classification and comprehensiveness, such as those of Van Horne, Franks and Morse, gradually faded from view after the first decades of the twentieth century, due to the emergence of the modernist perception that emphasized the formal aspect of Japanese objects. Morse's comprehensive collection of Japanese ceramics at the MFAB soon became marginalized due to the change in the direction of the museum in the 1900s, from "installations that indiscriminately displayed all of the Museum's holdings" to "only the choicest objects of these collections [being] put on view" (Nishimura Morse 145). Not only did the museum officials argue that "the public does not look at Japanese pottery," but in 1904 a new Japanese curator, Okakura Kakuzō, dismissed the Morse collection as one that "belongs [in] an industrial museum and not here [at MFAB]" (qtd. in Nishimura Morse 146). Franks, too, was "erased from the collective academic consciousness" after his death, until the 1980s, when his works were re-evaluated (Rousmaniere "A.W. Franks" 26).

2-5: Reception of Van Horne collection in his lifetime and beyond

This section investigates the public reception of the Van Horne collections (paintings and Japanese ceramics) by analyzing commentary about them in newspapers, magazines, personal correspondence, and biographies from his lifetime until recent times. These remarks demonstrate that the Van Horne collection of Japanese ceramics was widely known internationally and enjoyed a high reputation among the public. This high reputation, however, contradicts the later perception towards Van Horne's Japanese ceramics in museum storage. A close examination of how this collection was received by the public suggests that the complex relationship that Van Horne had with his objects was not fully understood by those who encountered and disseminated it: instead, the objects were perceived mainly through the idea of who the collector was.

A collector holds a dual role in the meaning and value-formation of the objects he collects: simultaneously a receiver and producer of their meaning and value. When Van Horne acquired Japanese ceramics, he was a receiver of the objects' meanings and value offered by the dealers. As his Japanese ceramic collection grew and became known among the wider public, Van Horne himself became the source of a new meaning and value of his objects. In other words, the objects were seen and understood through the lens of Van Horne's social status as an elite business man with a powerful personality, who also possessed a large painting collection that was considered highly valuable. The fact that the collector's personal presence functioned as a significant component of his collection's meaning and value would lead to the gradual degradation of its reputation after his death.

Contemporary reception of Van Horne Collection

The earliest publication on Van Horne's art collections, including Japanese objects, is L.L. Rood's "Sir William Van Horne and some Canadian art collectors," in *The English Illustrated Magazine* in 1904. In this article, Van Horne's Japanese collection is described in a highly favourable manner and independently from his painting collection, unlike in later articles. Rood introduces various art collections in Van Horne's residence. He begins by mentioning the Japanese collection: "the particular interest which attaches to the art collection of Sir William Van Horne comes not only from the paintings it includes, but also from some very beautiful Japanese pottery and bronzes" (164). That Rood treats Van Horne's paintings and Japanese objects equally is noteworthy. It becomes clear later in the article, however, that Rood's interest was primarily in Makuzu Kōzan's works and Satsuma ware (Rood 167-168)—in other words, Rood was more interested in the decorative quality of export ware, rather than the hundreds of domestic types of ceramics that Van Horne had eagerly collected. Nevertheless, this article certainly contributed to the early dissemination of Van Horne's Japanese collection internationally.

In later articles, Van Horne's Japanese collection is mentioned along with his better-known painting collection, and often anecdotally, in order to illustrate his penchant for collecting in general. The article by Sir Martin Conway "Sir William van Horne's Collection at Montreal" in *The Connoisseur: An Illustrated Magazine for Collectors* in 1905 is an example of this kind. This article introduces Van Horne's painting collection in detail, with a number of illustrations of paintings as well as two photographs showing how the paintings were displayed in his residence. Conway highly praises the painting collection as "of high average of excellence" (137) collected by an energetic collector with "a definite taste of his

own” (142). Van Horne’s collection of “Oriental pottery” is, on the contrary, only briefly mentioned to demonstrate his enthusiasm for collecting, by referring to the “tiny drawings” of each piece in Van Horne’s catalogues (Conway 137).

Later in 1912, the same *Connoisseur* magazine featured the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection in an anonymous article titled “Sir William Van Horne’s Collection of Japanese Pottery” (fig. 56). Here, the collection is described as one that covers “the whole range of the ceramic art of Japan,” and one of “a high standard of quality and art interest” (“Sir William Van Horne’s Collection” 9-10). The author mentions Van Horne’s contacts with various Japanese people in order to emphasize the authenticity of the collection. While the texts are very short, this article well conveys the scope and scale of the collection and includes ten photographs, each showing about ten pieces grouped by potter, kiln, and production period, including Ninsei (fig. 57). As *The Connoisseur* magazine was founded to establish the authority of “connoisseurship” (Mahoney 176), the article enhanced the authenticity of Van Horne’s Japanese collection.

As his collection developed, Van Horne himself came to be considered an expert on Japanese ceramics. Van Horne’s growing confidence in the knowledge of what he was collecting can be observed in his correspondence with Morse in 1899.²³⁸ In his letter to Sir Edward Clouston dated January 31, 1912, Van Horne also shows his confidence in the effort he put into the establishment of his collection, and thus its value:

... but there is no royal road in collecting things of which so few have accurate knowledge and everybody is bound to get stuck more or less, and I

²³⁸ See Note 178.

must confess to having had full share of such experiences. Now that I have paid and weeded, and weeded again, and again I feel that I have pretty good value for my money and my trouble ... ²³⁹

The following letter from Van Horne to Clouston dated February 6, 1912, mentions that “I have fortunately most of the literature on the subject [Japanese art],” which also demonstrates his self-assurance in his expertise in the field.²⁴⁰

In Montreal, Van Horne acted as a mentor and adviser on Japanese ceramics for F. Cleveland Morgan (fig. 58), a prominent collector of decorative arts in the early twentieth century. Morgan donated to the AAM a number of objects from his own collection in 1916, and became the factual founder of the decorative art section of the institution, called the “Museum.”²⁴¹ He served as the first (albeit unpaid) curator of decorative art at the AAM (and at the MMFA after 1949), from 1916 until 1962.²⁴² Van Horne and Morgan met in 1903 (E. Turner 30) and the former became the direct inspiration for the latter to start collecting Japanese objects (N. Morgan 49). Van Horne visited Morgan’s collection at least five times between 1909 and 1913, and left comments on several pieces, according to Morgan’s handwritten catalogues.²⁴³ For example, Van Horne commented on September 13, 1909 on the piece P-a-21 (current accession number 62.EE.24), a Raku ware tea bowl, as “by Kioto [sic] potter but very difficult to state whether by a member of the Raku family. A very fine

²³⁹ Box-Folder 3-25, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive.

²⁴⁰ Box-Folder 3-25, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive.

²⁴¹ The “Museum” was founded as a decorative art section of the AAM, set aside from its painting collection. Morgan became the first chairman of the “Museum” committee and occupied the position until his death in 1962. For the detail of the establishment of the “Museum,” see N. Morgan.

²⁴² Morgan’s position as a “curator” was complicated, as the collection of the “Museum” was originally purchased privately by Morgan and then went directly to the “Museum” (N. Morgan 44).

²⁴³ In the collection catalogues that Morgan recorded, Van Horne’s comments appear with the following dates: September 13, 1909, January 15, 1911, January 6 and June 23, 1912, and January 13, 1913. Copy of F. Cleveland Morgan Collection Catalogue “P: Pottery etc.,” MMFA Archive.

bowl.”²⁴⁴ It is also recorded that Van Horne gave four Japanese ceramic tea caddies to Morgan in March of 1910.²⁴⁵

A close connection between Van Horne and Morgan can be observed from these exchanges of knowledge and objects. Norma Morgan even speculates that Van Horne’s death was one of the reasons why Morgan stopped collecting Japanese ceramics in 1915 (50). Van Horne almost certainly had a decisive influence on Morgan’s perception and interpretation of Japanese ceramics. Since the core of the MMFA’s Japanese ceramic collection comprises both Van Horne’s and Morgan’s collections, donated in 1944 and 1962 respectively, it can be said that Van Horne served as a significant source for the idea of what constituted “authentically Japanese ceramics” in Montreal in the early twentieth century, through actual objects as well as his knowledge.

Van Horne’s Japanese ceramic collection was also known to art professionals of his time, although their reactions to the collection were not straightforward. English art critic and curator Roger Fry (1866 – 1934) expressed his impression of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection as “the most marvellous collection of Japanese pottery, I believe the finest in the world. Anyhow they are amazing,” in a letter to his wife Helen Fry, on December 2, 1906 (Sutton 1: 275). In addition to his expertise in Western modern paintings, Fry was fully knowledgeable about Chinese art and also praised Van Horne’s Chinese ceramic collection in the same letter (Sutton 1: 275).²⁴⁶ This suggests that Fry had a better understanding of the

²⁴⁴ “*P: Pottery etc.*,” 21. MMFA Archive.

²⁴⁵ According to Norma Morgan, Van Horne gave “several tea jars” in 1910 and 1911, although the 1911 gift cannot be found in the Morgan catalogues.

²⁴⁶ Fry described some of Van Horne’s Chinese pieces “first rate early Chinese Sung pieces” (Sutton 1: 275).

actual contents of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics than many other contemporary commentators.

Fry, however, later became more reserved about his evaluation of the Van Horne collection. In his obituary for Van Horne in *Burlington Magazine* in October 1915, his descriptions of the Van Horne collections of both paintings and Japanese ceramics are more careful, and compared to his effusive praise in 1906, more muted. While Fry admits Van Horne's knowledge was "remarkable," he observes that "what attracted him most [about Japanese ceramics] was the possibilities of connoisseurship which this study afforded him" (40). Rather than commenting on the contents of his Japanese ceramic collection, Fry's descriptions focus instead on Van Horne's character, "his abounding vitality, and his rough-and-ready comradeship more interesting and arresting than any of the objects which he had acquired" (40). Fry continues that Van Horne's personality was "too active to allow of any profound or contemplative enjoyment of beauty," and his collection of old masters "was as varied and odd as his tastes" (40). It is interesting to note that when Fry visited Van Horne in 1906, he started to devote himself to modern art, of which he had established himself as a leading critic by the time he wrote Van Horne's obituary in 1915 (Sorensen). The modernist, strictly formalistic perspective Fry developed later in his professional life may explain the shift in his interpretation of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection.²⁴⁷

The Van Horne collection's international reputation by the early twentieth century is also attested by the remarks by Otto Kummel (1874 – 1952), the founding director of the Museum of East Asian Art in Berlin. He visited Van Horne on December 18, 1906, and

²⁴⁷ Lin critically analyses the purely formalistic interpretations of Chinese Art without any cultural, historical contexts by the Bloomsbury School, including Roger Fry.

described his Japanese collection in a letter to his colleague as “the largest private collection of Japanese ceramics [in North America]” (Klose *Wilhelm von Bode* 149).²⁴⁸ Kümmel was, however, rather critical about the contents of the collection: he continued “[u]nfortunately the quality does not match the quantity of the pieces or the interest of the owner. It doesn’t go beyond the level of most collections in Europe” (Klose *Wilhelm von Bode* 149).

Kümmel was a specialist of Asian art, fluent in Japanese and closely working with Ernst Grosse (1862 – 1927), an early German scholar of Japanese art, as well as with Hayashi. Around 1906, Kümmel was busy establishing the East Asian Art Collection in Berlin (Ostasiatische Kunstsammlung, later Museum of East Asian Art), whose Japanese collection was based on the late Hayashi Tadamasa’s collection (Klose *Otto Kümmel* 115). According to Wolfgang Klose, he developed “the conservative tastes of the Japanese art world,” in which, for example, he rejected *ukiyo-e* prints or the art of the middle and late Edo period (*Otto Kümmel* 114). It is thus highly plausible that the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection, the major part of which consisted of pieces made in the mid- to late nineteenth century, did not appeal to this German curator’s eye.²⁴⁹

The reserved remarks by these two art professionals were not shared by the wider public. The significance of their remarks lies in that both mention Van Horne’s personality and his enthusiasm for collecting. It is clear that the persona of the collector greatly contributed to the dissemination of his collection. In addition, these professionals’ critical evaluations anticipate the future fate of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics when they became

²⁴⁸ Hereafter, translation by Klaas Ruitenbeek.

²⁴⁹ Kümmel was, however, almost always critical about collections he saw in the U.S., such as the Morse or the Freer collections, from his highly proud personality. I am grateful to Dr. Klaas Ruitenbeek for this information.

institutionalized and exposed to the value system of modern museums from the mid-1940s onward.

Reputation after Van Horne's death

The elevation of the reputation of his Japanese ceramic collection can be observed in publications after Van Horne's death. Walter Vaughan, who published the first biography of Van Horne in 1926, does not necessarily judge the value of the collection. Although it contained other types of ceramics, such as stoneware and porcelain, he simply describes the Japanese ceramic collection as a "collection of earthen ware" (290). While it is not certain whether Vaughan was aware of the terminological differences, this catch-all description may suggest his lack of interest in the collection.

Later publications, in contrast, highly praise the collection. In a magazine article entitled "Canada's Finest Art Collection" in 1952, author Charles Wassermann mentions Van Horne's collection of "Oriental porcelain" as "priceless" (50). Likewise, Wayne Edmonstone, in his *The Toronto Star* article titled "The end of our greatest private art collection" on December 30, 1972, describes it as a "valuable accumulation of Japanese pottery— more than 2,000 pieces" (n.pag.). In another article, "The Pacific Canadian Railway: The wheelers and dealers get railway rolling," in the *Globe and Mail* on June 1, 1981, Pierre Berton calls Van Horne "perhaps the continent's leading expert on Japanese porcelain" (12). As the titles of these articles suggest, the purpose of the authors was to describe Van Horne in a highly positive manner, as "the greatest" collector in Canada. Here the Japanese ceramic collection is perceived as part of the collection of a great man.

The most recent biography of Van Horne, by Valerie Knowles in 2004, further elevates the status of his collection. According to Knowles, Van Horne collected “fine and rare pieces of Japanese pottery and porcelain” (295), and “the collection’s representation of Japanese master potters was almost complete” (297). To support its high reputation, she refers to Roger Fry’s comments in 1906, and states that this collection was “then believed by Roger Fry to constitute the finest Japanese pottery and porcelain collection outside Japan” (297).²⁵⁰ While authors before Knowles never described the actual objects in the collection, except for the *Connoisseurs* article in 1912, Knowles did research the Van Horne catalogues reserved at the MMFA archives and knew the types of objects he collected, such as bottles and tea bowls (296). Two and a half pages are devoted to describing Van Horne’s collecting activities, including his close relationship with Morse and Matsuki, and his enthusiasm for and deep knowledge of Japanese ceramics, in a lively tone with a few impressive anecdotes (Knowles 295-297). However, as in the case of the art professionals’ comments above, the focus of Knowles as a biographer is more on Van Horne’s personality and on *how* rather than *what* he collected.

Examination of the public perception of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection thus suggests that its high reputation was based not on its contents, but rather on Van Horne’s persona and social status. In other words, Van Horne’s Japanese ceramics were seen and understood through the lens of their collector, who served as producer of the meaning and value of the items in his collection. This public view of the Van Horne collection, however, masked the unique and intimate relationship between the collector and his objects—that the

²⁵⁰ As mentioned earlier, Fry became more reserved in terms of the quality of this collection later in 1915. Knowles might have been aware of it, as she describes as “*then* believed by Roger Fry (my emphasis)” (297). In any case, Fry’s later comments are not introduced here.

Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection was established more from the collector's passion for identifying the origin of individual objects, and less for their aesthetic quality; that Van Horne did not collect from any sense of mission; and that the collected objects embodied his interests in tactility and proximity. This multi-faceted nature of the Van Horne collection was, when perceived by the public, replaced by the stereotypical idea that "a collection of a railway baron must be great," constructed around Van Horne's social status and powerful personality as well as his painting collection, which was considered highly valuable.

The high reputation of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection continued even after his death, as long as it remained in the family's Montreal residence and thus the name Van Horne still served as its source of value. However, when the collection was dismantled—and hence the source of the collection's value shifted—Van Horne's legacy no longer functioned in the same way, as shall be discussed in Chapter Three.

Conclusion

As I have shown in this chapter, the colonial perspective of a private collection as a mere space for the collector's identity-formation fails to perceive the fact that a collection is in fact a highly ambiguous arena formed by multiple conditions, including the collector's personal situation, influences from other people, and the broad socio-cultural environment in a contingent manner. This interpretational gap between the former view—which fixes the collector's motivations as self-evident—and the actual establishment process of a collection, in which the collector engages with objects directly, creates discrepancies in interpretations over time.

The analysis of the multi-volume Van Horne Catalogues has demonstrated the highly complex nature of the establishment process of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. The detailed examination of this collection from multiple perspectives has revealed Van Horne's twofold approach to the objects he collected: a colonial view, focused on the taxonomic aspect of Japanese ceramics, and an intimate, present-oriented engagement with the objects themselves. Van Horne's perception of Ninsei and his works was rather ambiguous, and his interest in the Ninsei tea bowl remained minimal, reflecting the fact that the "Ninsei myth" was still being negotiated at the very time when he was collecting.

Van Horne extensively interacted with fellow collectors and dealers, which had varying impacts on his perception of Japanese ceramics over the course of his collecting activities. Through the examination of these multiple contacts, I have situated the Van Horne collection within the international circle of Japanese ceramics collecting at the time, which simultaneously articulated the distinctive characteristics of Van Horne's relationship with the objects in comparison to other collectors. It has become clear that Van Horne was neither concerned with the past—exemplified in the gesture of salvaging a disappearing tradition of pre-modernized Japan—nor with the future, exemplified in the act of bequeathing his collection to the public museum and serving the Canadian public. Instead, Van Horne's interests in Japan and its objects lay in the present, in direct connection, insofar as it had something to do with his own life: for instance, his relationships with the people he knew, the food he ate, and the objects he could touch. In other words, Van Horne was not concerned with the abstract ideas that were projected onto the ceramic objects.

Furthermore, my examination of the ways the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection was received by the public has revealed that the complexity of this collection was refracted through the image of Van Horne himself, a man of high social status, rather than through its contents. This simplified view of the Japanese ceramic collection of a great man became degraded for two reasons. Firstly, because of the shift in the idea of authentic Japanese ceramics in the early twentieth century, from simple domestic objects to those of high aesthetic quality as works of art, the type of Japanese ceramic collection that focused on the classification of diverse objects—Van Horne’s was one of them—received less attention. Secondly, the name Van Horne as a source of the meaning and value of his collection lost its function as the collection was divided and dispersed in the 1940s. These processes negatively impacted later perceptions of Van Horne’s Japanese ceramics.

The conventional perception of a private Japanese ceramic collection in the late nineteenth century West has been conceived from today’s point of view grounded on the established art historical framework, a framework which fixes the idea of authentic Japanese ceramics solely as works of art. The interpretational gap in the understanding of the Van Horne collection during the collector’s lifetime and beyond, therefore, emerged through a disjuncture between this idealized image of a wealthy Montreal collector and his collection and the actual establishment process of the collection, which was highly complex and less straightforward due to the collector’s direct connection with the objects. The shifting perception of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection after his death would later become intertwined with the legacy of the Ninsei myth in an ironical manner, concealing the genuineness of Van Horne’s Ninsei tea bowl now reserved at the ROM.

Chapter Three: Afterlife of the Van Horne Japanese Ceramic Collection: Objects, People, and Museum

Introduction

In Chapter Two I showed how the unique and intimate relationship between Van Horne and his Japanese ceramics was generated by the collector's interest in the act of identification and the tactility of the objects, rather than in grand ideas projected on them which entailed notions of the past or future—saving the Other's old traditions or serving the public. Van Horne's close and direct relationship with his objects was, however, concealed behind his strong personality and social status, and vanished after his death in 1915. As the status of Van Horne's Japanese ceramic collection changed from private to public in the 1940s, the perception from which the ceramic objects were interpreted gradually shifted. As a result, part of this once internationally acclaimed collection has now been secluded in museum storage for decades, and its most significant piece—the genuine Ninsei tea bowl—was long considered inauthentic.

A gap in significance can commonly be observed in private collections entrusted to museums: objects lose the original context they had within a private collection and are given a new framework as part of a larger museum collection. If an object finds a narrative that fits the new context of the museum collection, it will be exhibited and play a significant role in cultural representation through the institution. Those without narratives—and they are often the majority of the whole museum collection—remain in storage. A museum, one of whose essential functions is to preserve the objects in its collection, is often considered as “a likely terminal phase in objects' biographies” (Macdonald “Collecting Practices” 82). It thus serves

as the final authority on the definite meaning and value of objects, as exemplified in the commonly used term “museum quality.” Once given objects are considered insignificant from the museum’s point of view, their previous higher evaluation becomes “wrong” because whoever assessed it in the past lacked the *proper* knowledge.

A detailed examination of the shifts in meaning of Van Horne’s Japanese ceramics after the collector’s death, however, reveals that this notion of authoritative knowledge possessed by the museum in fact masks the actual processes of meaning-formation that take place within the dynamics of “mutual constitutiveness” among objects, people, and institutions (Dudley and Pearce 1-2). This epistemological disjuncture between the imagined idea of fixed authenticity and the actual construction process of an object’s meaning creates a fundamental gap in the object’s interpretation over time. The moments when the interpretation gaps emerged can therefore only be articulated by detailing the object’s trajectories from the perspective of continuous history, in which the object’s meaning is understood as accumulated experience. Within this approach, the museum is understood as one of many points of passage, where the objects’ meaning has been, and still is being, created on an ongoing basis.

In this chapter I look at the third phase of Van Horne’s Japanese ceramics, after the collector’s death. I trace in detail the ways in which his objects have been understood and interpreted by various individuals during three significant stages: first, when the collection was inherited by his immediate family and eventually divided in 1944; second, during the transitional stage from a private to public collection at the Art Association of Montreal (AAM) and the ROM in the mid-1940s; and third, when the objects were exposed to institutional and personal schemes within the museums after 1944 to the present day. As I

will explain, many of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics donated to the ROM have remained in storage for decades, some even lacking substantial catalogue records. The materiality of these objects in storage—their “thingness” without any ideas projected on them (Brown 4)—was in fact the initial trigger of my focused research on this group of objects. My examination of these non-displayed Japanese ceramics at the ROM has revealed that the formation processes of museum objects’ meaning and value are highly contingent and subject to the socio-cultural, institutional, and personal conditions of the given time and place. It was within covert and unconscious mechanisms that existed throughout the social life of the objects that the interpretational gaps of Van Horne’s Japanese ceramics occurred.

I first look at the shifts in the understanding of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics through early interventions by other people after their inheritance by Van Horne’s immediate family in 1915. In this process the objects were increasingly seen as property, and their value—both qualitative and monetary—became the foremost concern, effacing the unique, intimate relationship that Van Horne had with the individual pieces. Next, I examine the division of the entire Van Horne collection and its partial donation to two museums, the AAM and the ROM, in the 1940s. The tension between Van Horne’s heirs and the AAM during the transitional process contributed to a shift in the meaning of the Japanese ceramics. After their donation to the two museums, interpretations of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics were subject to institutional operations and curators’ personal agendas. First, the AAM, which sold off some of the donated objects without even officially accessioning them in 1944, perceived them as commodities. This was due to the broader social and cultural conditions in the first part of the twentieth century, in particular the rise of modernism, in

which non-Western objects were interpreted more from a formalist perspective, and the division of “museum of art” from “museum of culture” became apparent.

I then examine the ways in which the meaning of Van Horne’s Japanese ceramics has changed within the ROM, first by analyzing changes in their descriptions in the historical catalogue records. These changes were closely related to the ROM’s institutional programs as well as the personal conditions of Dr. Hugh Wylie, the first curator of the Japanese collection. Next I look at the ways in which I myself participated in the further enforcement of the undesirable perception of Van Horne’s Japanese ceramics at the ROM in the early 2000s, based on previously shared ideas as well as on my strictly art historical perspective. Within this collective identity of the Van Horne collection, the potential genuineness of the Ninsei tea bowl was not even discussed.

Finally, I trace how I cultivated the basic framework of my research questions regarding the shifting meaning of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics, upon the unexpected discovery of the Ninsei tea bowl as genuine in 2007. By putting the issue of the fixed idea of authenticity into question, and by revealing the discursiveness of the actual contexts surrounding the meaning-formation of the objects, I demonstrate a new perspective of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics which remained in museum storage for decades.

3-1: Inheritance and division of the Van Horne collection

After it was inherited by Van Horne’s family in 1915, the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection was subject to re-interpretation by third parties, even as it remained physically in the Van Horne residence in Montreal. In this process, the direct interaction that

Van Horne enjoyed with the individual objects became obscured, as they were now assessed as property and in terms of their quality and monetary value. In the 1940s, the collection had to be divided due to legal requirements and partially donated to the AAM and the ROM. The transitional process of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection from private to public demonstrates that the meaning of these objects was entangled within complex interactions and tensions generated among personal and institutional needs.

The Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection as property

Van Horne fell ill in late 1913, which ultimately led to his death in September 1915. During his last days, Van Horne did not have a clear intention to donate or bequeath his collections to a museum, unlike some of his contemporaries who wished to be known as philanthropists. In his will, Van Horne left his collections to his close family, and allowed them to disperse them as necessary (Edmonstone n.pag.). Edmonstone speculates that Van Horne had intended to establish a museum of his own or to donate a considerable portion of his collection to a museum, until his only grandchild William Cornelius Covenhoven Van Horne (1907 – 1946)²⁵¹ (fig. 59) was born, when Van Horne decided instead to leave all his collections to his family (n.pag.). The instability of WWI seems to have loomed large behind this decision, and Van Horne was particularly anxious to secure the well-being of his grandson.

On Van Horne's death in 1915 his entire collection, including paintings and Japanese ceramics, was inherited by three members of his immediate family: his wife, Lady Lucy

²⁵¹ Hereafter referred as "William C.C." to differentiate from Sir William C. Van Horne.

Adeline Van Horne (1837 – 1929); their daughter, Lucy Adaline Van Horne (1868 – 1941); and their son, Richard Benedict Van Horne (1877 – 1931). These family members inherited four-twelfths, three-twelfths, and five-twelfths of the collection respectively, although who would receive what was not specified at this point. The whole collection remained at the family residence in Montreal, and until 1944 Van Horne’s Japanese ceramics were left in his private study, as they had been during his lifetime.

While the Japanese ceramic collection maintained its physical unity, it was now opened to other parties for evaluation. Edward S. Morse, who had viewed it several times with Van Horne, went through the collection once again in 1918, probably at the behest of the family. Some of Morse’s quick and frank comments were jotted down in pencil right into Van Horne’s catalogues, such as, “*Poor, Morse, 1918*”; “*Good, Morse, 1918*”; “*V.G. [Very good] Morse, 1918,*” for pieces #446, #453 and #512, respectively.²⁵² It was the first evaluation of the whole Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection by someone other than the original collector, and more importantly, the first assessment of the *quality* of the objects individually.²⁵³ Van Horne himself had never assessed his pieces in terms of individual quality as good or bad, at least on record. His primary concern was the taxonomic activity of identifying the type and the place of production of individual pieces. For this purpose, every piece was meaningful: Van Horne never indicated any sense of hierarchy among his objects in terms of quality.

²⁵² “*Notes on Japanese pottery and porcelain,*” 223, 226, and 256, respectively. Box-Folder 9-1, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive.

²⁵³ It is notable, however, that Morse did not comment on every object and particularly that he had nothing to say about the Ninsei tea bowl.

Other people's involvement eclipsed Van Horne's approach towards the Japanese ceramics and gradually deprived them of the intimate, individual relationship with their collector. Now a new perspective of qualitative assessment was applied to interpret them. In addition, as some pieces were singularized by Morse as "good," the rest came to be seen collectively by group, in particular in terms of monetary value. In inventories taken from 1917, the Japanese ceramics stored in Van Horne's study are documented as cabinet groups.²⁵⁴ Some are described as "small pieces," and others as "*specimens* of old Japanese Pottery [sic]" (emphasis added). For example, the inventory of ceramic objects taken in 1917 by art and antique dealer and photographer Sidney Carter (1880 – 1956) is listed by room in Van Horne's residence. The description of the items in the "studio" starts with "Cabinet containing specimens of old Japanese Pottery," and continues as follows:

Cabinet A.

51 large, 33 medium and 141 small *pieces* old Japanese Pottery
and porcelain, in and on cabinet

Priced at \$30. \$20. and \$5. respectively [total in dollars] 2,301.

Cabinet B

32 Large and 224 small *specimens* of old Japanese

Pottery and porcelain at \$30. and \$5. [total in dollars] 2,070.²⁵⁵

While a few pieces are singled out—such as "2 old Kutani figures on Cabinet No. 6: \$10," or "Japanese pottery dish, on mantel shelf: \$10"—most are evaluated in groups.²⁵⁶ The scientific

²⁵⁴ "Van Horne Art Collection: Ceramics: Potteries and China," Valuations by Sidney Carter, 1941, 7. Box-Folder 32-6; and "Prepared by M. Van Horne July 1942 showing Mr. Carter's valuations on Artistic Property Other than Pictures, in 1917-1929-1941," 11. Box-Folder 32-7, both Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive.

²⁵⁵ "Prepared by M. Van Horne July 1942," 11. See Note 254. Emphasis added.

²⁵⁶ See Note 255.

term “specimen” emphasizes the nature of objects as samples that provide an idea of the whole, as seen in Morse’s approach to his own Japanese ceramic collection. While it is not certain how Carter differentiated the terms “specimens” and “pieces” to describe certain Japanese ceramics, he apparently limited the use of “specimens” in this inventory only to the Japanese ceramics: except in one instance it is never used for describing other ceramics.²⁵⁷ Carter perceived Van Horne’s Japanese ceramics primarily as a collective, and the individual differences among the pieces thus did not really matter to him.

While Van Horne’s approach to his Japanese ceramic collection was taxonomical, unlike Morse he did not perceive his objects as specimens. Van Horne’s close engagement with the individual objects was seen in his interest in their tactility, and the way he illustrated each one in his catalogues. The significance of the individuality of Van Horne’s Japanese ceramics became obscured by the intervention of third parties after 1915. The Ninsei tea bowl, too, became one of the “specimens” in the inventory. Since Morse overlooked this piece in his evaluation in 1918,²⁵⁸ its singularity as an individual piece was completely concealed among other pieces in the Van Horne Japanese ceramics collection. This situation continued until the mid-1940s.

Division of the Van Horne collections

²⁵⁷ The only other occasion when Carter used the term “specimens” was for “24 specimens of Greek and roman [sic] glass in large Buhl cabinet: \$200” in “Prepared by M. Van Horne July 1942 showing Mr. Carter’s valuations on Artistic Property Other than Pictures, in 1917 – 1929- 1941,” 10. See Note 255.

²⁵⁸ See Note 253.

In the early 1940s, the complicated inheritance and division of Van Horne's Japanese ceramic collection began, when legal issues regarding transfers of ownership were confronted. Detailed tracing of the division and consequent donation processes reveals the ways in which the meaning of the collection was shaped through the threads of the personal schemes of heirs, executors, and museum personnel. Van Horne's daughter Adaline died in 1941, and her will stipulated that her portion of her father's collection—a quarter of the whole—would be donated to the AAM. Van Horne's wife and son had died in 1929 and 1931 respectively, and the portions of the collection that they had inherited, three quarters in total, were transferred to Van Horne's only grandchild William C.C. in 1942. The collection could no longer be kept intact, and the issue of which specific objects would be transferred to William C.C. and which to the AAM had to be settled. For the first time, Van Horne's Japanese ceramics and other collections were subjected to serious valuations by legal requirement, and in accordance with the institutional expectations of the AAM as well as the personal wishes of William C.C. and his wife, Margaret Van Horne (d. 1987) (fig. 60), who would later represent her husband in these matters.

Things were by no means straightforward, and it took over three and a half years, from October 1941 to February 1945, to resolve them. While it was stated that Van Horne's collections were to be divided in a manner that would be “fair for both parties” and “representative of [Van Horne's] varied taste,”²⁵⁹ friction repeatedly arose between the Van Hornes and the AAM. The dispute over how the collection was to be divided—in other

²⁵⁹ Letter from William C.C. to Royal Trust Co., undated (around November 30, 1942), quoted in “Resume of correspondence – the Royal Trust Company, Mr. and Mrs. William C.C. Van Horne and The Art Association of Montreal (Later the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts): Period 1941-1945,” 3. File “Van Horne, Sir William et Adaline: Correspondance au sujet des legs: 1941-1963,” MMFA Archive.

words, who was to get what, especially regarding the Western paintings of great value—was inevitable.²⁶⁰ While the AAM wanted the liberty to select its share of paintings, the Van Hornes preferred to approach the division by lots, which they considered “the only absolutely fair method.”²⁶¹ In addition, the couple claimed their right to hold on to the AAM’s share of paintings at their residence for a period, while the museum wanted them immediately.

The Japanese ceramic collection was embroiled in these same conflicts. The AAM was apparently not interested in acquiring decorative objects, including Japanese ceramics, in contrast to its enthusiasm in securing Van Horne’s paintings. Margaret observed that “I do not believe they [the AAM] will be in any frame of mind to give undivided attention to the other groups [of objects] until the division of the pictures has been completed.”²⁶² At one point, the AAM almost declined to accept its share of other objects, if the Van Hornes insisted on keeping the AAM’s share of paintings rather than handing them over right away.²⁶³ The Japanese ceramic objects were placed in the secondary position, in light of the AAM’s urge to immediately acquire Van Horne’s valuable paintings.

Despite these complications, the division of the decorative objects was finally completed in April 1944, and 300 Japanese ceramics were delivered to the AAM in June 1944 along with 200 other objects, such as Chinese ceramics, rugs, and furniture.²⁶⁴ As for

²⁶⁰ For details of the correspondence between the two parties regarding the divisions, see “Resume of correspondence” in Note 259.

²⁶¹ Letter from Margaret Van Horne to C.T. Currelly, dated December 7, 1942. File “(Currelly Source) Van Horne, Correspondence” [file 1], ROM Registration.

²⁶² Letter to Currelly, dated March 2, 1943. File “(Currelly Source) Van Horne, Correspondence” [file 2], ROM Registration.

²⁶³ AAM Council Minutes, December 9, 1943. MMFA Archive.

²⁶⁴ AAM Council Minutes, June 8, 1944. MMFA Archive. The list of the objects received by the AAM can be found in “Van Horne Art Collection, Schedule “A,” signed by William C.C. Van Horne, AAM, and the Executors on April 26, 1944.” MMFA Archive.

the paintings, while the AAM made every effort to proceed with the process,²⁶⁵ it took another ten months to reach an agreement. It was finally signed on February 22, 1945, and AAM's share of paintings was delivered the following month.²⁶⁶

Two museum curators were involved in dividing up the Van Horne collection of Japanese ceramics: F. Cleveland Morgan, a collector and unofficial curator of the decorative art section at the AAM; and Charles T. Currelly (1876 – 1957) (fig. 61), the first Director of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology.²⁶⁷ Their approaches to this task were, however, markedly different, and without Currelly's personal scheme, our Ninsei tea bowl would not have taken the path it did.

Morgan had maintained a close friendship with Van Horne, and considered him a mentor regarding Japanese ceramic collection. In 1943, Morgan was given the task of preliminary division of the Van Horne Japanese collection (Russell n.pag.), which was eventually finalized by Currelly in 1944. Morgan, however, does not appear to have been very active or enthusiastic about the acquisition of the AAM's portion of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection. Indeed, he appeared rather unhappy to see the collection dispersed, as he knew that Van Horne had wanted to see it kept together (Russell n.pag.).

Currelly, on the other hand, was more enthusiastic and actively engaged in the division process. Currelly knew Van Horne when the latter donated 150 Japanese ceramics to

²⁶⁵ For instance, the AAM offered to purchase some paintings from the Van Hornes' share after the division. "Resume of correspondence," 10. See Note 259.

²⁶⁶ AAM Council Minutes, March 6, 1945. MMFA Archive. According to the minutes, the AAM's passion for further purchasing "two or three of the very best of the [Van Horne painting] collection" did not stop even after the delivery, and it attempted to form a special committee for this purpose. I am however not aware whether this attempt succeeded eventually.

²⁶⁷ The ROM was established in 1914 and consisted of five museums: the Royal Ontario Museums of Archaeology, Palaeontology, Mineralogy, Zoology, and Geology. This organization lasted until 1955.

the predecessor of the ROM around 1910,²⁶⁸ but did not have contact with the rest of the family. In 1941, after the death of Van Horne's daughter Adaline, Currelly approached William C.C. in what was likely an effort to secure another donation for the museum. He succeeded in gaining the friendship and trust of William C.C.'s wife Margaret,²⁶⁹ and remained as a personal advisor to the couple during the division process. Currelly was eventually entrusted by the couple to finalize the division of the Japanese ceramics on April 26, 1944.²⁷⁰ At this stage, the Van Hornes did not show any intention to give a donation to the ROM. But Currelly, an experienced long-time museum director who had always been enthusiastic about expanding his museum's collection, had an idea.

After the division, Currelly expressed to Margaret his concern about the fate of the remaining pieces of Japanese ceramics that were not transferred to the AAM: "I am really very anxious about Sir William's Japanese collection," as "[i]t was so much his life work."²⁷¹ He was aware that the Van Hornes intended to sell the remaining pieces, and dissuaded them from doing so by citing the weak market for Japanese objects:

"... your suggestion . . . of pieces being sold at so much apiece in Montreal rather threw a scare into me, as for a small sum, relatively, the whole thing

²⁶⁸ According to Currelly's autobiography, he introduced himself to Van Horne in Montreal in 1908 (Currelly 182), but no evidence is found. Upon the opening of the ROM in 1914, Currelly and Van Horne exchanged some correspondence mainly regarding the latter's visit to the ROM. Box-Folder 2-12, AGO Archive; "(Currelly Source) VH, Correspondence", ROM Registration.

²⁶⁹ Frequent exchanges of correspondence between Currelly and Margaret can be found in "(Currelly Source) Van Horne, Correspondence" [two files], reserved at the ROM Registration. They sometimes discussed unofficial matters unknown to W.C.C. Van Horne.

²⁷⁰ "Resume of correspondence," 7. See Note 259.

²⁷¹ Letter to Margaret, May 4, 1944. "(Currelly Source)" [file 2], ROM Registration; and Box-Folder 41-1, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive.

would be scattered to the winds. I can speak more freely, because it has very little financial value at present ...”²⁷²

Currelly then suggested three alternative ideas to Margaret:

1st. After you have taken out what you would like to keep, we might come down and pack the remainder, and after going over it here, groups might be sent to the different museums across Canada as a memorial to Sir William and the family.

2nd. That our Museum might receive one quarter.

3rd. That we might receive the group that I picked out, mainly bowls, either as gift or purchase.²⁷³

While it was true the financial value of Japanese ceramics was declining at the time, Currelly might not have been entirely impartial in suggesting these options.

Margaret, who had become Currelly’s friend, was sympathetic, and succeeded in persuading her husband to agree to the third scenario of giving a group of objects that Currelly had selected.²⁷⁴ In William C.C.’s letter to Currelly dated May 15, 1944, he expresses appreciation for Currelly’s assistance in the division of the Van Horne collections and confirms a small gift of art objects to the ROM, with an additional “small collection of Japanese rice bowls you admired.”²⁷⁵ Thus, Currelly managed to acquire a portion of the Van

²⁷² See Note 271.

²⁷³ See Note 271.

²⁷⁴ Margaret writes to Currelly: “I shall do my best to have the Japanese collection where you and I want it to be.” (May 5, 1944); and “[y]ou will see my husband’s letter that I managed to get for you.” (May 20, 1944). “(Currelly Source)” [file 2], ROM Registration.

²⁷⁵ This gift included a few pieces of Chinese armor and English silver candleholders. A copy of the letter from W.C.C. Van Horne to Currelly, May 15, 1944, attached to the registration record for the donation in 1944. “Van Horne, Sir Wm. Lt. & Mrs. W.C.C. (Montreal),” ROM Registration.

Horne Japanese ceramic collection for the ROM, which had not originally been intended. Whether Currelly was being strategic or self-serving we do not know; but the possibility cannot be ruled out that during his task of dividing the entire collection he selected this group of objects with a later acquisition in mind. As a result of Currelly's scheme, thirty-four Japanese ceramic pieces from Van Horne's collection were donated to the ROM by William C.C. in 1944, including our Ninsei tea bowl.²⁷⁶

In selecting the items, Currelly apparently had a clear preference for stoneware and earthenware tea bowls (no porcelain) of plain form and colour, mostly with simple decoration from glazing; many of them are Raku ware or Hagi ware types (fig. 62). The Ninsei tea bowl certainly fits these criteria, although it is not known whether Currelly believed it to be genuine.²⁷⁷ Nevertheless, it is certain that the individual qualities of this tea bowl did matter to Currelly, who found some value in it. The singularity of individual objects of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection, which had almost been obscured at one point, appears to have regained significance in Currelly's evaluation, at least in his decision to include the Ninsei bowl among the small group of objects he most wished to acquire for the ROM. William C.C.'s enthusiasm for and understanding of his grandfather's Japanese ceramic collection was clearly not as sophisticated as Currelly's. This comes across in his description of ceramic tea bowls as "rice bowls" in his correspondence with Currelly, as well as in the

²⁷⁶ There is another group of eleven Japanese ceramics (Satsuma types with colourful painted decoration) donated by William C.C. in the same year (accession numbers 944.12.1 – 994.12.12, except 944.12.9 which is not assigned). The card catalogue states that these are from the estate of Van Horne in St. Andrews NB, where Van Horne's summer house was located. However, the details of their acquisition are unknown, as these objects do not have the original accession numbers starting with "P." In addition, no records or remarks on this group can be found in the correspondence between Currelly and the Van Hornes.

²⁷⁷ There is another tea bowl marked as "Ninsei" in his selection (P.1546, 944.16.25), although this one is almost certainly a copy.

fact that the ceramics were a minor addition to his main gift to the ROM. The individuality of his grandfather's collected pieces were evidently lost on William C.C.

As Van Horne's personal commitment to his Japanese ceramics from taxonomic interest was lost on his death, the status of these objects changed to property, assessed either individually as "good" or "bad," or collectively by their monetary value. During the processes of division and donation, the meaning of Van Horne's Japanese ceramics was rather degraded through the interactions and tensions between Van Horne's heirs and the AAM. Under these circumstances, the destination of the Ninsei tea bowl was determined to the ROM through nothing but the personal scheme of Currelly.

3-2: Dispersal at the AAM and the changing cultural context

In 1944, portions of Van Horne's Japanese ceramic collection were transferred to the AAM and the ROM. This section examines how these objects were treated at the AAM immediately after their delivery, specifically how the museum oversaw the recirculation of some of the objects it received from the Van Hornes in 1944. At least sixty-five of the 300 Japanese ceramics that were donated were sold off immediately after they were delivered to the museum.²⁷⁸ As such, while these objects were *donated* to the museum, they were never officially *acquired* by it. Van Horne's Japanese ceramics were now treated as commodities rather than as objects suitable for display in a museum. It is highly unlikely that an immediate sale of donated objects would occur today at a public museum: this event can be

²⁷⁸ The records regarding the sale of Van Horne's Japanese ceramics can be found in the file "Ventes: Arts décoratifs, Dossier Ruth Jackson"; AAM Council Minutes (1944-45); and AAM Executive Committee Minutes (1944-45), at the MMFA Archive.

better understood in relation to the museum's operations and the cultural landscape during the first half of the twentieth century. In particular, the emergence of modernism increasingly drew a distinction between museums of art and museums of culture, and subdivided non-Western objects collected in the West into "works of art" and "ethnographic artifacts."

From various records it can be seen that the AAM sold or attempted to sell some of Van Horne's ceramic objects, in addition to other objects of art, between 1945 and 1949.²⁷⁹ *The Executive Committee Minutes* of the AAM, dated December 28, 1944, indicates that the committee had discussed the immediate sale of objects from the Van Horne collection, which is "now in the possession of the Gallery [the AAM]."²⁸⁰ In the next meeting, on January 4, 1945, however, the executive committee decided to put off the sale of the Van Horne art objects until the delivery of the Van Horne paintings, as "it was decided that it would be wiser to await the distribution of the paintings before embarking on any selling programme."²⁸¹ Immediately after the AAM's share of the Van Horne paintings arrived on March 23, 1945, the first sale of Van Horne's Japanese ceramics apparently took place. The receipt from Henry Morgan & Co., Ltd. dated March 28, 1945 lists thirty-nine pieces of Van Horne's pottery and bronzes sold by the AAM, including a Satsuma vase.²⁸² The AAM *Council Minutes* dated May 10, 1945 also record another sale of sixty-five pottery and metal articles from Van Horne, including a few Imari and Satsuma pieces.²⁸³ No reason was recorded for the sale of these objects right after their delivery to the AAM. What we can say

²⁷⁹ See Note 278.

²⁸⁰ AAM Executive Committee Minutes (1944-45), Dec. 28/44, 3.

²⁸¹ AAM Executive Committee Minutes (1944-45), Jan 4/45, 1.

²⁸² "Van Horne specimens sold to Henry Moran & Co., Ltd," in the file "Ventes: Arts décoratifs, Dossier Ruth Jackson," MMFA Archive.

²⁸³ AAM Council Minutes, May 10, 1945, 4; and "List of pottery and metal articles disposed of to Henry Morgan & Co.," in the file "Ventes: Arts décoratifs, Dossier Ruth Jackson," MMFA Archive.

is that the AAM was remarkably quick to sell them, while clearly aware that doing so before the delivery of the Van Horne paintings would have been a problem, perhaps from an ethical point of view.

Yet the number of the pieces sold, and thus the proceeds from the sales from the Van Horne art objects, stands out in comparison to other sales in 1945. The total proceeds of the various sales recorded in the Minutes of May 10, 1945 is \$791.50, of which the sixty-five Van Horne objects account for \$544.50. Similarly, the previous sale of thirty-nine pieces from the Van Horne collection recorded in the Minutes of April 11, 1945 resulted in \$802.00.²⁸⁴ Regardless of whether the sales were from financial necessity or for pragmatic considerations of a lack of storage space, this series of events reveals the way that the AAM perceived the objects of art donated by the Van Hornes—they were commodities that could be sold when necessary. In other words, apart from the paintings, Van Horne's donated objects, including a number of Japanese ceramics, were seen only from the point of view of their monetary value. The fact that they were never even officially acquired by the AAM further suggests the institution's perception of the objects: their qualitative value was not considered adequate to be part of the AAM's collection.

The AAM's treatment of Van Horne's Japanese ceramics may seem bewildering today, but can be situated within the broad socio-cultural environment of the time. First, these sales cannot be considered as the common museum practice of deaccessioning in today's sense, as the definition of deaccession is "the permanent removal of an object that was once accessioned into museum collection" (Malaro 78). Disposing of objects that were

²⁸⁴ AAM Council Minutes, April 11, 1945, page unknown.

never officially accessioned in the first place, as in the case of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics at the AAM, does not fit the meaning of the term. Moreover, the governing structure of the museum in the mid-twentieth century differed from today, and there was no serious discussion regarding the disposal of museum objects either among museum professionals or public.²⁸⁵ In fact, various other sales of the AAM's collection to dealers and individuals are recorded in the Council Minutes around the same time as the sales of the Van Horne objects.²⁸⁶ A record at the MMFA Archive stating that William C.C. himself had apparently permitted to the AAM to "refine" the collection shortly after 1945, may justify these sales, although the exact context of this record is not known.²⁸⁷

Second, there was a major shift in the larger cultural contexts surrounding non-Western objects from the early twentieth century. With the establishment of art history and anthropology as academic disciplines a clear line started to be drawn between "works of art," which are made by individual artists and situated within a historical narrative of artistic development, and "ethnographic artifacts," which are samples of an ahistorical, homogeneous culture, made by anonymous makers (Yoshida 70). Some non-Western objects were appropriated by European modernist artists strictly for the objects' formal aspects, and their understanding profoundly shifted to a more aesthetic aspect (Tythacott 162-164). These

²⁸⁵ Marie C. Malero, discussing deaccessioning from the American point of view, points out that a more educated public started questioning the quality of governance in museums in the 1970s – 1980s (82). More professionalization of museum works, and a change in the U.S. tax law in 1986 that made museum donations less attractive, also contributed to the re-examination of the collecting practices of the museum (83).

²⁸⁶ For example, the AAM Council Minutes on May 10, 1945 record the sale of seven gold and silver coins donated by Hugh Paton, and silver spoons, fans, purses, and other things by Miss Molson, to Henry Morgan & Co., along with Van Horne's sixty-five articles of pottery; and the sale of the Canton ware enamel sweetmeat set donated by Mrs. Falchi along with a Van Horne's vase to Baron Van Haersolte. AAM Council Minutes, May 10, 1945, 4. MMFA Archive.

²⁸⁷ "Information re. Adaline Van Horne Bequest to MMFA," a memorandum by P.E. Gravel, dated November 30, 1972. It states, "[r]efining of the collection was permitted by William Van Horne [sic], her nephew shortly after 1945." And "[a]bove information given to Dusty Vineberg of Mtl. Star by R.A. Jackson, Registrar & Curator of Decorative Arts." File "Van Horne, William & Adaline," MMFA Archive.

selected non-Western “art works” were incorporated into the system of the art museum, placing them above the other “artifacts” in the ethnology museum.

Japanese cultural products were increasingly being interpreted from an art historical point of view, both in Japan and in the West, at the turn of the twentieth century. As discussed in detail previously, Japan’s first official art history, compiled in 1900, categorizes *kōgei* or craft works including ceramics under *bijutsu teki kōgei* or artistic crafts; and scholars and collectors of Japanese ceramics in Europe and North America began to search for the singularity of individual artist-potters such as Nonomura Ninsei and Ogata Kenzan, whose output was increasingly seen as works of art. Along with greater competition from Chinese ceramics from the early twentieth century,²⁸⁸ this new perception of Japanese ceramics from the aesthetic quality of individual pieces resulted in a decrease in interest in the previous type of Japanese ceramic collections, which focused on the classifiable aspect of the objects.

In fact, these cultural shifts from the early twentieth century had already impacted the value of Van Horne’s Japanese ceramic collection. A steady decrease in its value found in the inventories taken in 1917, 1929, and 1941 may reflect the shifts.²⁸⁹ The appraisal values of the Japanese ceramics in Van Horne’s study, done by group of objects in six individual cabinets,²⁹⁰ decreased from 1917 to 1941, except for Cabinet A.²⁹¹ The values of the other Japanese ceramic objects located in different rooms of the residence also decreased.²⁹² For

²⁸⁸ For a detailed history of Chinese ceramics collected in the West, see Pierson *Collectors*.

²⁸⁹ “Prepared by M. Van Horne July 1942 showing Mr. Carter’s valuations on Artistic Property Other Than Pictures, in 1917-1929-1941.” Box-Folder 32-7, Van Horne Family Fonds, the AGO Archive.

²⁹⁰ There were seven cabinets (labelled A to G), but Cabinet G was evaluated only in 1941. See Note 289.

²⁹¹ The valuations for Cabinet A, with “51 large, 33 medium and 141 small pieces old Jap. [sic] pottery and porcelain, in and on cabinet,” was \$2,870 in both 1917 and 1929, but increased to \$2,301 in 1941. “Prepared by M. Van Horne July 1942,” 11. See Note 289.

²⁹² In addition to the study, Japanese ceramics were found throughout the Van Horne residence, and valuations were done both by small groups or individually.

example, the valuation of Cabinet B in Van Horne's studio, consisting of "32 large and 224 small specimens of old Jap. [sic] pottery and porcelains" was \$3,230 in both 1917 and 1929, whereas the valuation in 1941 decreased to \$2,070.²⁹³ Similarly, the valuation of Cabinet C, with "50 large and 209 small pieces Jap [sic] pottery and porcelain," was \$2,970 both in 1917 and 1929, but \$2,545 in 1941.²⁹⁴ The weaker market value of Japanese ceramics was mentioned by Currelly too in 1944 as "very little," which made him concerned about the Van Hornes' decision to sell their share of the Japanese ceramics.²⁹⁵

In addition to the shift in the perception of Japanese ceramics, the emergence of modernism meant that the principle of the "art" museum as well as its display methods was now to further emphasize the objects' individual formal quality. The leading role in this change was taken by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (MFAB), where Edward S. Morse's large collection of Japanese ceramics had been displayed. The former director of the museum, Matthew S. Prichard (1865 – 1936), emphasized in his 1904 essay "*Current Theories of the Arrangement of Museums of Art and Their Application to the Museum of Fine Arts*" that people were no longer interested in looking at a number of small objects in the museum, stating, "[t]he public does not look at Greek vases. The public does not look at Japanese pottery. The public does not look at any long series of small objects, save in the most perfunctory manner at all" (qtd. in Nishimura Morse 145). His idea eventually made the MFAB decide to exhibit only "the choicest objects" in "a spacious, sympathetic setting," rather than broadly displaying all of the holdings (Nishimura Morse 145). This Boston model would later strongly influence other museums in the US and Europe (Nishimura Morse 145).

²⁹³ "Prepared by M. Van Horne July 1942," 11. See Note 289.

²⁹⁴ See Note 293.

²⁹⁵ Currelly's letter to Margaret Van Horne, May 4, 1944. See Note 271.

The AAM was no exception. Founded in the 1880s as an educational institution to enhance Canada's industrial production through the collection and study of objects, the AAM was based on the model of the South Kensington Museum in London (Morgan, 108-111). By the 1930s, however, its mission shifted to promoting the aesthetic appreciation of objects with an emphasis on art history. A consequence of this shift was the gradual removal of the museum's ethnographic collections, such as objects from the First Nations (Morgan, 108-111). This may explain both the AAM's lack of enthusiasm for accepting Van Horne's Japanese ceramic objects in 1944 and its sale of some of the objects.²⁹⁶ The museum's interest in the remaining Van Horne Japanese ceramics also diminished over time, and very few of them had been displayed in the galleries until recently (Vigo).²⁹⁷

The AAM's immediate sales of approximately twenty percent of the donated Van Horne Japanese ceramics in 1945 was, on the one hand, a common practice for the institution at that time, unlike today's public museum. On the other, it reflected the major shift in the broad socio-cultural environment from the early twentieth century. The emergence of the modernist view not only unfavourably influenced the museum's understanding of Van Horne's Japanese ceramics, which were collected from taxonomical concern, but also destabilized the museum's own principles, from focusing on its educational role to promoting the artistic quality of selected objects. In other words, the gap in the interpretation of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics between the AAM's unfavorable perception and the previous high

²⁹⁶ Another possible reason for the sale of the Van Horne ceramics in the AAM is the effect of WWII. Given the fact that the division and donation of the Van Horne collection were carried out between 1942 and 1945, it is entirely possible that a negative perception of Japan and Japanese objects on the part of Canadians influenced the AAM's hesitation to accept the Japanese ceramics and its decision to sell some of them. This is one of the major avenues of my future research.

²⁹⁷ Dr. Laura Vigo is Curator of Asian Art at the MMFA.

reputation was a product of the cultural conditions of the time, rather than of a *wrong* understanding in the past.

3-3: Van Horne's Japanese Ceramics at the ROM (1): from 1909 to 1999

After the division of the Van Horne collection and the donation of the thirty-four Japanese ceramics to the ROM in 1944, a total of 183 of Van Horne's ceramics were reserved at the ROM, including those donated by Van Horne himself in the 1910s.²⁹⁸ As seen in the previous sections, the original context of the collection, in which Van Horne had a close engagement with these objects, was stripped away during the transitional process from private to public collection, and they were now interpreted within the framework of the museum's collection. The museum's interpretation, however, did not remain fixed: catalogue descriptions of Van Horne's Japanese ceramics found in the successive records reserved at the ROM reveal that the understanding of the objects shifted over ninety years, becoming increasingly negative. The shifting descriptions in the catalogue records certainly reflected updated scholarship, but this was not the only factor. A close examination of the successive catalogue descriptions demonstrates that the meaning-formation of the objects was also greatly impacted by the ROM's institutional operations at given times and the curators' orientations and interests, as well as changing ideas of what constituted authentic sources of information. As a consequence, by the end of the twentieth century, a collective identity for Van Horne's Japanese ceramics had been established as an unimpressive collection without

²⁹⁸ The 183 pieces include P.19–P.22 and P.100–P.234 (Van Horne's donation), and P.1527–P.1560 (William C.C.'s donation). This excludes the additional eleven objects believed to be part of the 1944 donation, but without the original accession numbers starting with P. See Note 276.

any significant masterpieces. Most of the objects remained in storage and were rarely put on display.

To examine the shifting meaning of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics at the ROM, it is important to keep in mind the unique character of the ROM, as a museum of both science and culture.²⁹⁹ The original vision of C.T. Currelly, the first director of the ROM of Archaeology until 1946, was “a museum of the material arts of man from the beginning to an undefined present” that educates the public (Dickson 53). From the 1950s, however, the ROM went back and forth between the principles of emphasizing the aesthetic aspect of objects and putting more emphasis on context. Theodore Heinrich (1910 – 1981), the first director of the whole museum from 1955 to 1962,³⁰⁰ principally considered the ROM as a fine arts museum (Dickson 129). Similarly, A. Douglas Tushingham (1914 – 2002), head of the Art and Archaeology division from 1955, was also interested in the artistic point of view of the objects, rather than their documentary value (Dickson 125). From the late 1960s, when the ROM became independent from University of Toronto (in 1968) and plans were made to expand the museum building (from 1969), the discussion of contextual display emerged. This idea was later realized in the late 1970s, as a form of gallery organization based on “clusters,” which interrelated galleries through themes (Dickson 171).³⁰¹ Beginning in the 1980s, however, the international current in the museum display was increasingly towards “art-type” displays (Shelton 74). The ROM too adopted this tendency and its presentation

²⁹⁹ While many early museums in Europe and North America retained this double character, they became more specialized in the early twentieth century. Today, the ROM and the National Museum of Scotland are the only museums whose collections cover both science and culture under one roof.

³⁰⁰ The five museums that originally comprised the ROM from 1914 were unified in 1955.

³⁰¹ This idea was based on the idea of “total immersion” of museum design proposed in 1967 by Harley Parker, the head of Design and Installation at the ROM from 1957 to 1967, with Marshall McLuhan (Dickson 153).

methods shifted more to the aesthetic (Irwin).³⁰² Since the most recent renovation project in the 2000s, the general direction has been towards in-context presentation.

Within this swaying of the direction of the ROM as a whole, the understanding of the former curatorial staff in charge of the Far Eastern collections is that the ROM has never been an art museum, but rather a museum of material culture (Irwin; Parker; Proctor; Ruitenbeek).³⁰³ The nature of the ROM's Japanese collection is indeed a combination of art and ethnography, and Hugh Wylie, its first curator of Japanese art, described it as "diverse."³⁰⁴ This rather ambiguous nature of the Japanese collection would indirectly influence the understanding of certain objects by the curators in charge, who considered themselves art historians.

Shifts in catalogue descriptions

The ROM's perception towards the Van Horne's Japanese ceramics is reflected in its catalogue descriptions since their donation to the present. Cross-checking the historical catalogue descriptions of these objects demonstrates that the information has been constantly updated, added to and removed, particularly when the cataloguing system itself was updated. The ROM's cataloguing system was originally in the form of registration books, which was revised in the 1940s; in the 1960s the catalogue information was transferred to a card system; the system was then updated to an electronic database in the 1980s. The transfer of catalogue

³⁰² Sara Irwin is former technician of Far Eastern collections.

³⁰³ Jeanie Parker is former slide collection technician; Patty Proctor is former curator of Chinese ceramics; and Klaas Ruitenbeek is former Louis Harley Stone Chair of Far Eastern Art and the senior curator of Chinese art.

³⁰⁴ Memorandum by Wylie regarding the Van Horne ceramic collection, not dated. Hugh Wylie Files, ROM.

information from one system to the next was not always carried out straightforwardly, however: some information was simply copied while other information was removed or replaced.

Updating of catalogue information took place when the authenticity of the original information was called into question. The information provided by the original collector Van Horne, for instance, was treated differently at different times: removed in the 1940s and replaced with evaluations by external experts of Japanese origin, but restored as reference in the mid-1970s. Tracing shifts in which sources of information were considered more accurate or authentic in the ROM's catalogue records demonstrates changes in the intellectual environment and the availability of knowledge over time. Furthermore, the opinions and preferences of the first curator of Japanese art, Dr. Hugh Wylie (1942 – 1999) (fig. 63), played a decisive role after 1975 in the ways in which updates were carried out, including decisions on which objects were significant enough to be updated.

Art historian Wylie naturally embodied authentic knowledge during his service. Due to his selective approach, the amount of catalogue information on the Van Horne Japanese ceramics in the catalogue cards varied greatly depending on the object, as opposed to the previous catalogue book system in which every piece was recorded equally. In addition, little information was transferred to the computerized database. The processes by which the interpretation of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics at the ROM shifted demonstrate the highly contingent nature of the meaning-formation of museum objects, because the shifts were not only according to the changes in the idea of what constituted authentic knowledge, but also to the museum operations and the personal agenda of the curator in charge. By

articulating the processes of interpretational shifts of the Van Horne ceramics at the ROM, I challenge the notion of a museum as the terminal phase in objects' social life.

Original and revised versions of catalogue books

The original information about the Japanese collection was first recorded in the ROM catalogue books titled *PI*, *PII* and *PIII*, which are collectively referred to as the “P Books.” (fig. 64).³⁰⁵ These early P Books contain textual records only. They were later revised, presumably in the mid-1940s, and titled *R.O.M.A. Japan: P 1*, *P 2*, and *P 3*, with most pieces assigned individual pages and recorded with fine, scaled illustrations along with slightly updated textual data (fig. 65).³⁰⁶ The descriptions in the P Books were recorded by “draughtsmen,” who were all female despite their title (Matthews 160), as there was no permanent curatorial staff specialized in Japanese art until the mid-1970s.³⁰⁷

In the early P Books the Van Horne ceramics are all treated equally in their documentation. For the first group, the information about attribution, or the type of ceramic specified by the regional kiln, was provided by the donor Van Horne himself. The entry for the object numbered P.100 is typical: “Sake bottle; Satsuma, Kinkōzan Kiln. Presented by Sir Wm. van Horne [sic].”³⁰⁸ This data is followed by descriptions of the object's dimensions and form, including its colour and the qualities of its glaze. In subsequent decades, the information provided by Van Horne was continuously updated and eventually superseded by

³⁰⁵ The exact dates of the creation of the early P Books are not known.

³⁰⁶ The revised P Books are also reserved in the office of the Collection Technician of Asian Art, ROM.

³⁰⁷ There were occasionally a few employees who specialized in Japanese art in the 1960s – 1970s, such as a head of Asian art who specialized in Japanese prints, and a preparator who specialized in Japanese arms and armour, but neither was exclusively in charge of the Japanese collection, or responsible for cataloguing.

³⁰⁸ The catalogue book *PI*, 15.

the assessments of others. By the mid-1940s, two external specialists went through the ROM's Japanese collection, and their comments were added to the existing descriptions recorded in the P Books. These were Japanese individuals: Chie Hirano (1878 – 1939), a fellow at the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, and K. Tanaka, whose details including first name, are unknown. Although the exact dates of their remarks are not recorded, they were likely added to the P Books in the 1930s and early 1940s. The two Japanese experts did not always agree with the information that Van Horne had provided on the types and dates of certain pieces. For instance, object P.103 had been identified by Van Horne as Satsuma, but this was subsequently overwritten in the early P Books by Hirano's note "not Satsuma," followed by Tanaka's identification as "Kii ware, Kishiu [sic]."³⁰⁹

Updates like these are further apparent in the revised P Books. The source of attribution is now clearly noted as provided by either Van Horne or Tanaka. For example, the entry for object P.100 in the revised P Books includes the assessments of both Van Horne and Tanaka as: "Satsuma (Van Horne); Satsuma c.1700 (K. Tanaka)."³¹⁰ Yet when Van Horne's judgements were considered no longer accurate they were removed completely, so that only Tanaka's assessments remained in these records. Van Horne's identification of object P.111 as "Satsuma" in the early P Books, for example, was edited out in the revised version, in which only Tanaka's assessment, "Karatsu 1650-1700" appears.³¹¹ With these adjustments, we can sense that by the 1940s there was renewed interest in verifying the information on record about Van Horne's ceramics. We also sense that the opinions of Japanese experts now held more sway than those provided by Van Horne decades earlier.

³⁰⁹ See Note 308.

³¹⁰ The catalogue book *P I*, n.pag.

³¹¹ See Note 310.

While Van Horne had been considered an expert on Japanese ceramics during his lifetime, the professionalization and systematization of knowledge in the early twentieth century deprived an amateur collector of the status of expert.³¹² Ironically, however, beginning in the mid-1970s, Tanaka's then "expert" opinions would be found to be inaccurate, which necessitated further revisions to the records. At times, these revisions required that Van Horne's data be recognized as having been correct in the first place.

In the late 1940s, the ROM changed its system of registering its acquisitions, and its entire collection was re-numbered with a combination of year of acquisition and group identification number, as opposed to the simple consecutive numbering used previously: Van Horne's Japanese ceramics were now numbered as 909.22.1 to 909.22.128 and 944.16.1 to 944.16.36.³¹³ As this system made clear the relationship of each object to the source of acquisition, it helped to restore a sense of unity for the objects that originally came from Van Horne, which had once been merged into the ROM's Japanese collection. This change in the accession number system would later contribute to the formation of a collective identity assigned to the Van Horne Japanese ceramic objects, which was rather undesirable.

1960s: de-accession and introduction of the card system

In the late 1960s occurred a noteworthy event that might have further contributed to the internal reputation of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics as undesirable. In October 1969,

³¹² In Canada, the creation of Canadian Museums Committee in 1933 encouraged the professionalization of the staff of Canadian museums. For details, see Brison. For the departure of professionalism from amateurism in academia, both in Japan and in the West in the early twentieth century, see Suzuki, *Kōkoka*, 197-219.

³¹³ There is another group of eleven Japanese ceramics believed to be donated by William C.C. in 1944, and assigned accession numbers 944.12.1 – 944.12.12 (except 944.12.9 which is not assigned). See Note 276.

part of the Far Eastern collection was deaccessioned due to a lack of storage space.³¹⁴ This was done under Dr. Hsio-Yen Shih (1933 – 2001), who served as the head of the Far Eastern department from 1969 to 1976.³¹⁵ On this occasion, twenty-two of the 139 Japanese ceramics originally donated by Van Horne were disposed of,³¹⁶ along with some Chinese ceramics from the nineteenth century and some Chinese furniture (Irwin). For those items, additional notes of “Disposal Oct 1969” or “Disposed” can be found both in the early *PI* and the revised *PI* catalogue books: in the former, the records of these objects are even crossed out (figs. 64 and 65). The criteria for selecting these twenty-two Van Horne pieces for disposal are not clear. The selection process was a quick act by Shih, who went through boxes of objects one after another and decided what should be eliminated (Irwin; Proctor). Shih, a specialist of Chinese painting, apparently showed little interest in Japanese ceramics (Irwin; Proctor).

Like the sales of some Van Horne Japanese ceramics at the AAM in 1945, this act of disposal would likely cause a public controversy today, but was considered less controversial at that time: it was not taken up for discussion until around the 1970s, when the museum drew more public interest (Malaro 82).³¹⁷ The disposal coincided with the time when the ROM became independent from the University of Toronto in 1968, on which occasion another expansion project had started to be discussed due to the overcrowding of the already thirty-year-old buildings (Dickson 144-5). The urgent need to secure more storage space

³¹⁴ The disposed objects were consigned to an art dealer and sold off, and their whereabouts today are not known (Irwin).

³¹⁵ Shih specialized in Chinese painting and served also as a professor of Chinese art at the University of Toronto.

³¹⁶ It should be noted that no piece from the 1944 donation was disposed of. This was perhaps for legal reasons, because the widow of the donor, Margaret Van Horne was still alive at the time of disposal (Irwin).

³¹⁷ For Malaro’s discussion of deaccessioning, see Note 285.

must have justified the decision to deaccession in 1969. Still, the fact that some of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics were selected for disposal likely contributed to the creation of an undesirable impression of this group of objects.

During the 1960s, catalogue data from the P Books was updated and transferred to a card system, a process which continued into the 1990s.³¹⁸ This was not simply a transfer of existing data in the P Books: instead, efforts were made to update information as much as possible for the card system. However, because the number of objects amassed at the ROM had grown significantly by this time, it was decided that only those pieces deemed most significant by curatorial staff would have their information checked and added to the cards.³¹⁹ This updating process resulted in immense imbalances in the new card records, with some entries highly detailed and others containing minimal data.

Personal agendas of first curator of Japanese art

Hugh Wylie played a highly significant role in the transfer of information from the P Books to cards. As mentioned, Wylie was trained as an art historian specialized in Japanese literati painting, but he was also highly versatile in his research and knowledge.³²⁰ His hard work and enthusiasm for the museum's Japanese collection is apparent in the files he kept, and in the recollections of his former colleagues in the Far Eastern department (Irwin; Parker;

³¹⁸ This card system remains in partial use even since the introduction of the electronic database.

³¹⁹ To make the level of information visible at a glance in the card cabinets, those items whose cataloguing information have been updated are written on blue cards, whereas the others that required updates are orange colour.

³²⁰ Wylie's publication includes *The Gould Collection of Netsuke: Miniature Sculptures from Japan*. Royal Ontario Museum, 1988. He conducted extensive research on *inro*, swords, sword guards, tea utensils, among others.

Proctor; Ruitenbeek). Wylie invited a number of external specialists in a range of different Japanese art forms—paintings, ceramics, lacquer, arms and armor, and so on—and meticulously added their comments to the catalogue cards (fig. 66). As the first curator, his opinions held considerable weight within the department (Irwin; Parker; Proctor; Ruitenbeek).

While the permanent gallery dedicated to the Japanese collection was closed down in 1978,³²¹ Wylie organized three or four exhibit cases within the Asian galleries displaying highlights from the Japanese collection. As space was limited, only the objects Wylie considered most significant and representative were exhibited, including *netsuke*, lacquerware, prints, and some ceramics. When it came to the Van Horne objects, however, Wylie was not very enthusiastic. He noted that although “they are extremely useful to a diverse Japanese collection like the ROM’s,” they were “not always the ceramic masterworks sought by more specialized museums.”³²² His understanding of the Van Horne ceramics was that they were a collection of “low-fired earthenware from lesser-known kilns.”³²³ This suggests that Wylie did not pay detailed attention to the individual objects, because many of the Van Horne pieces are actually stoneware rather than earthenware.³²⁴ As Wylie’s interpretation was influential, the general view was established within the Far Eastern department that “the Van Horne collection was not a *jewel* among many others” (Proctor). As

³²¹ In 1978, the original permanent gallery dedicated for the Japanese collection, established in 1964, was closed down due to a major renovation and the construction of a new wing called Terrace Galleries. The renovated galleries did not include a Japanese gallery.

³²² Memorandum by Wylie regarding the Van Horne ceramic collection, not dated, but after May 1991. The above quotes are from Wylie’s letter to the editor of *Rotunda* (the former museum magazine of the ROM), dated May 14, 1991. Hugh Wylie Files, ROM.

³²³ See Note 322.

³²⁴ It should be noted that earthenware is generally considered coarser and less refined than stoneware. An exception is Raku ware, one of the most well-known types of Japanese ceramics. It is earthenware but pieces made by the Raku family are considered as refined works of art.

such, the authenticity of the Ninsei tea bowl, part of the ROM's Van Horne collection, was never re-examined by Wylie or other staff to ascertain the possibility of its being a genuine Ninsei. A commonly shared view was: "there *cannot* be a real Ninsei in the Van Horne collection" (Irwin; Proctor; Ruitenbeek).

Wylie's perception of the Van Horne ceramics was reflected in the ways their catalogue information was transferred to the new cards. While each object had originally been catalogued in the P Books with the same level of detail, the amount of information transferred to the cards varied. For example, some pieces, such as 909.22.7 (formerly numbered P.116) and 909.22.10 (P.119) are merely identified on the cards as "Bottle" and "Plate," respectively, without the original catalogue descriptions in the P Books transferred.

In addition, the sources of information were often re-examined. The previous attributions to specific producers or kilns, provided by Tanaka in the P Books, were now addressed more cautiously. For example, the original attribution of 909.22.5 (P.114) as "Banko ware" by Van Horne, had been corrected in the revised P Book by Tanaka to "[made] by Yusetu, Ise Province, C.1800"³²⁵; the card for this piece, however, avoids any assertive attribution and discreetly describes it with a question mark as: "Marked Yusetu Ise (?) [sic]," and more importantly, with Tanaka's name eliminated as a source of information. By this time, the authenticity of the information provided by Tanaka, once regarded as more accurate than Van Horne's, was no longer regarded as authoritative.

Interestingly, while Tanaka's assessments lost authority, Van Horne's earlier attributions were at times restored on the cards. For instance, 909.22.124 (P.110) was

³²⁵ The catalogue book *PI*, 17.

identified by Van Horne in the original P Books as Satsuma, which was later crossed out in favour of Tanaka's identification of the piece as Seto. The revised P Books then edited Van Horne's data out and credited Tanaka alone in identifying this piece as Seto. This was again revised for the card system, which refrains from any definitive identification, simply noting that the piece was: "Satsuma (ap. [according to] Van Horne)." Van Horne's credibility as a potential source of accurate information was thus restored. A shift in the idea of authentic knowledge can be observed here.

With the transition from P Books to the card system, information about the Ninsei tea bowl (original accession number was changed from P.1545 to 944.16.24) also shifted. Prior to the card system, the descriptions of the tea bowl remained the same in both the early and revised P Books:

P.1545: Tea bowl, buff clay, upper portion almost squared, slipped and glazed in mottled grays and light browns. Foot rim almost unglazed. Small impressed mark on exterior bottom: Ninsei (Yamashiro). Two small kiln cracks in edge. Spiral twist on interior bottom. H. 3.3" W. about 4.75" Numbered 667 and 1291. See P.1527 [for the credit information: Gift of Lt. W.C.C. Van Horne R.C.N.S.C. May, 1944]³²⁶

As this record was written in 1944, Van Horne's attribution of this tea bowl as a genuine Ninsei had already been removed and replaced with a description of the mark instead. These descriptions in the P Books were, however, not transferred to the card. This attests that Wylie

³²⁶ Both *P II* and *P 2* do not have page numbers.

did not consider this tea bowl significant enough for updating. To this day, the card contains only the essential information “Tea bowl. Impressed mark on base: Ninsei.”

The catalogue system was computerized for the first time at the ROM in the early 1980s, but various difficulties and obstacles associated with the establishment of the new system, resulted in further imbalance in the amount of information among the collections. The computerization of the catalogue was carried out in conjunction with the museum’s major renovation project, which took place from 1978 to 1982.³²⁷ This major project required the whole museum to close down for twenty months between 1980 and 1982, and the entire collection had to be moved (Dickson 168). Establishing a computerized system was a pressing business in order to keep track of everything (Dickson 168). The computerization was done as part of an initiative from Ottawa, the National Inventory Programme (NIP), today’s Canadian Heritage Information Network (CHIN).³²⁸ In cooperation with the NIP, the ROM started to develop its first electronic database system and transfer the data from the cards. According to Sara Irwin, former technician for the Far Eastern collection at the ROM, the process was not easy; indeed, it was almost “painful” (Irwin), as the interface of the database had been created based on the cataloguing methods for Western art works. The categories of the fields into which information was placed, therefore, did not fully match those required for objects from the Far Eastern collection (Irwin). The process of transferring data from card to the database went slowly.

³²⁷ This project was to renovate the main building and to construct an additional gallery space and a curatorial centre. The renovated main building with the new Terrace Gallery opened to the public in 1982.

³²⁸ The foundation of NIP was derived from the UNESCO convention in 1970, where means of prohibiting and preventing the illicit import, export and transfer of ownership of cultural property was discussed. The Government of Canada created NIP in 1972 to implement a computerized national inventory of cultural and scientific collections across the country. The NIP became the CHIN in 1982, to help heritage institutions to use information and communications technologies.

The CHIN project did not last for long, and each museum was now responsible for the development of its collection database by the mid-1980s (Irwin). The ROM developed its own database using a software called Access. Since the ROM is a large museum with both science and culture departments, designing a unified interface to cover the requirements of both sections was incredibly difficult (Irwin). Although the technical commitment needed to deal with this new system was quite high, there were no staff exclusively devoted to handling the collection database at that time, and curators and technicians were expected to enter information on the collections by themselves. Due to this difficulty, and perhaps the novel nature of an electronic database at the time, it was completely up to individual curators whether or not to use the system. As a result, the amount of information transferred or created in the Far Eastern collection database became highly uneven (Irwin).

Wylie was one of the several curators who refused to use the new database system. The majority of the information on the Japanese collection was therefore not transferred from the cards to the database. Information about many of the Van Horne objects, too, including the Ninsei tea bowl, was left almost entirely blank in the database until the beginning of the 2000s. When I started cataloguing them in 2001, the blank records created in me to some extent a negative impression that the Van Horne Japanese ceramics had been neglected and were therefore not significant.

At the ROM, the perception of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics, represented in catalogue descriptions, gradually shifted both in quantity and quality over ninety years. The changing descriptions reflected the ROM's idea about who possessed authentic knowledge, as seen in the fluctuating treatment of Van Horne as a source of information. While the museum's institutional projects, such as disposal, renovation and updates in the catalogue

system, were occasions for updating information, the personal conditions of Wylie were also highly influential in the distribution of information. His art historical approach ultimately formed a collective identity of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics which was rather negative. This process clearly illustrates that the meaning of museum objects shifts throughout their continuous history, and within highly discursive relations between the objects, people and institution.

3-4: Van Horne's Japanese Ceramics at the ROM (2): early 2000s

The negative perception of the Van Horne ceramics developed at the ROM by the end of the twentieth century was gradually constructed through the museum's operations and the curators' personal conditions. The general view of this group of objects, along with the scarce catalogue information in the database, affected my own perception when I started dealing with the Van Horne Japanese ceramics in 2001. As an emerging scholar of Japanese art history, I dismissed these objects solely from a belief that today's *proper* knowledge of Japanese ceramics history was the absolute criterion that determined the value of objects: in other words, the idea of fixed authenticity. The process of selecting items to be displayed in the new permanent gallery of Japanese collection enhanced my view of the Van Horne ceramics, since the gallery was focused on showing the aesthetic and formal aspect of objects. The potential genuineness of the Ninsei tea bowl was buried under the collective identity of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics at the ROM, as well as under the legacy of the "Ninsei myth" in my mind.

After Wylie's untimely death in a boat accident in 1999, the Van Horne Japanese ceramics remained in storage. In 2001, I personally began cataloging the ROM's Japanese collection, mainly ceramics, as a member of the curatorial staff.³²⁹ I was not aware of it at that time, but in retrospect, I became yet another individual who would mediate the Van Horne objects.

My initial task from 2001 to 2002 was to catalogue as many ceramic objects as possible to update the database, which still lacked entries for a significant portion of the Japanese collection for the reasons discussed above. For this task, I systematically dealt with objects from one storage unit to the next (fig. 67), rather than targeting specific pieces based on existing notions of what was important. I focused on describing the formal aspect of each object as objectively as possible, and tried to identify the kiln in which it was made. Although it was a volunteer position, the ROM's curatorial staff in the Far Eastern department entrusted me with the work, as they considered me a trained individual with knowledge of Japanese art.³³⁰ The fact that no one had been looking after the ROM's Japanese collection since 1999 was an urgent reason for them to allow me to do the task. While my knowledge and experience at the time were much less than should have been required to conduct such important work, I began rather arrogantly to consider myself the sole expert on Japanese art history in the Far Eastern department. At this stage, while I did see some of the Van Horne pieces, my focus was more on the individual objects and the

³²⁹ Initially as a volunteer, later in 2003-2005 as Academic Advisor (a project curator) for the Japanese Collection.

³³⁰ It was perhaps because of my previous cataloguing experience as a curatorial assistant for Japanese art at the Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia from 1999 to 2001, as well as my post-graduate degree in the field of art administration.

name of Van Horne or his collection did not register with me. Nevertheless, my impression of the pieces I would later realize were Van Horne's was not favourable.

I became more conscious of Van Horne's collection by 2003, when I got professionally involved with the ROM's major renovation project, *Renaissance ROM*. This project included the re-establishment of a permanent Japanese gallery in the museum three decades after the closure of the original one.³³¹ I was hired on contract as Academic Advisor for the Japanese Collection to engage with the whole process of creating what became the Prince Takamado Gallery of Japan (fig. 68), from research, to object selection, gallery design and panel text writing. The project for the Far Eastern galleries was led by Dr. Klaas Ruitenbeek, then the Louis Harley Stone Chair of Far Eastern Art and senior curator of Chinese art, who held the position from 1996 to 2009. Ruitenbeek is an acclaimed Chinese art historian with extensive knowledge of Japanese and Korean art.³³² While Ruitenbeek admits that the ROM is not exactly an art museum, he tried to bring more of an "art" factor to the Far Eastern collections during his position at the ROM (Ruitenbeek).³³³

Ruitenbeek's vision for the new Japan Gallery was to create "the most aesthetic gallery" among the Far Eastern galleries.³³⁴ The Gallery was to have seven sections representing the major genres of Japanese art to showcase artistic development and

³³¹ This major renovation project of the ROM, led by William Thorsell, then Director and CEO, consisted of the construction of additional buildings designed by Daniel Libeskind, now called Michael Lee-Chin Crystal, and the large-scale restructuring and re-installation of all the galleries of the museum. The goal of the project was to put more of its major collections on permanent display, as well as to increase the number of objects within each gallery. The entire project took from 2001 to 2010.

³³² Dr. Ruitenbeek previously worked as the curator of Asian art at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, and is currently the director of the Museum of Asian Art in Berlin.

³³³ Patty Proctor, the former curator of Chinese ceramics at the ROM agrees that Ruitenbeek was the first head of the Far Eastern department who had a strong art historical perspective and tried to make the ROM's collections competent with other international art museums.

³³⁴ Personal conversations with Ruitenbeek during the project from 2003 to 2005.

achievement in Japan.³³⁵ The goal was to create a small yet aesthetically appealing gallery to make a contrast to the adjoining enormous Chinese galleries, which emphasize the exceptional size and richness of the ROM's Chinese collection. As a self-styled art historian, I totally agreed with Ruitenbeek and approached the project from the art historical point of view. Unlike my previous cataloguing task, my responsibility was now to select the *best* works from the Japanese collection to show in the gallery. The notions of art historical significance and authenticity came further forward in the object selection process.

With the goal of the Japan Gallery in mind, I examined the individual pieces from Van Horne more thoroughly. The research resulted in an even more negative impression of this group of objects. While it did include a few fine Satsuma export ware pieces, the collection seemed underwhelming and of mixed quality without any notable masterpieces. Some of the pieces looked to me of obviously lower quality, with unproportioned forms, unfunctionally heavy clay, aggressively coloured glaze, or deliberate decorations. A few could be clearly identified as fakes, with false seals of famous makers such as Raku or Eiraku. Others—for example, an earthenware figure of Fukusuke, blackened perhaps from aging, with a strangely hollowed inside—looked to me positively ugly (fig. 69). Furthermore, I could not conduct productive research on many of the items because they were made in lesser-known kilns, and the existing sources on Japanese ceramic art included examples only from well-known makers. And the collection database was not reliable, as many of them had not been properly catalogued.³³⁶ I therefore determined that the Van Horne collection was not

³³⁵ The seven sections were: arms and armour; woodblock prints; paintings; lacquerware; ceramics; tea utensils; and religious sculptures.

³³⁶ In addition to the online database, I also looked up the card catalogues, where some more information was available. I however was not aware of the P Books, and therefore, of the old catalogue records of the Van Horne ceramics.

art historically significant as a whole. Consequently, the majority of the Van Horne ceramics—except for the fifteen pieces—did not make the list of to be displayed in the ceramic section of the Japan Gallery, where approximately eighty pieces are shown (fig. 70). The fifteen pieces from the Van Horne ceramics were selected for their clear identities, be it Imari or Satsuma or Seto ware, or the work of renowned potters, such as Nin’ami Dohachi II (1783 – 1855) or Miura Ken’ya (1825 – 1889).³³⁷ The fact that a half of them were Imari porcelain or Satsuma ware indicates that my selection criteria were solely from the art historical point of view, isolated from the original context of the collection of Van Horne, whose predominant interest was in domestic non-porcelain ceramics.

As widely understood in the recent studies of collecting, when an object enters into a museum collection its original context is removed and it is placed into a space with different systems and relationships.³³⁸ For the Van Horne Japanese ceramics, however, an ironical transference of perception took place during this selection process: for the pieces from the collection selected for the Japan Gallery, their former identity as part of the group of Van Horne’s objects was de-emphasized and these objects were put into the new context of the ROM’s Japanese collection, whereas those considered less important and not selected for the

³³⁷ The fifteen pieces are: 909.22.2 Early Imari porcelain jar; 909.22.18 Early Imari porcelain bottle; 909.22.28 Tea bowl of Ippōdō ware (a private kiln of a wealthy merchant in Kyoto in the 1850s); 909.22.32 Hi-ire container made by Miura Ken’ya (1825-1889); 909.22.66 Bowl for sweets of Kotō ware (flourished 1829 – 1860); 909.22.81 Early Imari porcelain bottle; 909.22.91 Tea jar of Seto ware; 909.22.101 Water jar of Ofuke ware (a private kiln of the Tokugawa family in Owari, flourished mid 17c to 1870) ; 944.12. 2 and 944.12.10 Two flat sake cups of Satsuma ware with the family crest of Tokugawa; 944.12.3 Small ewer of Satsuma ware; 944.12.6.1-.2 Incense container of Satsuma ware in the shape of clam; 944.12.11 Incense burner of Satsuma ware with silver lid; 944.16.4 Tea bowl of black Raku type, made by Nin’ami Dohachi II (1783-1855); 944.16.14 Tea bowl of red Raku type, made by Nin’ami Dohachi II (1783-1855). One more piece from the Van Horne gift in 1944 was selected (944.16.35, figure of Daikoku seated on large mallet), but for a display showing a common theme across East Asia cultures located outside the Japan Gallery.

³³⁸ See, for example, Bal “Telling Objects,” Pomian, and Stewart.

Gallery remained within the framework of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics with an undesirable collective identity, and remained in storage.

This collective understanding of the non-displayed Van Horne Japanese ceramics at the ROM affected my understanding of individual pieces in the collection. Among them are four pieces that Van Horne attributed to Ninsei: a tea bowl with painted decoration, without a maker's seal but in the Ninsei style; and three other pieces, each with the maker's seal "Ninsei."³³⁹ I determined that the three pieces other than our tea bowl were not genuine, due to their less refined, more deliberate decoration, despite the existence of Ninsei marks on the two pieces. As for the tea bowl in question, I initially found it to be a fine piece and speculated about the possibility of its genuineness. However, I was trapped in the gap between the prominent reputation of Ninsei in the narratives of Japanese art history—the legacy of the "Ninsei myth"—and my negative evaluation of the Van Horne ceramics as a whole. In addition to this, there were no records on this tea bowl in the database or the card catalogue that I could rely on. As a result, I accepted the shared assumption among my colleagues in the department, that "there *cannot* be a real Ninsei in the Van Horne collection," and failed to further consider the possibility that this tea bowl might be genuine.

The way I perceived the Ninsei tea bowl shows how the understanding of an object is affected by the perception of the group it belongs to. The meaning of a group of objects or a collection is created through multiple relations—interactions among objects, people, and museum, and also relationships between the objects themselves. As Susan Pearce argues, the value of a collection lies not in an individual item but in the relationship it bears to others,

³³⁹ 909.22.43 tea bowl with painted decoration; 944.16.24 tea bowl (the one to be identified later as genuine Ninsei); 944.16.25 cylindrical tea bowl; and 955x126 double-gourd bottle.

that is, knowledge (*On Collecting* 139). An individual item in a collection is thus no longer a “thing” but becomes a “sign” (Bal “Telling objects” 111). In other words, the understanding of an item in a collection is circumscribed by its relation to the group. The fate of this particular Ninsei tea bowl, long considered as inauthentic, was, therefore, not shaped as much from specific individuals’ *incorrect* identification as from the fact that it was part of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection.

3-5: “Discovery” of the Ninsei tea bowl and a new perspective of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics

In 2003, when I learnt that the Van Horne Collection of Japanese ceramics was part of a larger collection which was celebrated and well known internationally during the collector’s lifetime, I was puzzled by the fact that a wealthy member of the business elite in Montreal had collected these unassuming Japanese ceramics over a century ago. I was astonished by the gap between my negative understanding of Van Horne’s objects at the ROM and the past high reputation of his collection. My initial response was to simply consider that Van Horne and the past staff at the ROM did not have enough art historical knowledge of Japanese ceramics. This perspective came from the idea that only one absolute narrative of Japanese ceramic history existed, based on the fixed idea of authenticity. By faulting individuals in the past I considered myself as being in the proper position to interpret and present Japanese cultural objects in a Western museum setting, with authentic knowledge.

I was still intrigued by the Van Horne Japanese ceramics remaining in the ROM’s storage, objects which I considered not art historically significant—what made Van Horne

collect them in the first place and why did they have such a good reputation during Van Horne's lifetime? I also wondered whether they embodied any meaning in museum storage today. These objects were made in Japan over 200 years ago, traded to Canada in the late nineteenth century, and then remained in museum storage for decades without being catalogued or displayed. In other words, they were not assigned a meaning as museum objects. The objects' sheer materiality, taking up precious space in the museum's storage, stood out to me as if they were denying any solid ideas to be projected on them—as if I was encountering their “thingness” (Brown 4).³⁴⁰ Thus I began my research on the establishment of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection, and by 2005 I was able to locate and examine the two Van Horne catalogues reserved at the MMFA.

The unexpected reversal of the status of the Ninsei tea bowl at the ROM, when it was judged genuine in 2007, raised new questions. On November 7, 2007, Professor Oka Yoshiko of Ōtemae University in Hyōgo, Japan, expert on Ninsei and his works, was visiting Toronto on a personal trip. She examined the Ninsei tea bowl in the ROM's storage and confirmed it as genuine. My reaction to this surprising incident was mixed: on the one hand, I rejoiced that the ROM's Japanese collection now included a genuine Ninsei piece. But on the other hand, I was struck by the fact that such a significant item had not been identified before, and had languished in storage for more than sixty years. When exactly had this Ninsei tea bowl been judged inauthentic, and under what circumstances?

I was now facing two evaluation gaps concerning the Van Horne Japanese ceramics: the first was the gap between the Van Horne collection's high reputation at the turn of the

³⁴⁰ In his “Thing Theory,” Bill Brown finds “thingness” in the very materiality of things themselves, by looking past ideas that have been projected onto them.

twentieth century and its undesirable identity today, and the second was the gap in the identification of the Ninsei tea bowl. I became curious about the ways in which these gaps emerged in the interpretation of these Japanese ceramic objects as they traveled from Japan to Canada, and as their status changed from Japanese domestic tableware, to collectables for Western collectors, and to museum collections. The understanding of these objects by the people who dealt with them must have been different at various moments.

This inquiry further raised the question of authenticity. My early suspicion that Van Horne and others in the past lacked sufficient proper knowledge about Japanese ceramics had derived from the notion of fixed authenticity from the present point of view. In other words, the evaluation gaps emerged because they did not have the same amount of knowledge that we have today to identify the proper value of the Japanese ceramics, and so they collected insignificant pieces. From that point of view, it was understandable that Van Horne's objects had long remained in storage. This theory, however, did not explain the fact that Van Horne collected over 1,500 pieces of simple Japanese ceramics and meticulously researched and recorded them with individual illustrations in his catalogues. There must have been a different idea about these objects that drove Van Horne to collect so avidly. What if the idea about what were the right Japanese ceramics to collect—or the idea about authentic Japanese ceramics—was different in Van Horne's time than it is today? If the idea of authenticity—based on which the meaning and value of collected objects are evaluated—itself changes, can the past understanding of those objects be simply dismissed as *wrong*? In order to answer these questions, the notion of fixed authenticity from the present point of view must itself be questioned.

This was the very beginning of the research that I have laid out in this dissertation, which has examined in detail the social life of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics and the processes of their meaning-formation as a continuous history. Through this new perspective, these objects, including those that long remained on shelves and in drawers in storage, have come to take on a new meaning. It is no longer that they exist as mere things, nor that they represent incorrect interpretation: they embody the original collector's passion, which happens to be in conflict with the *current* narrative approach at the ROM. As the perspective in which the narrative is constructed itself changes in the future, these objects may one day be found in the gallery instead of in storage.

New developments are certainly on the way. The Ninsei tea bowl has started yet another phase of its life since 2007.³⁴¹ It is now singularized as a significant piece, but this time no longer outside the context of the Van Horne collection. It was exhibited at the ROM in 2014 – 2015 for the first time as a genuine Ninsei, and as part of Van Horne's collection (fig. 71).³⁴² The Van Horne Japanese ceramics as a whole have entered their next phase as well: in addition to being the subject of a single scholar's research, the collection is now being considered for an exclusive exhibition to be held at the Gardiner Museum in Toronto and the MMFA beginning in the fall of 2018.³⁴³

Also, thanks to the fact that more people are interested in the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection, more details of the collection from the perspective of Van Horne's family have become available since 2015 through Ms. Sally Hannon, niece of William C.C. Van

³⁴¹ It was displayed in the exhibition *Private Pleasures: Japanese Porcelain of the Edo Period* at the Gardiner Museum, Toronto, in 2010. Oka refers to it, with a photograph, in *Kinsei* (167).

³⁴² Exhibition "Collecting Asia: The First Fifty Years, 1908-1958," June 2014 – June 2015.

³⁴³ As of May 2016, the details of the project have not yet made public. It is confirmed however that I will be part of the organizing team.

Horne.³⁴⁴ Ms. Hannon knew Margaret Van Horne, wife of William C.C., personally, and had visited the Van Horne residence in Montreal before it was demolished in 1973. Her memory helps to reconstruct the life of the other Van Horne Japanese ceramics, which remained with the family. After the donations by William C.C. to the two museums in 1945, about 1,000 pieces of Japanese ceramics were left, which were inherited by Margaret in 1946. Since the couple did not have children, Margaret was the sole owner of the remaining Van Horne collection until her death in 1987.³⁴⁵

According to Ms. Hannon, Margaret admired the legacy of Van Horne and dedicated herself to preserving his collection.³⁴⁶ She was proud to show the objects to the public occasionally. While she devoted more energy to the care of the painting collection, her love for Oriental decorative objects was clear to Ms. Hannon, who believes that she treated them as more than mere property.³⁴⁷ The reason that the Van Horne Japanese ceramics were eventually scattered was practical: as the property next to the Van Horne residence on Sherbrook Street in Montreal started to be developed around 1965, there was a risk of damage to the objects in the Van Horne residence caused by vibrations.³⁴⁸ It is likely that most of the Japanese ceramics were consigned to Sotheby's London in 1965: the receipt from Sotheby's dated March 30, 1965 lists "The Collection of Japanese Tea Ceremony Wares in the Studio," estimated at £18,000 – £20,000.³⁴⁹ The high value of the total estimate suggests

³⁴⁴ Hannon's father was Margaret's brother. Hannon currently represents the Van Horne family.

³⁴⁵ William C.C. had a daughter, Beverly Anne (1932-?) from his first marriage, who had owned until 1961 the property in the Minister's Island in New Brunswick, used to be the summer house of Van Horne.

³⁴⁶ Personal conversation with Hannon, January 6, 2016.

³⁴⁷ See Note 346.

³⁴⁸ See Note 346.

³⁴⁹ Letter from J.M. Linell of Sotheby's London to Margaret. File-Folder 32-3, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive. This list must have included the various domestic types of ceramics, even though they were collectively called "Tea Ceremony Wares" in the title.

that many of the 1,000 pieces in Margaret's possession must have been sent to London for auction on this occasion. Margaret also sold Japanese ceramics to local dealers in Montreal, but on a much smaller scale.³⁵⁰ There are few records indicating the sale of Japanese ceramics around 1973 when the Van Horne residence was demolished, which also suggests that most of them was likely sold at the Sotheby's auction in 1965. On her death in 1987, Margaret apparently possessed about 140 Japanese ceramics, along with twenty-seven Chinese ceramics.³⁵¹

Today, apart from the approximately 400 pieces now housed in the two museums, and the twenty pieces Hannon owns (along with four matching watercolours by Van Horne, which were given to her by Margaret and by Hannon's mother), the whereabouts of the majority of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection are not known. Occasionally, however, some pieces from the former Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection re-appear on market. For example, a gallery in California purchased five tea bowls from the Van Horne collection at a Toronto auction house in the early 1990s, which are now owned by a Michigan collector (Maki). Recently, in April 2013, Toronto auction house Waddington's sold twenty-four pieces from the Van Horne collection. As these facts demonstrate, the life of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics is far from over. It is not possible to predict at this time

³⁵⁰ For example, Gurie Gallery, to whom Margaret sold "Japanese ceramic Fu Dog" and "a set of Japanese Cooking Utensils," which could be tea utensils, in 1969, and Max Y. Klein, to whom eight pieces of Japanese potteries were sold in 1973. Receipts of Art Sales, Box-Folder 46-6, Van Horne Family Fonds, AGO Archive.

³⁵¹ "*Japanese and Chinese ceramics in the collection of Sir William Van Horne*," a catalogue file compiled by art appraiser Elizabeth Cannings, who was a friend of Hannon's mother. Private material at Sally Hannon. According to Cannings, some of them were auctioned at Sotheby's New York in the summer 1990. Personal conversation with Cannings on September 30, 2015. It is also known that nine Chinese pieces from this group of ceramics were sold at Christie's New York on September 15, 2011.

what conditions will appear and change the context of this collection. Even the authenticity of the Ninsei tea bowl might be challenged again one day.

Conclusion

Sir William Cornelius Van Horne's once highly celebrated collection of Japanese ceramics was taken apart after his death, with one fourth of the objects now reserved at two Canadian museums, where most of them have long remained in storage. When examining the gap in the interpretation of these Japanese ceramics, it would be easy to simply fault the individuals who dealt with the collection and claim that the original collector, his heirs, the inventory takers and museum curators lacked the knowledge to understand the objects properly. However, my examination of the trajectories of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection and the Ninsei tea bowl from the collector's death until today has made clear that the evaluation gaps of these objects are a product of the historical shifts in perception that have taken place within the dynamics of various conditions surrounding them, rather than a result of a *wrong* understanding of the objects by individuals, based on the fixed idea of authenticity.

The transition process of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics from private collection to public collection in the 1940s, as well as the shifting interpretations of the objects by the two museums to this day, has shown that the interpretation of objects is always located in discursive contexts, which consist of institutional needs and broader socio-cultural conditions, intertwined with personal agendas and preferences. The formation-processes of objects are thus highly contingent. During the complex division and donations of the Van

Horne collection in the 1940s, the Japanese ceramics were seen collectively as property and their monetary value was the sole evaluation criteria. Where the objects' individual qualities were taken into account, it was through Currelly's personal scheme of acquiring an originally unplanned donation to the ROM. The institutional necessities of the AAM further commodified Van Horne's Japanese ceramics through the sale of some of the donated objects in 1945, which reflected the then cultural environment, where a modernist perspective enhanced the aesthetically informed perception of non-Western objects.

Those items of Van Horne's donated to the ROM were also subject to the museum's institutional needs, such as the interplay of shifting principles and needs of display, storage, changing cataloguing systems, and the personal agendas of the museum staff. The changing descriptions of Van Horne's Japanese ceramics in the catalogue records exemplify the instability of the museum's idea of authentic knowledge, based on which the objects were interpreted. After 1975 and until recently, Hugh Wylie's perception played a decisive role in the ways in which Van Horne's objects, including the Ninsei tea bowl, were understood. His view was, in turn, conditioned by the circumstances of the time, including issues of storage space at the ROM. In the early 2000s, my understanding of the Van Horne's Japanese ceramics was strongly affected by the previously established view as well as my own educational background in art history, which simply reinforced the undesirable identity of the group of objects. This view was not questioned until the re-discovery of the genuine Ninsei tea bowl in 2007.

Within these discursive contexts surrounding the objects, the museum—often considered an authority of objects' meaning—cannot be taken for granted as an endpoint of the process. The discrepancy between this imagined view of a museum as possessing fixed,

authoritative knowledge, and the contingent nature of the actual formation of objects' meanings, has indeed shaped the interpretational gaps of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics and the Ninsei tea bowl over time, exactly the gaps which struck me and prompted my research. The meaning-shift is ongoing within the museum system, and more importantly, it is so even when the objects are never publicly exhibited and only remain in storage. While the conventional discussion of the museum's role in knowledge production has focused on the politics of display, the reality is that only a privileged few objects are on public view and the majority of most museums' collections has never been exhibited.

Here my research, which started with a negative view of the collector Van Horne and his Japanese ceramics collection, comes to full circle, and the objects have started yet another phase of their social life.

Conclusion

This dissertation challenges the notion of fixed meaning or value that objects embody, by analyzing the moments where the meaning of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics and the Ninsei tea bowl shifted over time and place. I outline the three phases of these objects' social life and shed light on the discursive yet decisive mechanisms through which the continual re-interpretation of the objects took place. In so doing, I argue that it was through the epistemological disjuncture between the imagined idea of fixed authenticity and the contingent processes of meaning formation, that gaps in the interpretation of the objects emerged. There are two primary gaps surrounding the interpretation of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection. The first is a gap between its high reputation during the collector's lifetime and the negative perception of his Japanese ceramics reserved at the two Canadian museums since the mid-twentieth century until recently. The second is an identification gap of a genuine Ninsei tea bowl in this collection, which was long considered inauthentic at the ROM. These gaps were, in fact, not a result from misidentification or lack of so-called proper knowledge on the part of individuals who have interpreted the objects, but instead from highly complex and contingent interactions among social, political, economic, cultural, institutional, and personal conditions that evolve out of historical contexts.

When the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection is assessed today, the majority of the contents is easily dismissed as insignificant from an art historical point of view. Likewise, a collector who collected objects that are deemed insignificant now is labeled as unknowledgeable. This tendency operates under the assumption that the idea of what constitutes authentic Japanese ceramics has always been fixed. However, by tracing shifts in

the interpretation of Van Horne's Japanese ceramics from origin to present location, my findings illustrate the degree to which concepts of authenticity are continually changing. Investigating the social lifespan of collected objects, I not only demonstrated a more nuanced picture of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection, but also challenged and deconstructed the master narratives of: 1) post-colonialist discourses concerning the value formation of non-Western objects; 2) the belief of collection as a space for the subject's identity-formation; and 3) the discussion of cultural knowledge production in museums solely through the politics of display.

As part of my exploration of these three large issues, I present seven arguments in this dissertation. First I contend that the formation process of an object's meaning must be investigated from the perspective of "continuous history," which looks at the accumulated experience of the object from origin to current location, rather than focusing on one particular moment of its social life. I investigate the shifting meanings of the Japanese ceramics collected by Van Horne through three phases in which their status was transformed from commodity to collectible, to private collection, and then public collection. From the perspective of continuous history, the interpretations of the objects in each phase, discussed in each chapter of this dissertation, are closely interconnected. For instance, ambiguous concepts of the authenticity concerning the Ninsei works both in Japan and in the West in the late nineteenth century, discussed in Chapter One, was reflected in the way Van Horne treated his Ninsei pieces in Chapter Two. The shift in the idea of authentic Japanese ceramics from the classifiable to the aesthetic in the early twentieth century, examined both in Chapter One and Chapter Two, influenced the perception of the Van Horne collection after the collector's death in Chapter Three. The ambiguous perception towards the Van Horne

collection during its transition from a private to public collection in the 1940s, discussed in early part of Chapter Three, influenced the view of this collection in the museum, as examined later in the same chapter. Furthermore, the legacy of the “Ninsei myth” constructed in the late nineteenth century in Chapter One, has carried on in curator’s minds today as seen in Chapter Three. Within this perception of continuous history, I argued, Van Horne is positioned at one of many passage points within the objects’ social life, and his responsibility as “an unknowledgeable collector” becomes relativized and deconstructed.

Second, I argue that the interpretation of objects is always formed within complex interactions between various people, institutions and events. Different ideas are projected onto objects according to multiple needs and conditions, in which the idea of authenticity itself is always in flux. As discussed in Chapter One, the idea of what constituted authentic Japanese ceramics was highly ambiguous when Westerners started collecting them in the mid- to late nineteenth century. Van Horne was one of the earliest in North America to start collecting a variety of domestic Japanese ceramics, in the late 1880s, when the notion of authenticity or “truly Japanese ceramics”—as opposed to previously popular export ware—emerged. This idea of domestic Japanese as authentic was well suited with the nineteenth century inclination toward scientific taxonomical collecting that pursued sample gathering. From this perspective, the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection was considered significant and Van Horne made himself an expert on the subject during his lifetime.

The principles that shaped ideas of authenticity as it pertains to Japanese ceramics shifted from the classifiable to the aesthetic in the early twentieth century, reflecting the global socio-cultural environment in which formal quality and originality became the norm of art. Western artists and collectors alike increasingly searched for aesthetic merits in non-

Western objects. In Japan, too, since the establishment of a national Japanese art history in 1900 that enhanced the notion of potter as artist, the momentum of interpreting ceramic works from the aspect of aesthetic appreciation, heightened in the 1910s. This view of emphasizing the aesthetic quality of Japanese ceramics, affected the perception of those who encountered the Van Horne collection after his death in 1915, and the significance of this collection, which focused on the taxonomic quest rather than individual aesthetic quality, became obscured.

After 1944, the re-interpretation of Van Horne Japanese ceramics continued in a museum setting. The catalogue records of Van Horne's objects were re-written and sometimes erased according to the shifts in what was considered as an authentic source of information, as well as the museum's institutional practices such as changing catalogue systems, renovations, or disposal. The curators' interpretations were crucial and often considered legitimate. At the same time, their interpretations involved contingent elements affected by the broader cultural contexts, institutional needs, and personal conditions.

Third, I argue that the early meaning formation of Japanese ceramics circulated in Europe and North America was always a two-way process between Japan and the West. In other words, the colonial West was not the sole actor in determining the meaning of non-Western objects. The Japanese also actively participated in constructing the idea of authentic Japanese ceramic objects in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. The Meiji government considered export items as a tool to gain economic and cultural recognition from the West, during the urgent project of Japan's modernization from the mid-nineteenth century. Under this circumstance, the Japanese took advantage of the Western gaze manifested in the *japonisme* phenomenon and promoted the production and export of the

specific types of ceramics demanded by the Western market on a large scale. The popularity of decorative export ceramics in the West was thus not only driven from the choice of Western collectors, but also stimulated by the Japanese government's political intention and economic policies.

The perception of decorative export ware as “Japanese” ceramics, however, soon began to be questioned by some Western collectors, scholars and dealers, who sought more “authentic” pieces. They turned their attention to ceramics made for domestic use in the belief that they represented truly Japanese taste. In the search for authenticity, a systematic understanding of Japanese ceramics was sought for, and many publications were written on the history of Japanese ceramics in the West. The re-interpretation of Japanese ceramics was however a product of mutual references of knowledge between Japan and the West. The historiography of Japanese ceramics began around the same time in Japan, due to the growing awareness of and the need for an “authentic” lineage of ceramic production sites from the past. The search for authenticity also took place in response to the increasing hierarchy within the Japanese art system, which was based on the imported Western concept of fine art that marginalized *kōgei*. The status of individual potters in the past had to be elevated to “artists.” In particular, Nonomura Ninsei became known as “the father of Kyoto ceramics” by the 1880s. This newly established status of Ninsei was adopted by Western publications, where he eventually became “the national potter,” and the rarity of genuine Ninsei pieces was greatly overstated.

The attention to the considerable involvement of Japanese actors in the meaning formation of Japanese ceramics further resonates with my fourth contention, which goes beyond post-colonialism readings of collections of non-Western objects. In critique based on

colonialism, a collection of non-European objects is often interpreted as a manifestation of a white male collector's self-identity, desire and domination. This view holds true in some cases, for example William Henry Vanderbilt's "Japan room" in New York in the 1880s, discussed in Chapter Two. However, interpreting Van Horne's ceramic collection solely on the basis of post-colonialist discourse neglects Van Horne's candid curiosity about the tactile nature of the Japanese ceramics and his intimate connection with the objects. As observed in his hand-written catalogues, Van Horne's passion lay in the taxonomic act of identifying the origin of individual pieces' production sites. In order to fulfil this desire, Van Horne acquired a number of pieces of different types of objects at once, and accumulated over 1,000 pieces within a short period. He examined each of them in his hands, drew a miniature illustration of every single object, and kept them in his private study in the residence. The tactility of Japanese ceramics attracted Van Horne to handle the objects directly.

The characteristic of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection can also be found in the fact that Van Horne was not interested in any missionary act through the collection, unlike his contemporary collectors such as A. W. Franks, E. S. Morse, or C. L. Freer. They all collected diverse domestic Japanese ceramics in large quantities, driven clearly by a sense of national or personal mission. Their collections eventually formed the foundation for major collections of Japanese ceramics in British and American public museums. These collectors supported the belief that authentic Japanese ceramic productions should be preserved by the West, and shown to the Western public. Through this belief, they projected onto the objects abstract ideas concerning either the past or future. These missionary ideals would survive after the collector's death, often through the institutionalization of the objects. However, such grand intentions did not seem to matter for Van Horne, who was dedicated to the objects

themselves. His concern was rather for the present moment in which he touched the objects, searched for information, and related himself with people; for this purpose, Van Horne did not even need to go to Japan.

The present-oriented aspect of the Van Horne collection was, however, overlooked by the public during his lifetime. Although the collection enjoyed a high reputation, this was largely because the public viewed it through the lens of Van Horne's social status as a wealthy business elite as well as his strong personality, rather than through the contents of the collection, about which they knew little. The unique connection that Van Horne had with his objects did not survive his death in 1915—the collection lost not only its owner but also its significance that mattered to him. This was one moment, I argue, where a gap emerged in the interpretation of the Van Horne collection. This discrepancy cannot be identified by looking at this collection as a mere representation of the collector's affirmative subjectivity from the post-colonialist perspective, but it must be understood as an ambiguous, multi-faceted space.

Van Horne's intimate engagement with his Japanese ceramics was lost to the heirs, inventory takers, and museum personnel who encountered the collection after 1915, during the processes of dismantling the collection and donating it to two museums in 1944. My fifth discussion in this dissertation is to pay focused attention to the donation process of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics and situate it within their history of meaning-shifts from the perspective of the continuous social life of objects. Although objects in museums are frequently transferred from private collections, this transitional process has been overlooked in the study of museum collections. My close investigation of the collection's transition from private to public, however, has demonstrated that the tensions that emerged among the

personal and institutional conditions of heirs, museums, and other individuals were crucial in shaping the rather undesirable identity of Van Horne's Japanese ceramics at the two museums in later days. The broad socio-cultural environment during the transitional period was also critical in shaping the perception of the Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection. From the early twentieth century, the understanding of Japanese ceramics gradually shifted to emphasize the formal aspect, both in Japan and in the West. The transition of Van Horne's Japanese ceramics to museums took place in the midst of this cultural shift. The AAM's sale of some of the Van Horne objects immediately after their donation in 1945 is understood within this larger context, in which the institutional focus of the AAM itself also changed from the education to aesthetic appreciation.

The sixth point of my argument is that perceptions of Van Horne's Japanese ceramics continued to shift after they were donated to the AAM and the ROM. Here, the museum is not an endpoint of the meaning-formation of objects, as opposed to the conventional idea of museum as the terminal destination of objects and of their meaning. At the ROM in the early 2000s, Van Horne's objects were considered a modest collection without notable masterpieces. A shared understanding among the curatorial staff was that "there cannot be a genuine Ninsei in this collection" (Irwin; Proctor; Ruitenbeek). This perception was constructed, I have argued, within the complex arena in which the ROM's institutional conditions and curators' personal agendas interacted. The shifting perceptions of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics are reflected in their descriptions in the catalogue records, as the cataloguing system was updated multiple times—from the original catalogue books to their updated version around the 1940s, from books to cards in the 1960s, and then to a computerized database in the 1980s. These shifts were also a result of changing ideas as to

who was supposed to retain authentic information—the original collector, external experts of Japanese origin, or curators. The opinions and preferences of the first curator of Japanese art, Hugh Wylie, were crucial in shaping the collective identity of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics, intertwined with the ROM's institutional operations. These included such things as frequent changes in display principles between contextual and aesthetic, the decision to dispose of some of the Van Horne objects in 1969, and two renovation projects, first in the 1980s and then in the 2000s. Due to the undesirable view of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics at the ROM, along with a lack of available catalogue information, and the legacy of the “Ninsei myth” that shaped the interpretations of a recent curator (i.e. myself), the genuineness of the Ninsei tea bowl was not discussed until 2007.

The negative impression and the sheer materiality of the Van Horne's Japanese ceramics I encountered in the ROM storage, however, impelled me to begin researching them. The void of solid meaning of the non-displayed objects in fact enabled me to look at them as “things” without projected ideas, hence to establish object-oriented research methods that trace the historically ascribed ideas separate from the objects themselves. The “discovery” of the Ninsei tea bowl as genuine in 2007 further triggered my research on the double interpretational gaps, between the undesirable collective identity of the stored Van Horne Japanese ceramics and the high reputation of the collection during the collector's lifetime, and in the identification of the Ninsei tea bowl. As my seventh argument demonstrates, these objects still contribute to the production of cultural knowledge, through covert processes that have previously been overlooked. While the majority of the collections in most museums is not on display, this does not mean they have stopped producing

meaning. On the contrary, the meaning of the Van Horne ceramics is still being created on an ongoing basis, even as I write this.

Through my examination of Van Horne's Japanese ceramics, I reveal that the actual processes in which their meaning was shaped and then shifted can only be understood by tracing in detail the trajectories of the objects throughout their social life. The moments of the shifts in the objects' meaning do not appear through the binary of "right or wrong" knowledge but through the epistemological disjuncture between the idea of fixed authenticity and the contingency of meaning-formation. Destabilizing the whole notion of authenticity surrounding collected objects is the ultimate purpose of this dissertation.

This dissertation focuses specifically on the meaning-shift of the Ninsei tea bowl from the vast Van Horne Japanese ceramic collection. This piece had been considered inauthentic and re-discovered only in 2007, which prompted my layers of research questions. For this reason, I place a specific focus on Ninsei and the historical construction of his reputation and its consequences for the later meaning-formation. It is possible, however, that similar interpretational gaps may be found in the social lives of other pieces by individual "artist"-potters such as Ogata Kenzan, Eiraku Hozen or the Raku family. The fame of these individual makers, known today as art historically significant, were constructed along with that of Ninsei in the early twentieth century under the historiographic projects of Japanese ceramics. A comparative perspective on the meaning formation of ceramics made by these potters, in addition to Ninsei, is an approach to explore in my future research, which further sheds light on the broad discussion of cultural economy and knowledge production within the Japan–West relationship in the first half of the twentieth century.

The transitional process from private to public collection in the 1940s was significant in the later re-interpretations of the Van Horne Japanese ceramics at the museum. Although I lacked the space to pursue the issue in this dissertation, the timing of this transition—i.e. during WWII—likely had an impact on the understanding of those objects made by the “enemy.” I intend to address this important question in my future research as well.

Another inquiry that could not be dealt with in the present study is whether Van Horne’s particular relationship with his collected objects was limited to Japanese ceramics. Van Horne also began collecting Chinese ceramics in the 1880s, around the same time as he began acquiring Japanese objects, and he continued to collect Chinese ceramics even after he stopped purchasing Japanese pieces in 1906. Investigating Van Horne’s approach to his Chinese ceramics collection will shed light not only on his perception of his East Asian objects as a whole, but also on the potential difference in his relationship with objects between Chinese and Japanese, an aspect that has not been explicitly discussed within the conventional studies of East Asian collections in the West.

Finally, drawing on my argument that Van Horne’s Japanese ceramics continue on with their new phase of social life, my most pressing task in the future is to continue monitoring the meaning shift after the 2018 exhibition at the Gardiner Museum and MMFA, in which some of the items will be on public view for the first time in a hundred years. This will raise new issues of the politics of museum display and the audiences as agents in meaning formation. The social life of these objects will indeed never end.

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Appendix: Illustrations



Fig. 1: Sir William Cornelius Van Horne (1843–1915). William A. Cooper. PA-182603. Sir William Van Horne Fonds. Library and Archive Canada.

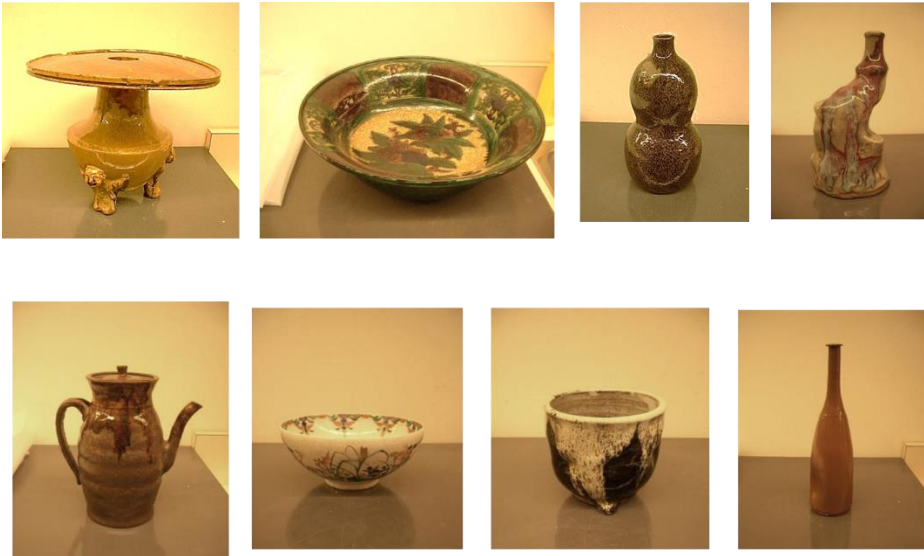


Fig. 2: Examples of domestic Japanese ceramics from the Van Horne collection at the ROM. Photo by Akiko Takesue. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.



Fig. 3: An example of Satsuma ware from the Van Horne Japanese collection at the ROM. 944.12.11: Kōro (censer) of Satsuma ware, Earthenware, overglaze-painted and gilded, 1801-1868 AD; ROM2005_1595_9. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

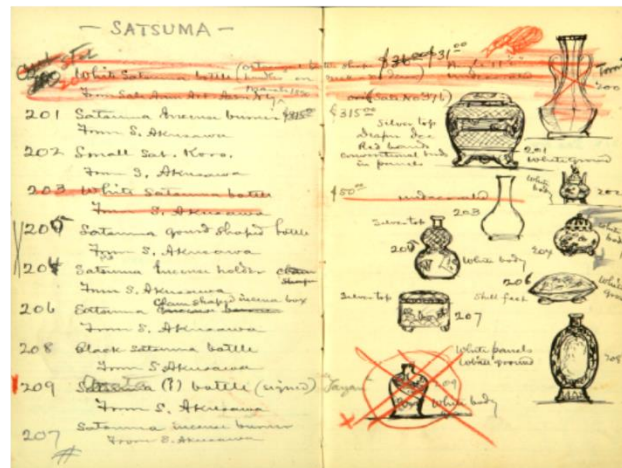
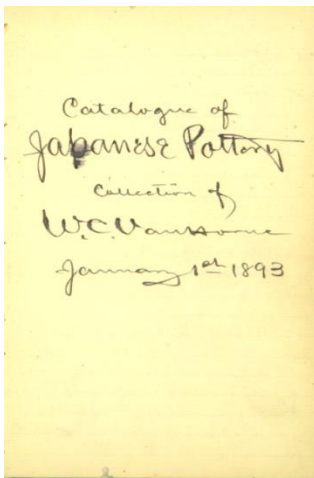


Fig. 4: Front page and a sample page from Van Horne Catalogue 1 titled "D.B." n.pag. MMFA Archive.



Fig. 5: 944.16.24: Chawan (tea bowl) of Kyoto ware, mid to late 17th century; by Nonomura Ninsei; ROM2010_11323_1. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.



Fig. 6: (left) Cover of *Histoire de l'Art du Japon*, 1900; (middle) Cover of *Kōhon Nihon Teikoku Bijutsu Ryakushi* (“Manuscript of a brief history of art in Imperial Japan”), 1908. Tokyo Research Institute for Cultural Properties; (right) Front page of *Kōhon Nihon Teikoku Bijutsu Ryakushi* (“Manuscript of a brief history of art in Imperial Japan”), 1901. National Diet Library Digital Collection.



Fig. 7: Ninagawa Noritane (1835–1882).



Fig. 8: Covers of *Kanko Zusetsu: tōki no bu* (Illustrated review of old things: section ceramics), vol. 2, 3, and 4, 1876–79. Tokyo Research Institute for Cultural Properties.



Fig. 9: Kurokawa Mayori (1829–1906).

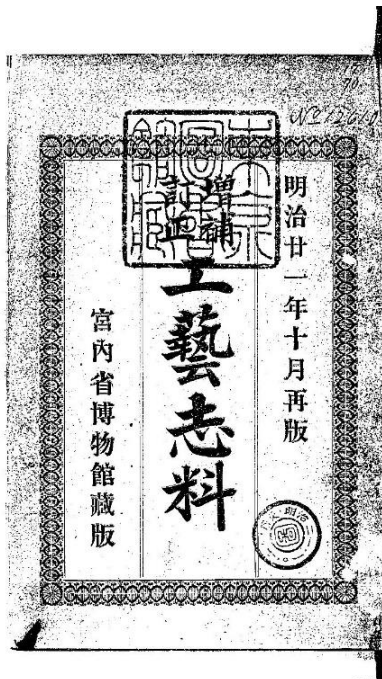


Fig. 10: Front page of *Kōgei Shiryō* (Historical documents on crafts), 1878. National Diet Library Digital Collection.



Fig. 11: Examples of colour illustrations from *Kanko Zusetsu: tōki no bu* (Illustrated review of old things: section ceramics). Tokyo Research Institute for Cultural Properties.

Fig.12a-e

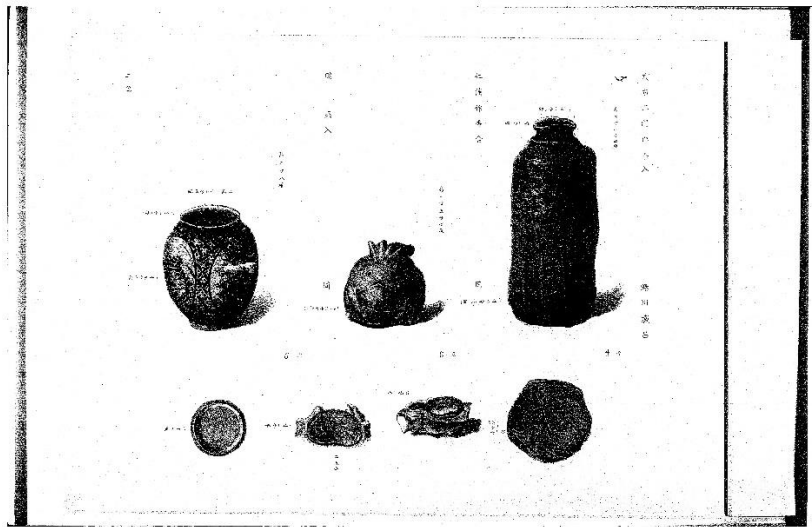


Fig. 12a

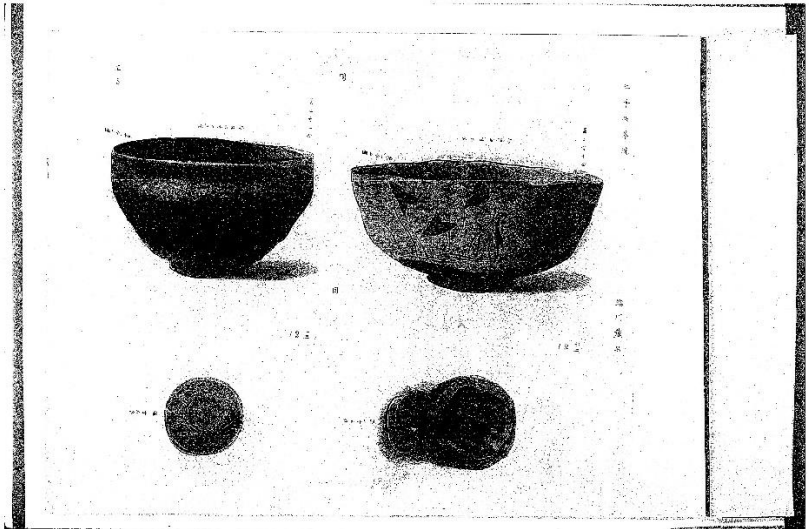


Fig. 12b

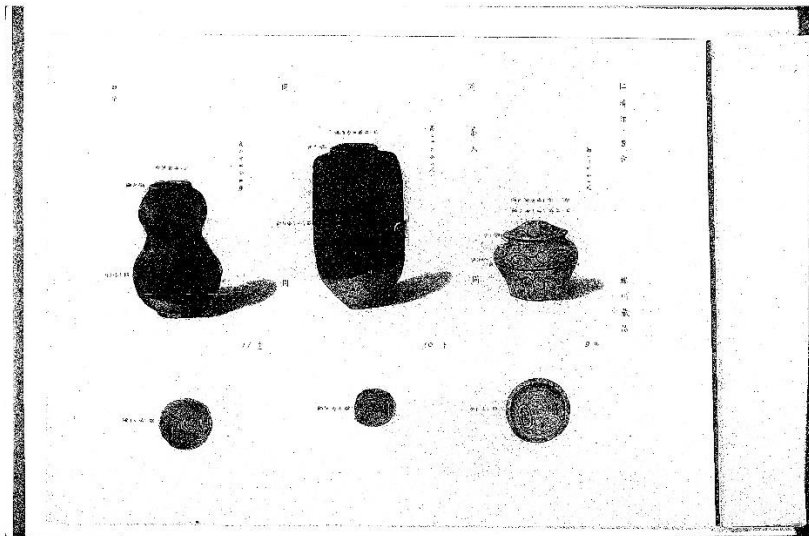


Fig. 12c

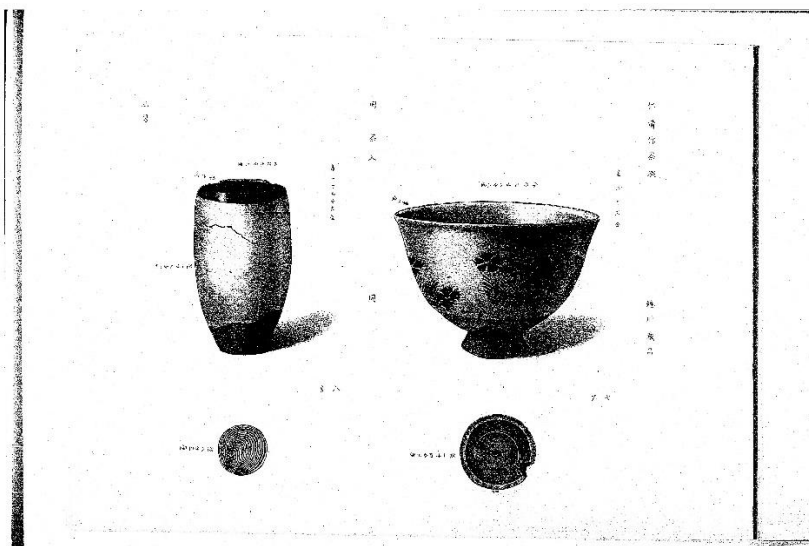


Fig. 12d

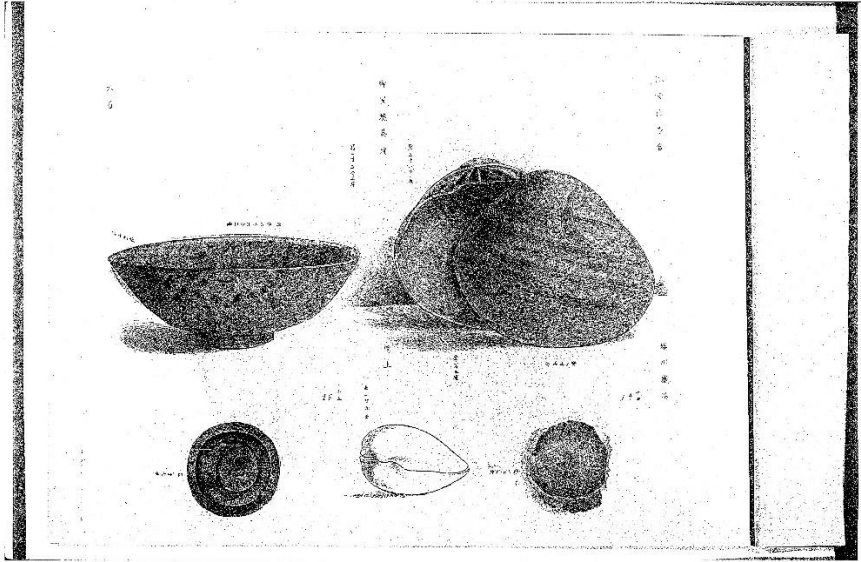


Fig. 12e

Fig. 12a-e: Pieces attributed to Ninsei appearing in Ninagawa's *Kanko Zusetsu: tōki no bu* (Illustrated review of old things: section of ceramics), vol. 4. n.pag. (Originally in colour) National Diet Library Digital Collection.

(*Note: The piece on the right in Fig. 12a is not a Ninsei's work; and the piece on the left in Fig. 12e is attributed to Omuro kiln.)

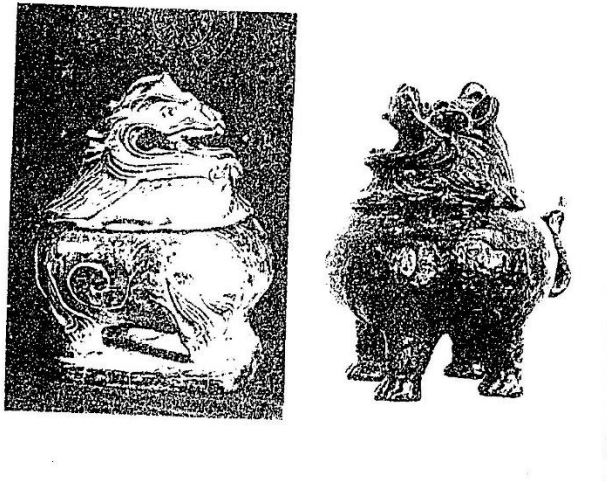


Fig. 13: Illustrations of two incense burners in the shape of shishi lions, by Katō Tōshirō (left) and by Raku Chōjirō (right), appearing in *Kōhon Nihon Teikoku Bijutsu Ryakushi* ("Manuscript of a brief history of art in Imperial Japan"), 1901. n.pag. National Diet Library Digital Collection.

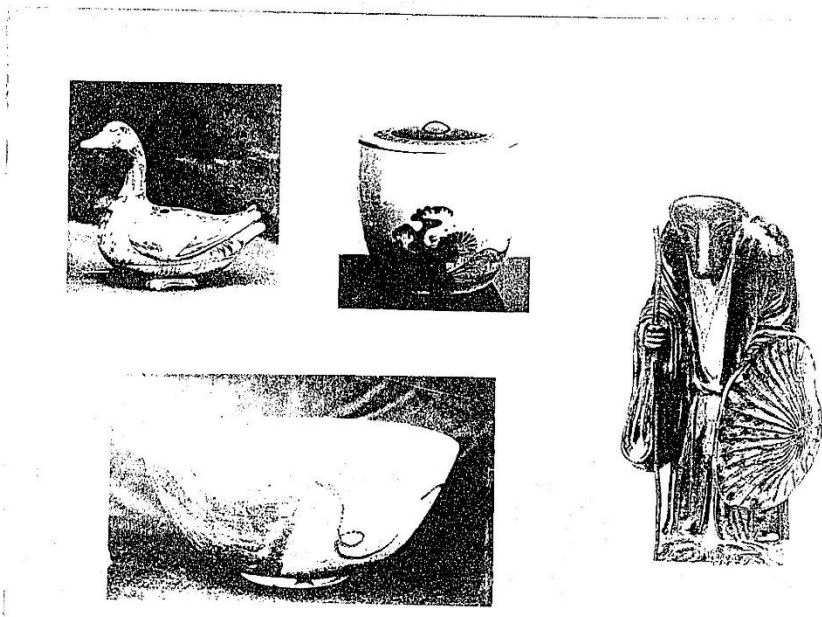


Fig. 14: Illustrations of Ninsei pieces appearing in *Kōhon Nihon Teikoku Bijutsu Ryakushi* (“Manuscript of a brief history of art in Imperial Japan”), 1901. n.pag. National Diet Library Digital Collection. Clockwise from the top left: an incense burner in the shape of duck, a water jar with painted decoration of chrysanthemums and waves, *Hakuzōsu*, and a bowl with a decoration of hanging screens.



Fig. 15: Nonomura Ninsei. Tea jar with decoration of wisteria in over-glaze enamel, mid-17th century. MOA Museum. *Portfolios of National Treasures*, Vol.1, 1952-03-30.



Fig. 16: 978.311.1.A: Decanter in ko-Imari style Hizen (Arita) ware (porcelain, enamels), Edo period, Japan, 1680-1730 AD; ROM2005_1582_9. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.



Fig. 17: "Plate III, Hizen." *Keramic Art of Japan* by Bowes and Audley, 1875. n.pag. The New York Public Library Digital Collection.

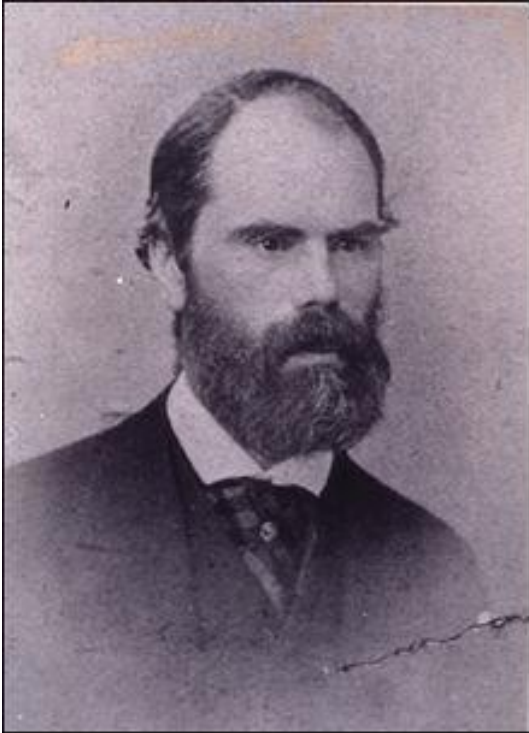


Fig. 18: Sir Augustus W. Franks (1826–1897).

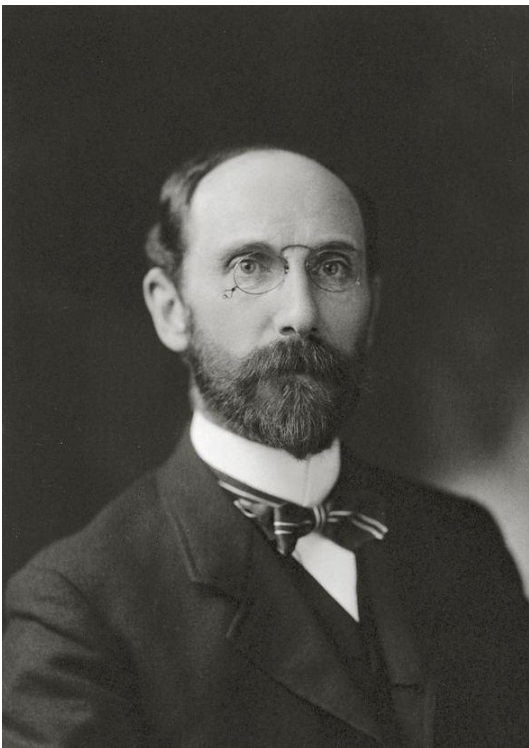


Fig. 19: Charles L. Freer (1855–1919).

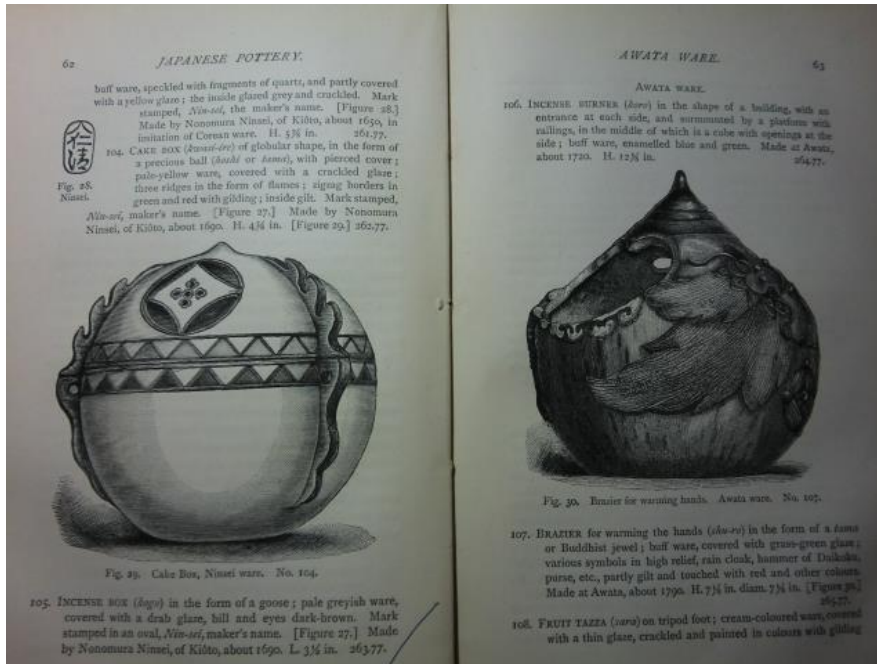


Fig. 20: Illustration of a Ninsei piece in A.W. Franks, *Japanese Pottery*, 1880; 62 (left).

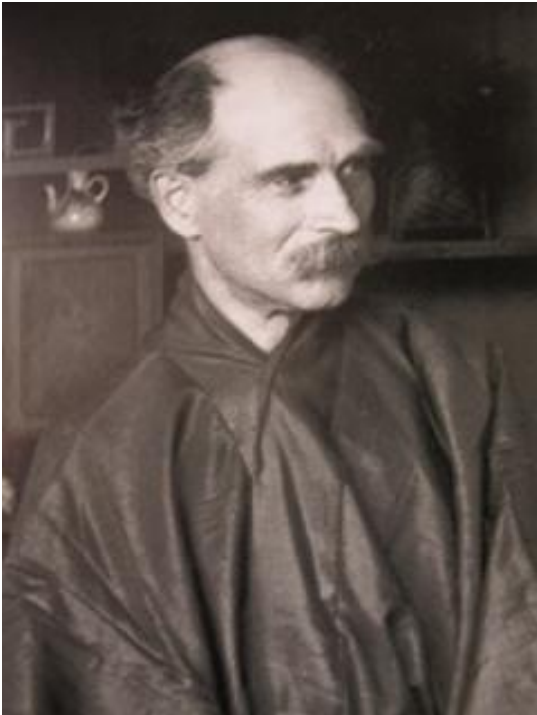


Fig. 21: Siegfried Bing (1838–1905).

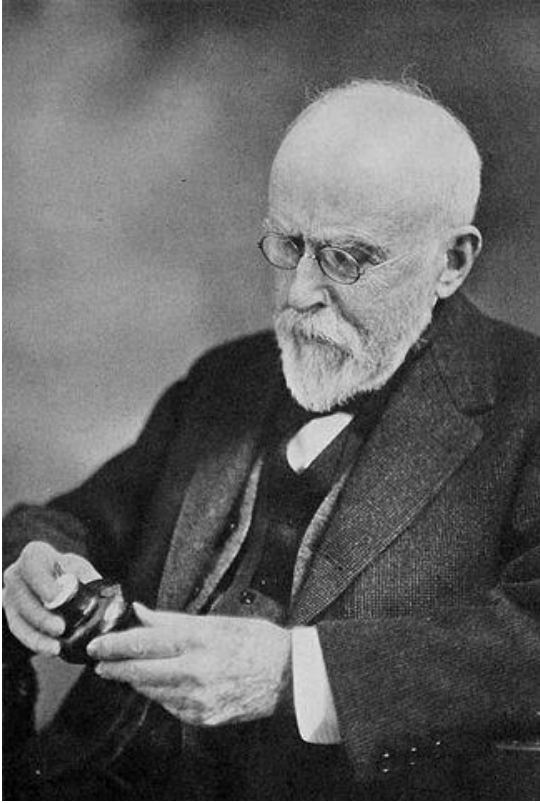


Fig. 25: Edward Sylvester Morse (1838–1925).

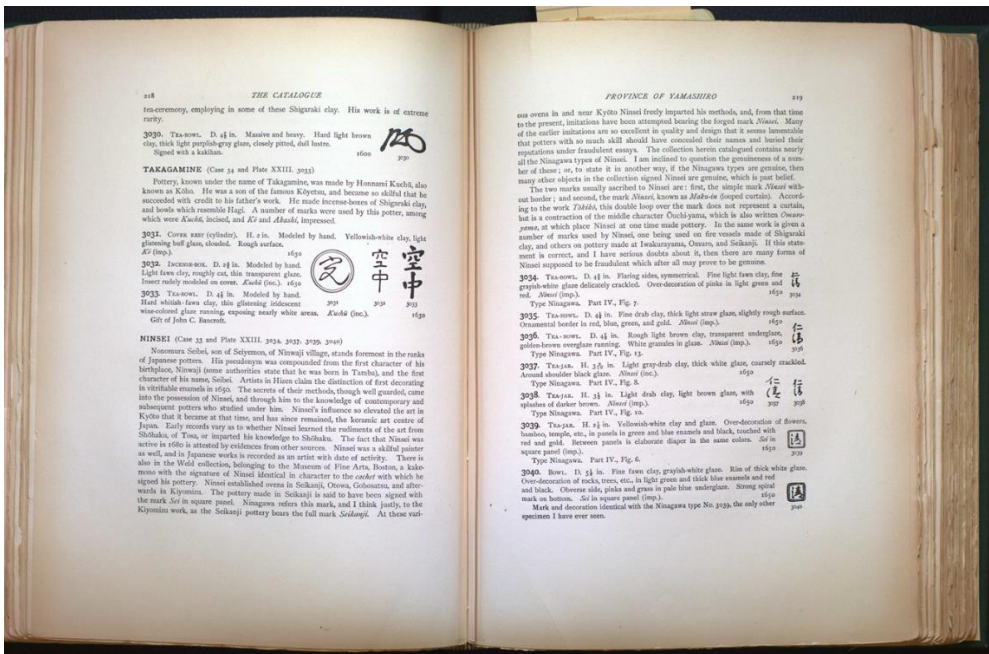


Fig. 26: Section of Ninsei in E.S. Morse, *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1901*; 218-219.

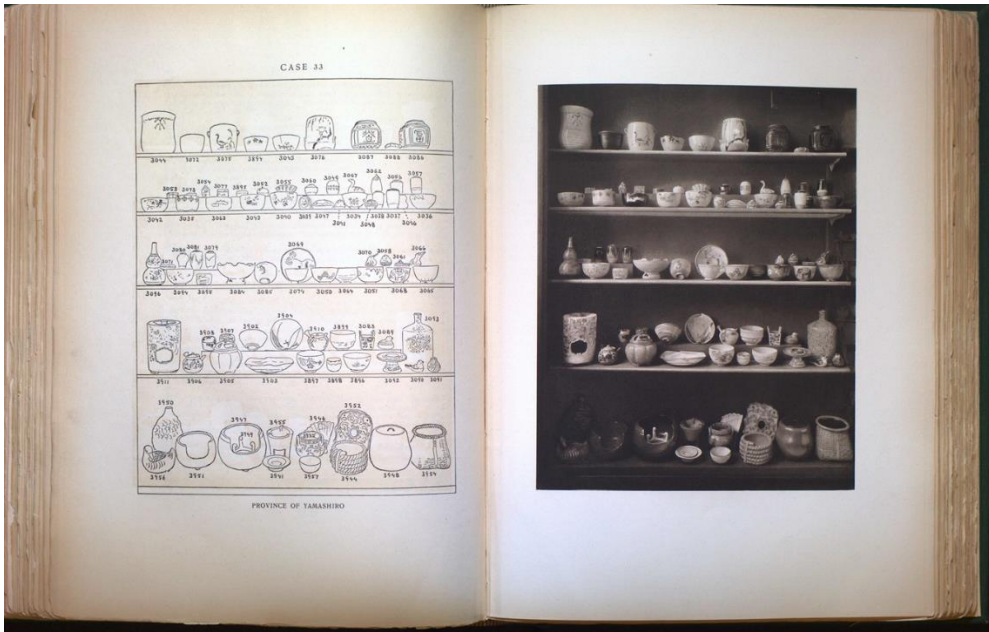


Fig. 27: Illustration of Case 33 in E.S. Morse, *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1901*; n.pag.

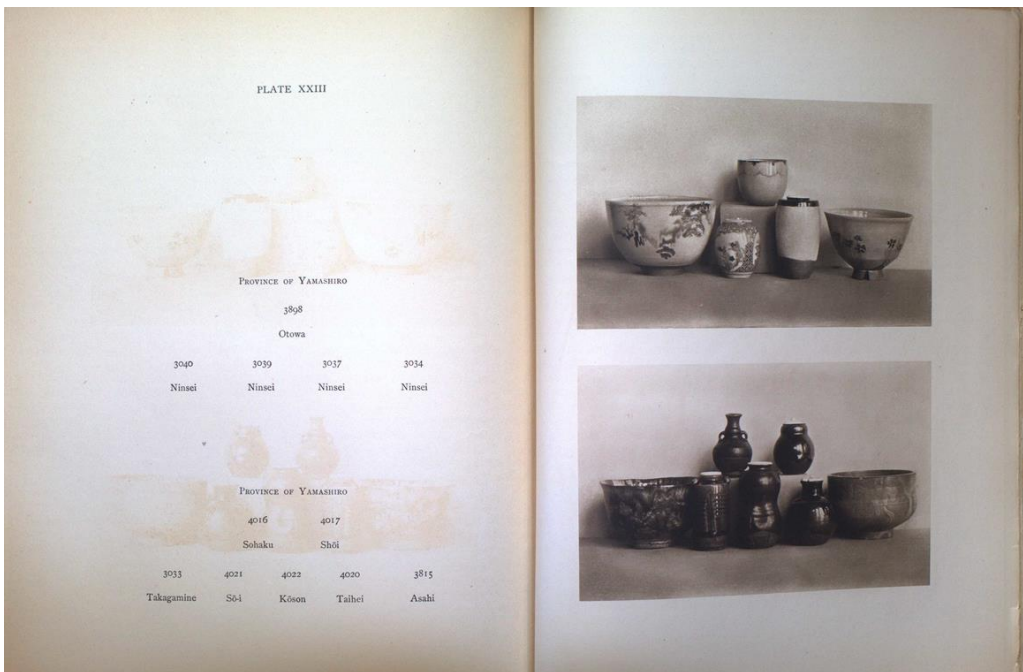


Fig. 28: Plate XXIII showing Ninsei pieces (top) in E.S. Morse, *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1901*; n.pag.



Fig. 29: Lucy Adeline Van Horne (Lady Van Horne) (1837–1929). William Notman and Son. II-235277. McCord Museum.

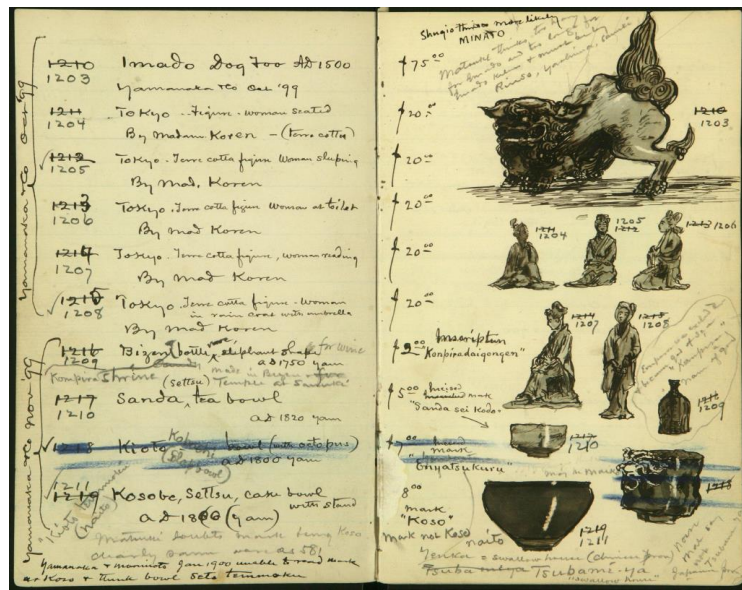
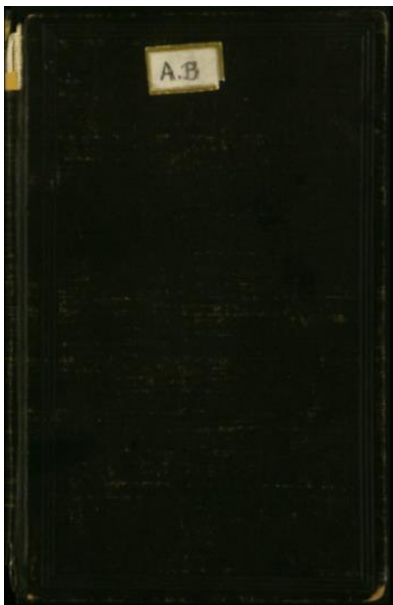


Fig. 30: Cover and a page from Van Horne Catalogue 2 titled “A.B.” n.pag. MMFA Archive.

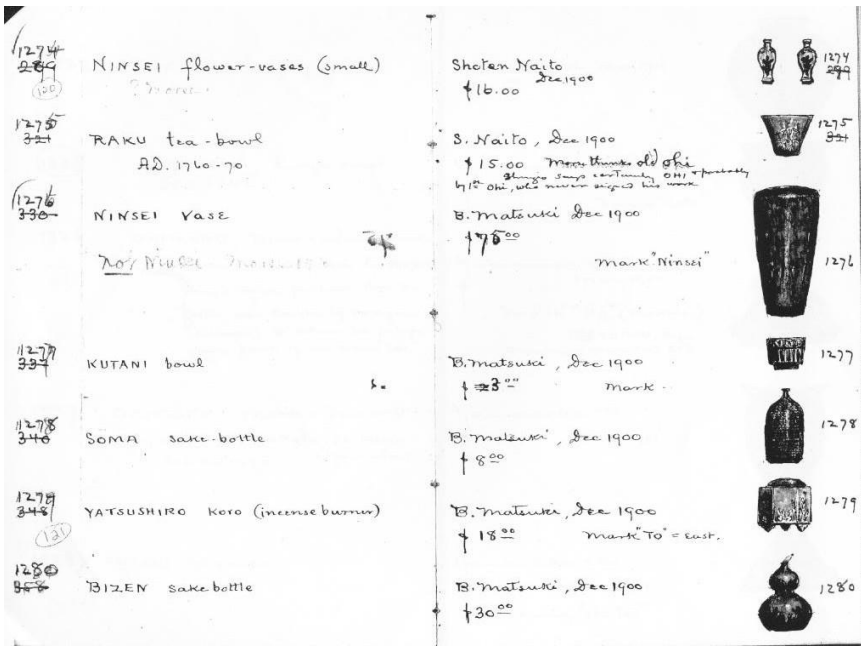


Fig. 30: A page from Van Horne Catalogue 3 (untitled). n.pag. Collection Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Gift of Matthew S. Hannon Estate in memory of Mrs. William Van Horne, 2001.

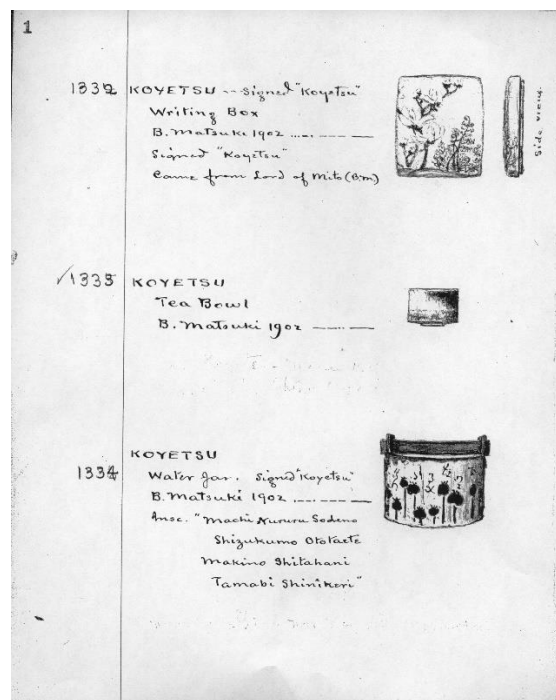
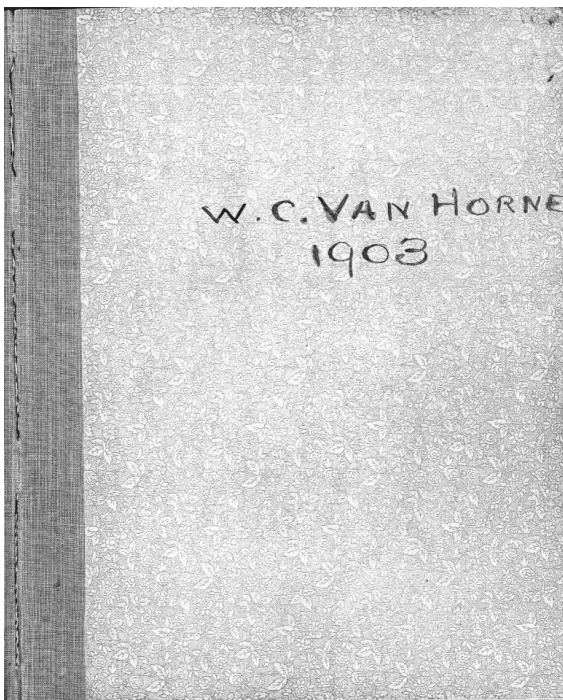


Fig. 32: Front page and the page one from Van Horne Catalogue 4 titled "C.B." Collection Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Gift of Matthew S. Hannon Estate in memory of Mrs. William Van Horne, 2001.



Fig. 33: 944.16.21: Paper stickers and an inscribed number on the bottom of Van Horne's bowl at the ROM; Photo by Akiko Takesue. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

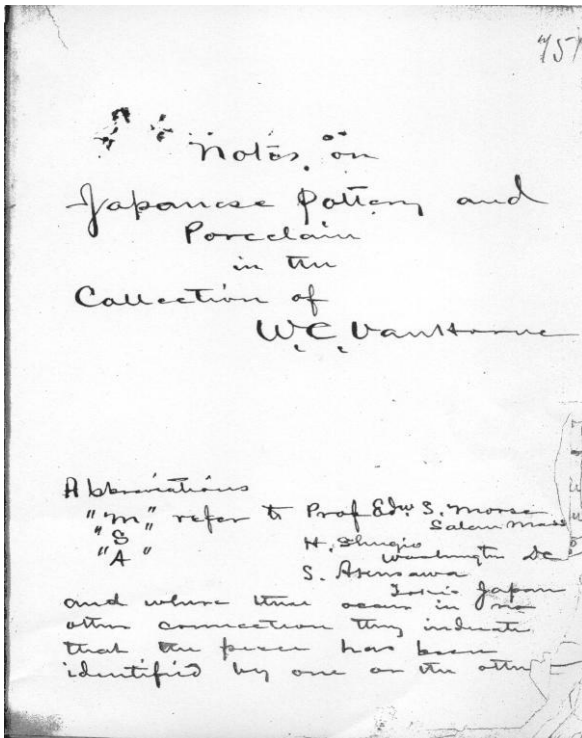


Fig. 34: Front page of the one-volume, partly illustrated working catalogue. Collection Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Gift of Matthew S. Hannon Estate in memory of Mrs. William Van Horne, 2001.

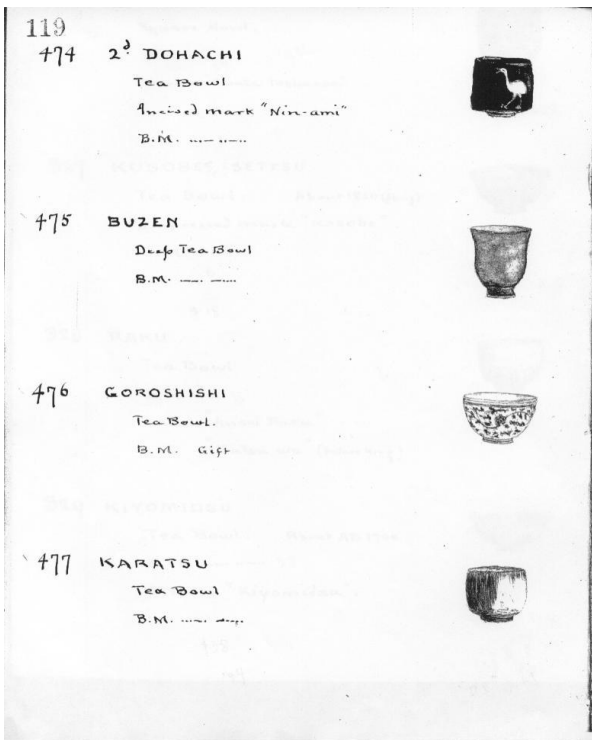


Fig. 35: A page from the colour-illustrated "fair copy" catalogue (originally in colour); 119. Collection Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Gift of Matthew S. Hannon Estate in memory of Mrs. William Van Horne, 2001.

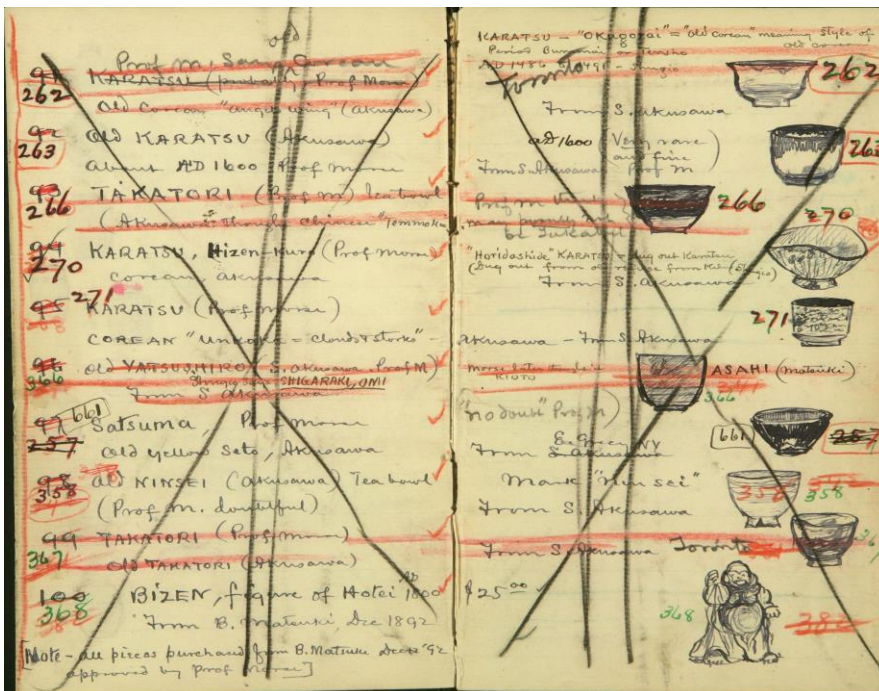


Fig. 36: A page from Van Horne Catalogue 1. n.pag. MMFA Archive.

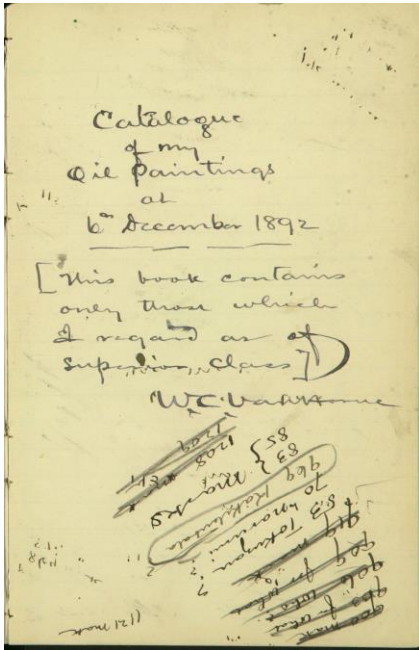


Fig. 37: Front page of the catalogue of the Van Horne painting collection, dated December 6, 1892. MMFA Archive. This notebook also contains the second half of Van Horne Catalogue 2, starting backward.

Fig. 38a-c



Fig. 38a



Fig. 38b



Fig. 38c

Fig. 38a-c: Examples of Van Horne's watercolours. 1896. Collection Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Gift of Matthew S. Hannon Estate in memory of Mrs. William Van Horne, 2001.



Fig. 39: Examples of photographs of Van Horne's Japanese ceramics. Dates unknown. Collection Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Gift of Matthew S. Hannon Estate in memory of Mrs. William Van Horne, 2001.

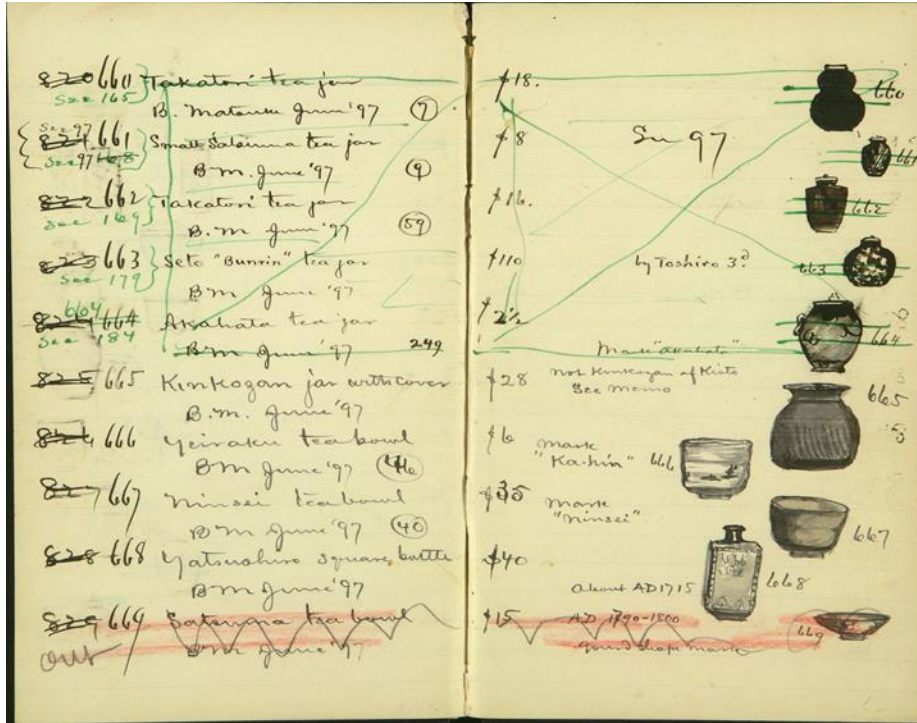


Fig. 40: The Ninsei tea bowl recorded as #667 in Van Horne Catalogue 1. n.pag. MMFA Archive.

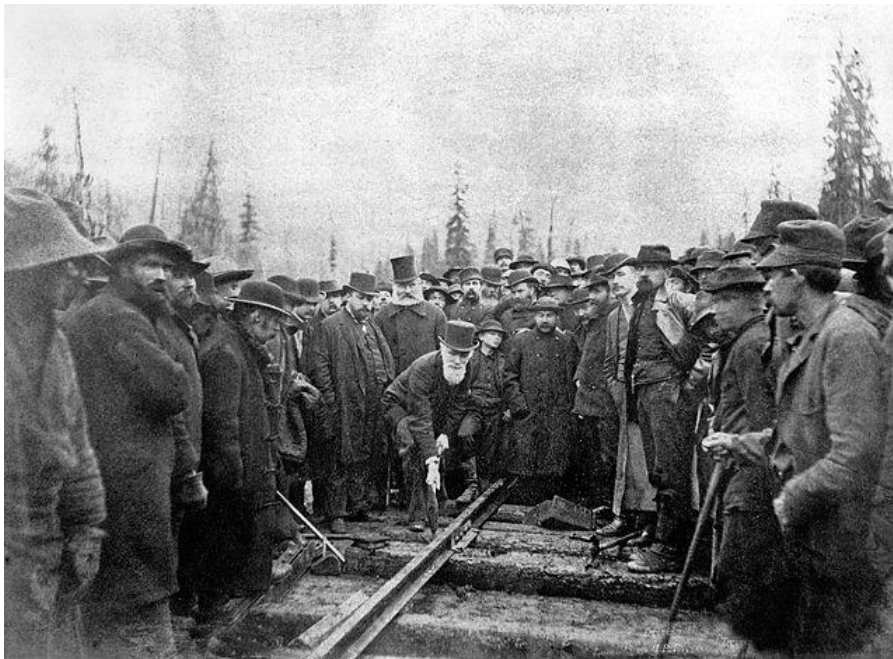


Fig. 41: The ceremonial final spike driven into the Canadian Pacific Railway at Craigellachie, British Columbia on November 7, 1885. Van Horne is standing to the left of Donald A. Smith, who is driving the spike.

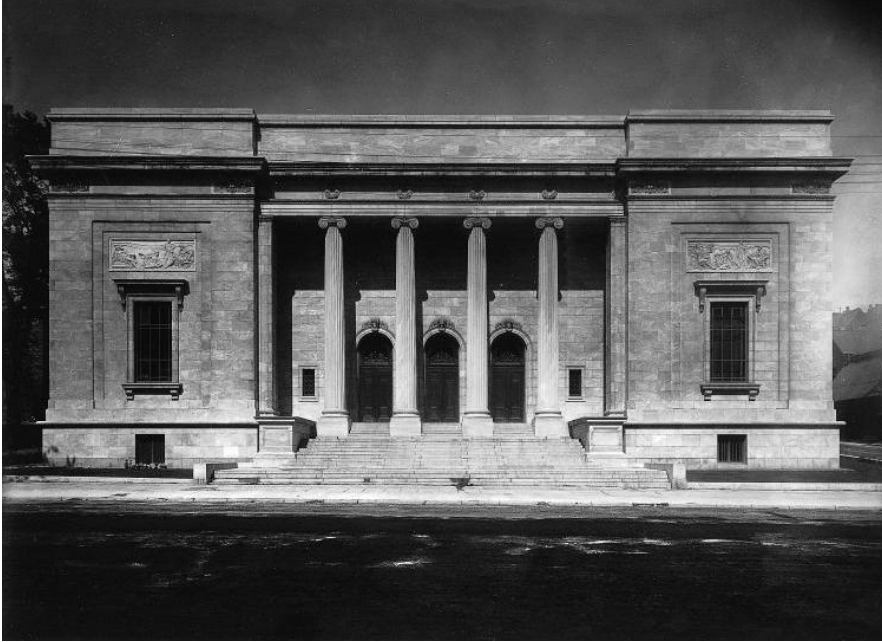


Fig. 42: Art Association of Montreal on Sherbrooke Street West, Montreal. 1913.

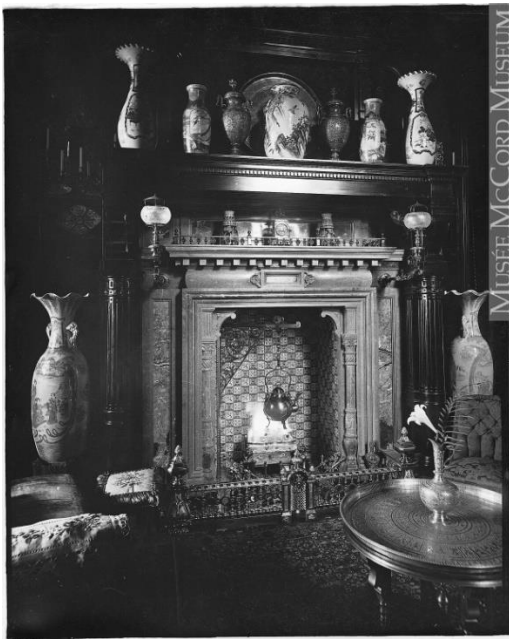


Fig. 43: (left) *Fireplace, Mrs. George Stephen's house, Montreal, QC, 1884. William Notman and Son. II-73820. McCord Museum;* (right) *Fireplace, Lord Strathcona's house, Montreal, QC, 1916. William Notman and Son. VIEW-16059. McCord Museum.*



Fig. 44: *Portrait: Interior of Van Horne's Residence (sojourn room)*. e003641849. Sir William Van Horne Fonds. Library and Archive Canada.



Fig. 45: *Portrait: Interior of Van Horne's Residence (office)*. e003641851. Sir William Van Horne Fonds. Library and Archive Canada.

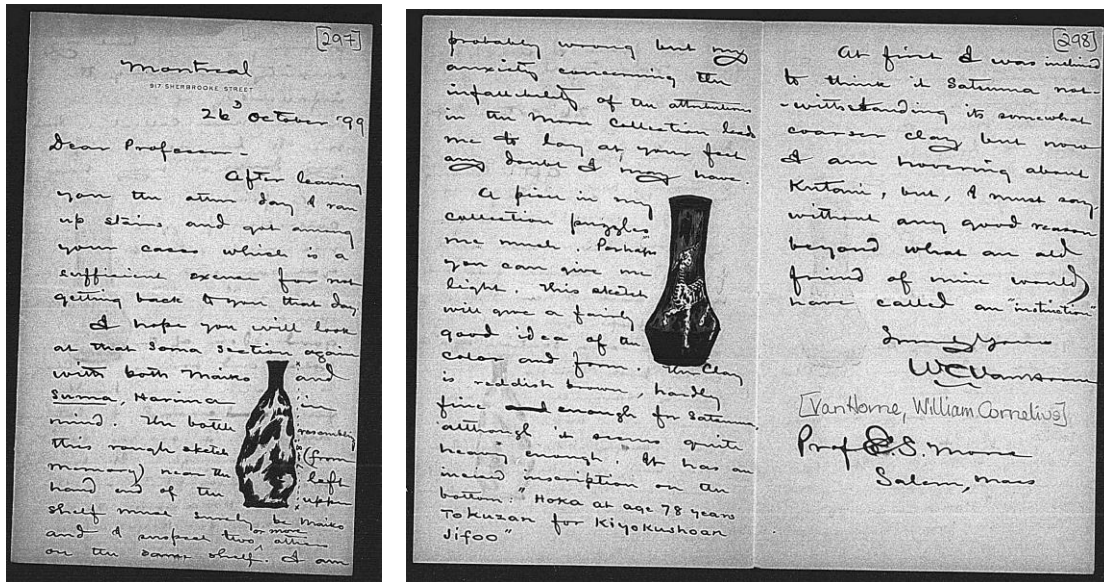


Fig. 46: A letter from Van Horne to Morse, dated October 26, 1899. The Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum. ©Adam Matthew Digital Limited.



Fig. 47: Hayashi Tadamasu (1853–1906)



BUNKIO MATSUKI (THE COLLECTOR), IN JAPAN.

Fig. 48: Matsuki Bunkio (1867–1940). International Research Center for Japanese Studies.



Fig. 50: Shugio Hiromichi (1853–1927).



Fig. 51: Yamanaka and Company, Boston, between 1897 and 1933.



Fig. 52: Sir Donald Alexander Smith, the First Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal (1820–1914).



Fig. 53: *Kinrande*-style porcelain tea bowl by Eiraku Hozen from the Strathcona collection at the MMFA. Author's photograph.

1927.Ee.2. Eiraku Hozen, 1795-1854, active in Kyoto. "Kinrande"-style Bowl. About 1830-1850. Porcelain, painted decoration in underglaze blue, red enamel and gold. 13,45 cm (haut.), 25,7 cm (diam.). The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, gift of Lord Strathcona and family.



Fig. 54: 909.22.30: Tea bowl by Eiraku Hozen from the Van Horne collection at the ROM; Photo by Akiko Takesue. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.



Fig. 55: Examples of tea caddy (right) and *shifuku* (left). MMFA (accession numbers unknown). Author's photographs.



Fig. 56: The title page of the anonymous article “Sir William Van Horne’s Collection of Japanese Pottery” in *The Connoisseur: An Illustrated Magazine for Collectors*, vol.34, 1912; 9-14.

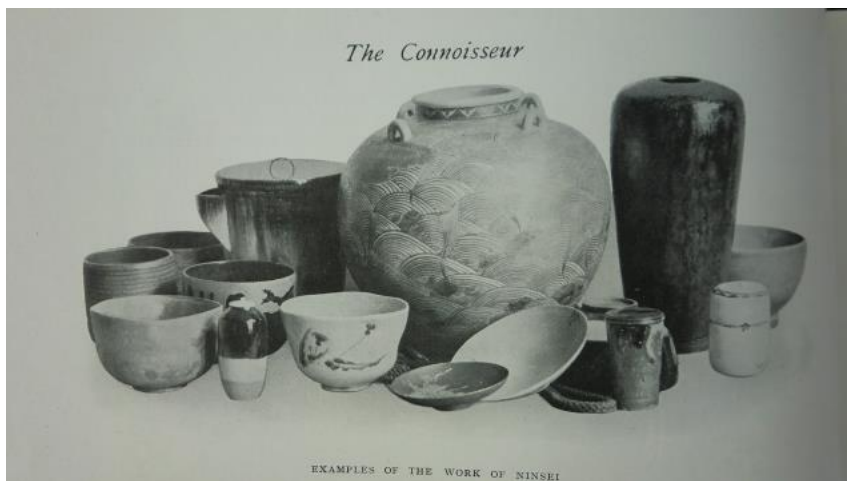


Fig. 57: One of the illustrations in “Sir William Van Horne’s Collection” in *The Connoisseur* magazine, vol.34, 1912; 10, showing example of Ninsei pieces from the Van Horne collection. The Ninsei tea bowl appears on leftmost.



Fig. 58: F. Cleveland Morgan (1881–1962).



Fig. 59: William Cornelius Covenhoven Van Horne (1907–1946). William Notman and Son. II-180314. McCord Museum.



Fig. 60: Margaret Van Horne (d.1987). Courtesy Sally Hannon.



Fig. 61: Charles T. Currelly (1876–1957).



Fig. 62: Examples of Van Horne's tea bowls selected by Currelly and donated to the ROM by William C.C. Van Horne in 1944; Photo by Akiko Takesue. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.



Fig. 63: Hugh Wylie (1942-1999) (middle), c.1989. Courtesy Jack Howard.

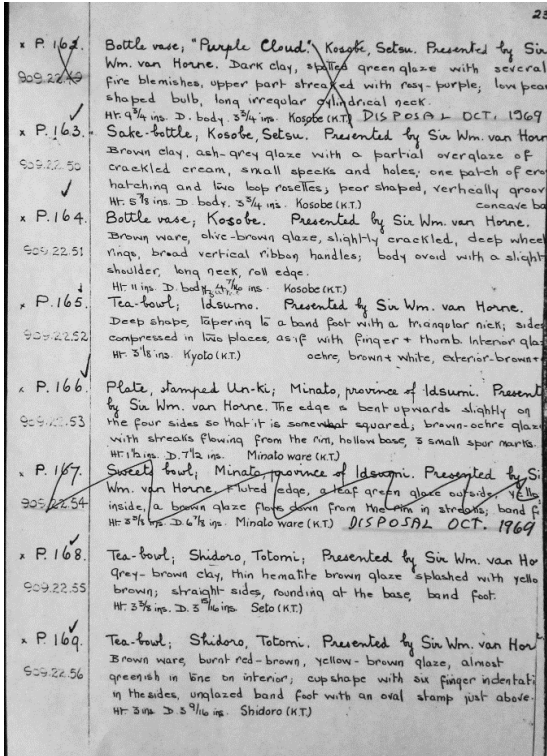


Fig. 64: A page from the original P book (P I); 23. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

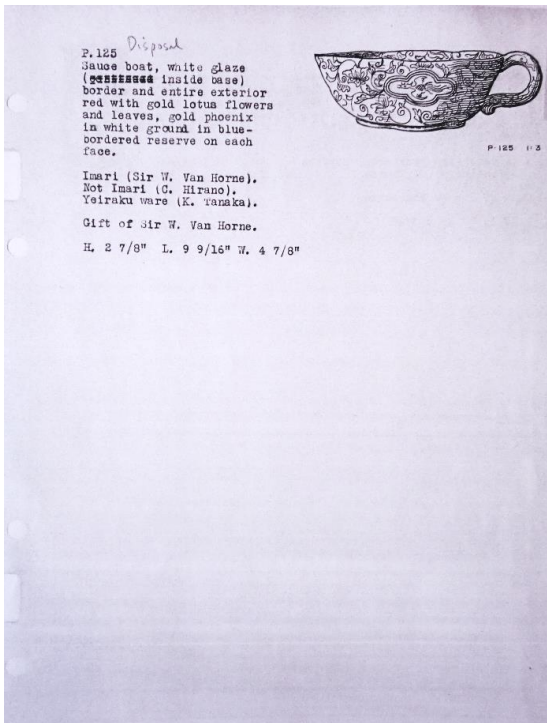


Fig. 65: A page from the revised P book (P I); n.pag. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

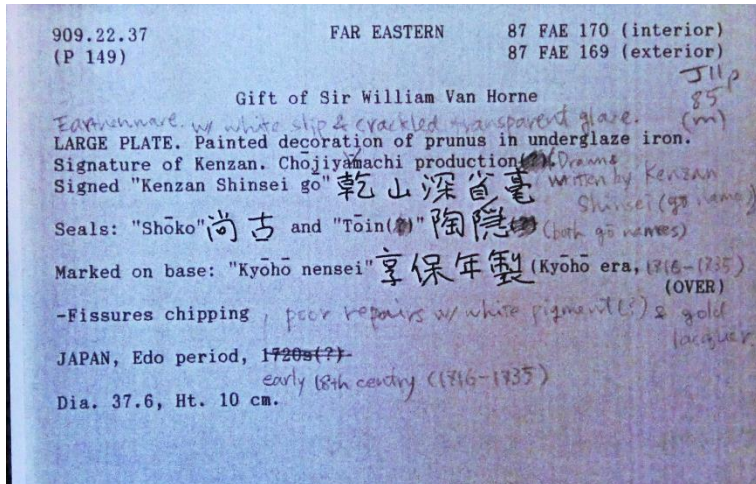


Fig. 66: An example of catalogue cards, with Wylie's hand-written Chinese characters. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.



Fig. 67: View of the storage area for Japanese ceramics at the ROM; Photo by Akiko Takesue. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.



Fig. 68: View of the Prince Takamado Gallery of Japan at the ROM; Photo by Akiko Takesue. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.



Fig. 69: 909.22.109: Figure of Fukusuke, earthenware; Photo by Akiko Takesue. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.



Fig. 70: View of the ceramic section of the Prince Takamado Gallery of Japan at the ROM; Photo by Akiko Takesue. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.



Fig. 71: View of the exhibition “*Collecting Asia: The First Fifty Years, 1908-1958*” at the ROM. The leftmost tea bowl on display is the Ninsei tea bowl. December 23, 2014; Photo by Akiko Takesue. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.