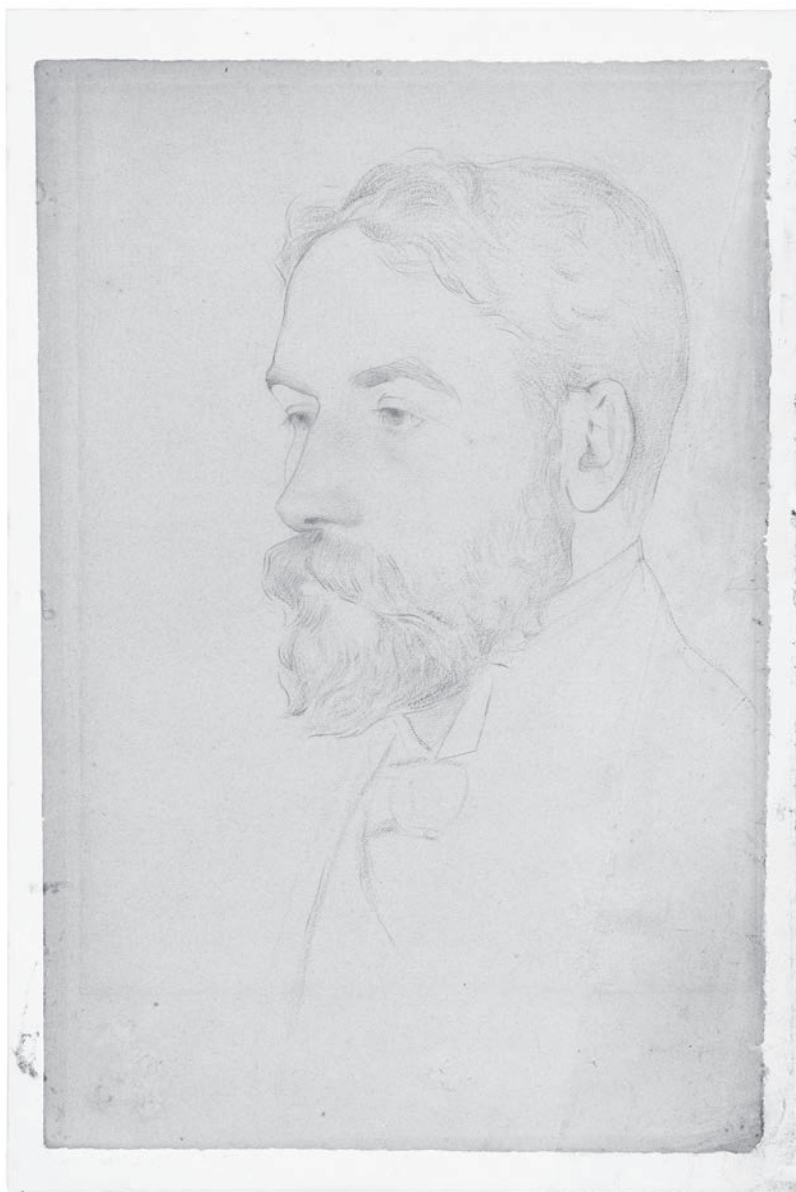


BERNARD BERENSON

Formation and Heritage



VILLA I TATTI SERIES, 31

BERNARD BERENSON

Formation and Heritage



JOSEPH CONNORS AND
LOUIS A. WALDMAN



VILLA I TATTI

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NINE

Bernard Berenson and Asian Art

CARL BRANDON STREHLKE

ON 2 JANUARY 1907, at I Tatti, Mary Berenson wrote in her diary: “I walked up the hill & got some marvellous Japanese effects of mist & hills & trees.”¹ Likewise in 1931, her husband Bernard said of the Settignano countryside: “With the snow high on the mountains all around and vapors of fog in the valleys going down to the Arno, this could be a Japanese landscape.”² Neither had been to Japan, but Bernard had long trafficked in such analogies, publishing as early as March 1894 in *Venetian Painters of the Renaissance* that Carlo Crivelli’s forms “have the strength of line and the metallic lustre of old Satsuma or lacquer” and “are no less tempting to touch.”³ This statement engendered a violent reaction from Charles Eliot Norton, Bernard’s former professor at Harvard University, who, as Bernard later recalled, “protested vigorously against my venturing to give naturalization papers . . . to Japanese art and ranking Carlo Crivelli for his essential qualities with their lacquers, rather than with European painting.”⁴ The puritanical Norton, who had

1 Unless otherwise stated, all letters and diaries are in the Bernard and Mary Berenson Papers, Biblioteca Berenson, Villa I Tatti—The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies. Villa I Tatti holds photocopies of Mary Berenson’s letters to her family, which are held by the Lilly Library at Indiana University, as well as photocopies and some originals of Bernard Berenson’s letters to Yashiro Yukio, which come from Yashiro’s family. Some of the material in this essay appears in my essay “Berenson, Sassetta, and Asian Art” (Strehlke 2009).

2 Quoted in Morra 1965, 2.

3 Berenson 1894, ix–x.

4 Berenson 1949, 45.

upbraided the undergraduate Berenson for reading Walter Pater, was not going to let the adult Berenson get away with slipping Satsuma ware into a text about a Renaissance master. He also may not have been happy that Crivelli, a painter much loved by his generation—close to that of Charles Eastlake, who in the 1850s and 1860s had bought significant works by the artist for the National Gallery in London—was only mentioned in the preface and not the text. So too Satsuma and lacquer spoke of clipper ships and overstuffed Victorian drawing rooms—Norton's Boston, not Berenson's new world, or at least the one that was soon to be, for as we shall see, in October of that year Berenson's view of Asian art changed radically.

Italian critics of the *Venetian Painters* took the opposite track of Norton.⁵ For them the book was too scientific. Angelo Conti, the then recently appointed director of the Accademia in Venice, in his monograph on Giorgione published the same year, felt that the new criticism, such as represented by Berenson, was unable to “capture that element of poetry that makes up every artistic soul.”⁶ Conti later wrote in an article with the apt title of “La visione imminente” that to experience a Venetian master to full effect, one needed to imbibe the atmosphere of the Serenissima: “the stillness of the waters” and “the walls laden with color.”⁷ The publisher Putnam's cover design of the *Venetian Painters* with its gondola embossed in gold (Fig. 1), which had so disappointed Bernard as touristy,⁸ would have suited Conti, who in a later direct attack on Berenson described the myriad impressions of a ride through the lagoon—significantly in the company of the Italian writer and aesthete Gabriele D'Annunzio—as a counter to the vacuity of the American's aesthetics.

A taste for the East also characterized turn-of-the-century Italian aestheticism, so much so that the *verista* literary critic Felice Cameroni had called Japan “that suburb of Europe.”⁹ Cameroni had superintended the production of Carlo Dossi's *Amori*, for which the author wanted a cover like a Japanese manga (Fig. 2) as the most fitting expression of the chaste childhood loves recounted therein. It was designed by Luigi Conconi, who was proud of what he termed the “giapponesismo” of his own work.¹⁰ D'Annunzio was less delicate in his appropriation of the East. He had written an article about the 1884 arrival in Rome of the Japanese ambassador, Tanaka Fujimaro, a westernizing educational reformer who had been to Amherst College, but whom D'Annunzio turned into a mystery from the East in order to find an excuse for a languid description of the Roman boutique of Maria

5 On Berenson's Italian critics in the 1890s, see Cinelli 1986, 176–178; and Strehlke 2009, 42.

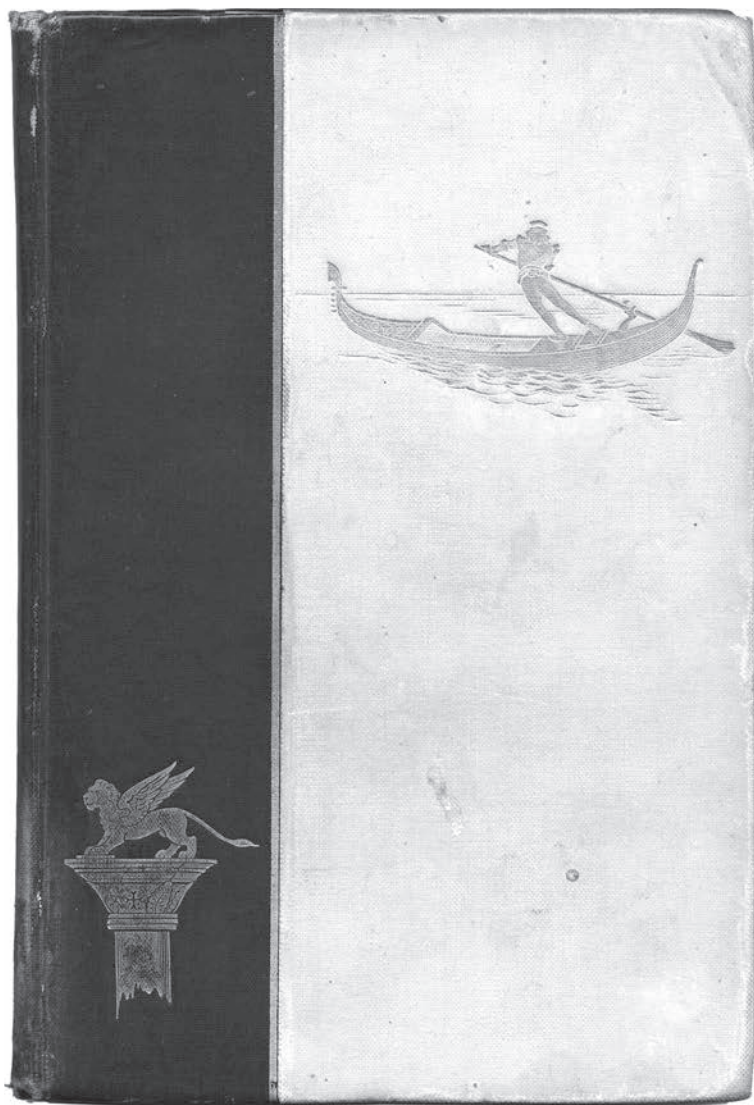
6 See Conti 1894, 10. Conti had previously been director of the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, during which time he wrote the monograph, which was published by the Fratelli Alinari in Florence. He ended his career as director of Capodimonte in Naples. On Conti, see the introduction by Pietro Gibellini in *La beata riva: Trattato dell'oblio* (Conti 2000), and the introduction by Ricciarda Ricorda to the 2007 reprint of *Giorgione*.

7 Conti 1896, 1 (reprinted in Conti 2000, 148–149).

8 Samuels 1979, 182.

9 Quoted in Dossi 1977, 206. On Japonisme in Italian artists, see Troyer 1984; Becattini 2003b, 2004; and Farinella 2009.

10 Quoted in Dossi 1977, 178. The cover of this edition of *Amori* reproduces the original.



1

Cover of Bernard Berenson, *Vénetian Painters of the Renaissance* (New York and London, 1894).

Beretta, who specialized in Japanese objects and aristocratic clients.¹¹ There was a similar shop, the Atelier Janetti, in Piazza Antinori in Florence.¹² Japanese characters and things also appear at key moments in D'Annunzio's 1890 novel *Il Piacere*, which brought the aesthetic movement to full flower in Italy. The protagonist, Andrea Sperelli, claims that Count Sukumi, part of his nation's delegation to Rome, who has a face like a Katsushika

¹¹ Originally published in *La tribuna*, 1 December 1884. Reprinted in D'Annunzio 1996, 197–204; see also Federico Roncoroni's notes on pp. 1272–1273. On D'Annunzio's Japonisme, see Trompeo 1943; and Lamberti 1985.

¹² Becattini 2003a.

Luigi Conconi,
cover of Carlo
Dossi, *Amori* (Rome,
1887). An example
of Italian fin-de-
siècle Japonisme.



Hokusai and who has fallen in love with Elena, Duchessa di Scerni, would commit ritual suicide with a *wakizashi* that their hostess uses to cut the pages of a Western book, because Sukumi espied the duchess touching it. As for his conational, the Princess Issé, she fails to fit in because she looks so maladroit in her European dress. Sukumi had also appeared in D'Annunzio's novella *Mandarina*, in which a Roman lady decides she wants a love affair with a Japanese man but then recoils at actual physical contact.¹³ Whereas D'Annunzio used the foreigners to underscore the divide between the cultures and to heighten the exotic sensuality of the narrative in *Il Piacere* by having the semiautobiographical Sperelli and the Asian Sukumi pursue the same *nobildonna*, Berenson tried to reconcile East

¹³ In *Capitan Fracassa*, 22 June 1884; reprinted D'Annunzio 1992, 515–524.

and West, most famously in his 1903 articles on Sassetta, which took full account of his discovery of Asian art that was specifically not Satsuma, lacquer, or the ukiyo-e print.¹⁴

If asked whether their statements on the Japanese effects of the I Tatti landscape with which I opened this essay brought to mind any particular artist, the Berensons, I believe, would have replied Andō Hiroshige, a woodblock artist known for his snow scenes, whom Bernard said in a letter to Mary of 1894 was better than James McNeill Whistler, the American painter most associated with Japonisme. (Whistler even ate with chopsticks and lined his Chelsea studio, nicknamed “Nagasaki,” with Hiroshige prints, such as can be seen in his *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen* [Freer Gallery of Art, Washington], in which that artist’s views of the *60-Odd Provinces* are spread before the kimono-clad sitter.) The occasion that led to Bernard’s comment on Hiroshige and Whistler was a visit to Boston’s Museum of Fine Arts, in which he spent an afternoon looking at Japanese prints until, as he wrote, “there was no more light in the sky,” also reminding Mary of the print exhibition that they had attended in Paris in 1890. The latter event, I believe, was the first time either had taken a sustained look at any Asian art; certainly, it was the first time together. This was the exhibition that Mary Cassatt had brought Edgar Degas to see and that famously inspired her own set of ten drypoint and aquatint prints, exhibited in 1891 as an “*Essai d’imitation de l’estampe japonaise*.” She had previously written enthusiastically to Berthe Morisot about going to the exhibition, where she had already bumped into Henri Fantin-Latour and James Tissot, saying that she now only dreamed of color on copper.¹⁵ Berenson got enough out of his two forays into the ukiyo-e world to make some amusing analogies, but not much else. In the *North Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, he wrote: “Hokusai, in his extreme old age, used to sign himself ‘The Man-mad-about-Drawing,’ and with equal fitness, Tura, all his life, might have signed ‘The Man-mad-about-Tactile-Values.’”¹⁶ This was in 1907, by which time Berenson had begun collecting Asian art, but ostensibly not woodblock prints.

If four years earlier, in September 1903, a subscriber to *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* let that month’s issue fall open by chance to an illustration of a Chinese painting (Fig. 3), she might have been surprised to see that it was in an article signed by Bernard Berenson that was about the Sienese artist Sassetta. In the Chinese painting, Berenson wrote, “we feel an ecstasy of devotion and vision, here we behold a transubstantiation of body into soul, whereof we rarely get as much as a vanishing glimpse in our own art.”¹⁷ Berenson asked why Christian art had never found a common manner for depicting its founder, and he went on to compare Buddhism with Franciscanism: “for what can be more like in spirit than certain phases of Buddhism and certain phases of Franciscanism?”

We can be forgiven, however, for suspecting some amount of playacting in this assessment, as is sometimes the case with Berenson. Indeed, he virtually admitted as much in an epilogue to a 1946 reprint of articles:

14 Berenson 1903a.

15 Cited in Matthews 1984, 214.

16 Berenson 1907, 58.

17 Berenson 1903a, 8.

Zhou Jichang, *Lohan Demonstrating the Power of the Buddhist Sutras to Daoists*, ca. 1178, as reproduced by Bernard Berenson with the caption "Chinese Painting of the Twelfth Century" in Bernard Berenson, "A Sienese Painter in the Franciscan Legend," *Burlington Magazine* 3 (1903). Denman Waldo Ross Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



At the . . . time pre-Ken-Lung, even pre-Ming Chinese art was revealed to us and what had hitherto been undreamt of, Tang, Sung and even Buddhist paintings. As early as the winter of '94–95 of the last century I had the good fortune to help unpack a shipload of Chinese pictures that Fenollosa had procured for Boston and in the following Spring I brought back the news to an incredulous Europe. I naturally tended to exaggerate its expressive qualities as opposed to those of our mediaeval artists.¹⁸

Regardless, in 1903 Berenson had inquired, “why is Christian art so unreligious, so unspiritual, as compared with the art of Buddhism?” The answer was that Western art had “a fatal tendency to become science” and “an inherent incapacity for spiritual expression.” “Of European schools of design,” Berenson wrote, “none comes so close to those of the far east as the school of Siena.”¹⁹

Sassetta was his example, but Berenson actually missed the only element in that artist’s oeuvre that can lay claim to Asian influence: the pastiglia in the frame of the San Sepolcro altarpiece, in which the pattern of intertwined morning glories with the buds and leaves seen from different points of view is Chinese in origin (Fig. 4). The pattern began as a naturalistic representation of the plant in the underglaze decoration of Yuan pottery, becoming more abstract as the design moved throughout Asia, as can be seen in derivations of the theme in Korean lacquerware. Its arrival in the West is due to Turkish derivations in tiles of Chinese ceramics dating from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century.²⁰ Probably from some such source, or textiles, the design made its way to Siena, finding a natural home as a decorative subsidiary element of altarpieces, and not only Sassetta’s.

In books about Far Eastern art from the early 1900s, it was not uncommon to assert specific influences, not just parallel developments, as Berenson had done. Ernest Francisco Fenollosa’s *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* of 1912 contains chapters with the now improbable titles of “Greco-Buddhist Art in China. Early Tang” and “Greco-Buddhist Art in Japan. Nara Period.” The Hellenistic influence on Indian art—and consequently on that of East Asia—was a popular notion at the time, but it irritated Indian nationalists like the Irish-born Sister Nivedita and other Asian writers like Okakura Kakuzo,²¹ the Japanese curator of Asian art at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, with whom Berenson was in touch via Isabella Stewart Gardner; in 1906, Berenson wrote her to ask Okakura what he thought of Lafcadio Hearn’s *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation*.²² Okakura’s and others’ denials of any Greek influence in Asian art (Gandharan sculpture, however, being

18 Berenson 1946, 49–50. I quote from Berenson’s 1945 English-language manuscript preserved in the Berenson Archive.

19 Berenson 1903a, 13.

20 On the tiles in the mosque of Sultan Murad II, or the Muradiye, in Edirne, which are the best surviving example of the transmission of Chinese motifs in ceramics to the West, see Carswell 1998, 18–24; and DeGeorge and Porter 2001, 196.

21 On this subject, see Guha-Thakurta 1992, chap. 5; and Strehlke 2009, 49.

22 “I am reading it with great interest, but am eager to know what such an intellectual Jap as Okakura thinks of it”: Berenson to Gardner, I Tatti, 11 January 1906; Hadley 1987, 373.



4a

Detail of a large serving dish,
Chinese, Yuan dynasty (1279–1368),
ca. 1330–38, Jingdezhen. British
Museum, London, given by
Robert G. Bruce (no. 1951.1012.1).



4b

Detail of a small box with
decoration of peony scrolls,
Korean, Joseon dynasty (1392–1910),
fifteenth–sixteenth century. The
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York, lent by Florence and
Herbert Irving (SL.8.2009.7.2).



4c

Tiles, Turkish, ca. 1435–36.
Murad II Mosque, Edirne.

4d

Detail of the gilt pastiglia
of Sassetta, *The Funeral of
Saint Francis*, 1437–44. National
Gallery, London (no. 4763).



a

b

c

d

a sticking point) later forced Fenollosa to reduce the question to a matter of dating. The controversy can also be found in other writings of the time and the influential 1908 book on the art of Sri Lanka by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, lifelong curator of Indian art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts from 1917. He and his then wife Ethel Partridge (later Mairet) used contemporary folk practices to illuminate medieval Sinhalese art.²³

The practice of making broad cultural comparisons persisted to mid-century. In his 1955 Pelican volume on Japanese art, Robert Treat Paine, also a curator in Boston, whose very name encapsulates that old Boston of which the young (and even old) Berenson was always somewhat enthralled, asserted just as Berenson had in 1903 that “the Japanese feeling for art is summed up in the problem of decorative designing . . . If one thinks of European parallels, of illuminated manuscripts or of Sienese painting, the analogy is again between arts dependent on faith and feeling rather than on reason and science.”²⁴

The key moment in the formation of Berenson’s taste for Asian art came during an October 1894 visit to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts with the Harvard fine arts professor Denman Ross, to meet Ernest Francisco Fenollosa. At the time, Fenollosa was organizing his huge collection of Japanese art, which eventually came to the institution, as well as a show of paintings from Daitokuji in Kyoto. From the Harvard class of 1874, Fenollosa had gone to Japan and become “native,” entering the rarefied cult of Tendai Buddhism and officially cataloguing the country’s national treasures for the Japanese government. He also brought texts of Japanese and Chinese poems to the West, including the *Tale of Genjii*, which (thanks in part to his literary executor Ezra Pound) was later translated by Arthur Waley, a keeper at the British Museum who was also a friend of the Berensons. The couple read the novel, but as indicated by Mary’s penciled note in one of the tomes of the multivolume work, it was only at chapter five of the fifth volume that they began to think it was getting interesting. Nevertheless, Bernard was an avid reader of Asian literature; on 4 May 1914, Mary wrote to Bernard’s mother Judith Mickleshanski: “My tray is carried into his room, where he lies reading Chinese poetry, listening to the wind in the trees.”²⁵

Fenollosa showed Berenson various things in Boston, including “a figure of a saint with all the literary qualities and much of the charm of Lorenzetti” and

a series of Chinese paintings from the 12th century, which revealed a new world to me. To begin with they had composition of figures and groups as perfect and as simple as the best that we Europeans have ever done. Then they had, what we never dream of in oriental art, powerful characterization, now surpassing Dürer, and now Gentile Bellini . . . they are profoundly contrite, full of humility, love, humanity, of the quality of the tenderest passages in the Gospels, or in the story of St Francis . . . I was prostrate. Fenollosa shivered as he looked. I thought I should die, and even Denman Ross who looked dumpy Anglo-Saxon was jumping up and down. We had to poke and pinch each other’s necks and wept . . . We ended

23 Coomaraswamy 1908.

24 Paine and Soper 1955, 3.

25 Berenson Family Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard College Library, Harvard University.

with seeing a large screen by Koreen [*sic*] [Fig. 5], a wild sea with green waves, toothed and fanged like terrible beasts gnawing rocks as strange as in Lorenzetti. Oh, the freedom, the wind, the sunshine, the salt smell, the coolness, and great spirit of nature that was in this!²⁶

What should we make of this sudden, overwhelming aesthetic experience? First of all, it was typical of the mid- to late nineteenth century,²⁷ and in the Anglo-Saxon world, Asian, not Western art, was often the stimulus. The American artist John La Farge had felt a similar ecstasy some decades before on stumbling across a Japanese print in a New York City junk shop, later writing that he could “well remember the various impressions and rapid conclusions of the moment.”²⁸ Secondly, Berenson’s session with Fenollosa opened up a whole new world of Asian art. From then on, Berenson became primarily interested in Chinese art, largely ranging from the Tang dynasty through to the Song. The series of Song paintings from Daitoku-ji—of which Ross purchased a group for Boston—were later the impetus for the comparison between Siena and the art of the East. For the Sassetta article, Berenson simply quoted directly from Fenollosa’s catalog of the exhibition, which toured three East Coast cities in 1894–95. Until recently, the I Tatti copy was for the most part uncut, showing that Berenson’s interest in obtaining actual information about the paintings dated only from when he had to put something about them in his Sassetta article. The aesthetic experience or memory of the pictures remained primary.

Over the next decade, Berenson became more serious about Asian art. When he first republished his article on Sassetta in 1909, he wrote that he had planned to add three other essays “elaborating what I had to say about the religious painting of Japan, about imaginative design, and above all about the claims of illustration as a separate art.”²⁹ One reason why he may never have finished these essays is an awareness of a growing professionalism in the field. In 1904, Gardner wrote to the Berensons that “Okakura is busy at the Museum, cataloguing the Japanese things that have been huddled there since Fenollosa’s time, and finds forgeries and forgeries!!! And has a great contempt for Fenollosa. *Sic transit*.”³⁰

The attractions of Asian art continued to fascinate, however; after a 1914 visit to Charles Lang Freer’s collection, then in Detroit, Berenson wrote to Gardner: “How I wish I were starting out in life! I should devote myself to China as I have to Italy.”³¹ And in

26 Berenson to Mary Smith Costelloe (later Berenson), Northampton MA, 26 October 1894.

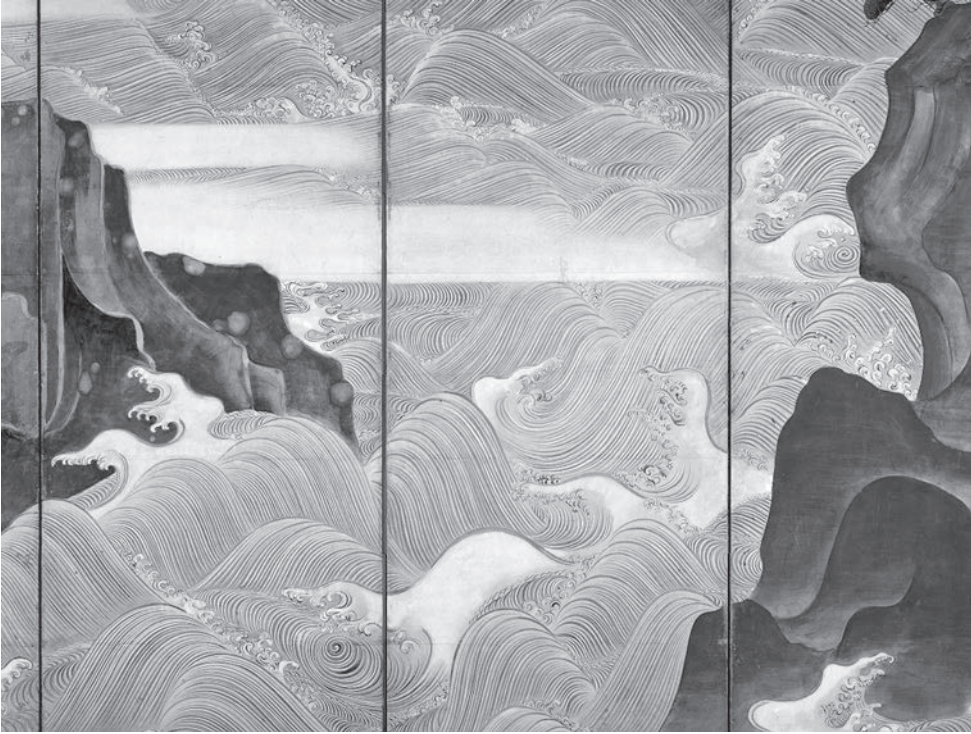
27 This is what the art historian Kenneth Clark would describe as “pure aesthetic sensation.” Such an experience had also formed part of Clark’s artistic awakening. In his autobiography, he described seeing in 1965 some *Fusuma-e* screens in the Chishaku-in, a little-visited temple in Kyoto, which provoked the uncovering of a buried childhood memory of having viewed them at a London 1910 show of Japanese art, and the realization that this youthful experience with such a totally unfamiliar work of art had contributed to his beginnings as an aesthete. It was his Japanese friend Yashiro Yukio, who had been at I Tatti in the 1920s (see below), who told Clark that he was indeed right about the screens having been in London: see Clark 1974, 43–44.

28 La Farge 1903, 221; see also Strehlke 2009, 41.

29 Berenson 1909, vii.

30 Hadley 1987, 335.

31 *Ibid.*, 531; see also Strehlke 2009, 46.



5

1918, he published another book on Sienese art in which he again took himself to task for never completing his essay on “the relations between Sienese Art and the Arts of the Far East.” He had, however, been collecting and reading about Asian art. During a 1909 visit to Boston, he even sat for the society photographer Sarah Choate Sears looking at a Tang equestrian figure of the type of which he later bought two.³² The next year at the British Museum, he saw the Tang paintings that Aurel Stein had recently discovered in the caves of Dunhuang. This experience must have inspired Berenson’s acquisition in 1914 of his most important painting, the *Dancing Girls of Kutcha*, then also thought to be original Tang. Stein and Laurence Binyon, the English poet and keeper of Oriental prints and drawings at the British Museum, later published Berenson’s picture. Stein wrote his part of the article while on a mission in Kashmir with the aid of color photographs specially prepared at Berenson’s request in Milan (Fig. 6) and sent to Stein from there.³³

In an earlier 1912 letter to Gardner, Berenson said that “personally I only buy Chinese and Persian” but also admitted “Mary’s dislike for Oriental things.” Because of that aversion, her letters to her family in England are invaluable for gauging Berenson’s thinking about Far Eastern art. In one from 31 October 1909, she wrote of how when her husband

Detail of the waves
“toothed and fanged
like terrible beasts”
of Ogata Kōrin,
Waves at Matsushima,
eighteenth century,
six-panel folding
screen. Museum of
Fine Arts, Boston,
Fenollosa-Weld
Collection (no.
11.4584). Berenson
saw it with Ernest
Francisco Fenollosa,
Denman Ross, and
Mary McNeill Scott
(Fenollosa’s assistant)
at the Museum of
Fine Arts, Boston,
on 25 October 1894.

32 Strehlke 2009, fig. 15.

33 Stein and Binyon 1928–29. On Berenson and Asian art at the British Museum, see Ying Ling Huang 2013, 466.

Photograph
commissioned by
Bernard Berenson
from Edizioni
Beatrice d'Este in
Milan for Aurel Stein
of *Dancing Girls of
Kutch*, tenth–eleventh
century, in the style
of Wei-chi'ih I-Seng
(active late eight
century), hand scroll.
Berenson Collection,
Villa I Tatti—The
Harvard University
Center for Italian
Renaissance Studies.



brought back from Paris an eighth-century Javanese tufa head of the Buddha (Fig. 7), he proclaimed it a tremendous example of “Tactile Values” and glorious as “pure art.” “But,” Mary went on,

it is so idol-like, and so hideous as representation, that you are quite upset to have it in the room. I am afraid it is going to knock all our other things to pieces, artistically and spiritually, but yet it is awful and revolting, in a way. I must have a photograph of it taken for you to see what B.B. considers a real ‘Masterpiece’.”

On 5 December, as she later wrote to her mother, Mary was in for another shock:

A case arrived, & I told [Roberto, the manservant] to open it & bring the contents up for me to see. This he did, & then he placed on my bed two Chinese works about 2000 years old, we both burst into irresistible roars of laughter. This is what they looked like. B.B. says that they are “of the very essence of art,” but if so, they are so “essential” that they really look like nothing at all. We laughed & laughed. When I told B.B., he smiled a superior smile, in the consciousness of holding the doctrine (Fig. 8).

Two days later, Bernard’s Matisse, now in Belgrade, arrived; this, as Mary said, “again caused Roberto and me to unite in a hearty laugh.”³⁴

34 Mary Berenson to her family in England, I Tatti, 7 December 1909.



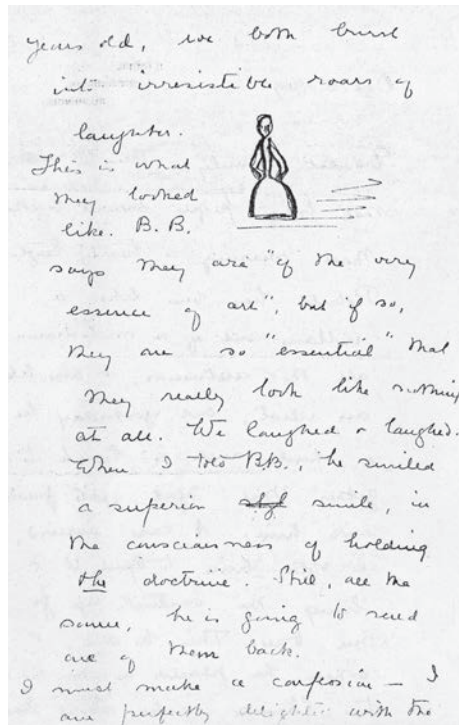
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Head of Ānada, Javanese, Sailendra dynasty (eighth–eleventh century), ca. 760–830, stone, probably from Candi Borobudur, Magelang, Java. (Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico, Polo Museale Fiorentino.) Photograph taken for the Berensons by Harry Burton, ca. 1910.

Mary's attitude began to change in 1910, following a visit to the great Munich exhibition of Muslim art—one of those shows, like the 1890 Paris exhibition of Japanese prints, that helped transform European taste. She wrote: "I have just got back from the exhibition, dead tired, but so interested and pleased that I really can't express half. All my sort of foolish prejudice against Oriental Art has gone—I begin to understand its fascination. I have no more 'grudges'."³⁵ And indeed she did not. Six years later, Mary wrote in her diary, "The new library looks splendid—the Buddha is very impressive seen at the end of my corridor (Fig. 9)."³⁶

35 Mary Berenson to her family in England, Munich, 7 September 1910; see also Strachey and Samuels 1983, 161.

36 Mary Berenson, diary, 29 February 1916. The Buddha is actually of the Buddha's disciple Ānanda.



8a

Mary Berenson, letter to her family with drawing of fig. 8b, dated Settignano, 5 December 1909. Hannah Whitall Smith Archive, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.



8b

Tomb Figure of a Kneeling Woman, Chinese, Han dynasty (202 BC–AD 220), second century BC. (Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico, Polo Museale Fiorentino.) Photograph taken for the Berensons by Vittorio Jacquier, ca. 1911.



9a

View of the niche
in the New Library,
as installed in 1916
with the sculpture
of Ānanda, ca. 1960.



9b

Ānanda, Chinese, Northern
Qi dynasty (550–77), ca. 570.
(Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico,
Polo Museale Fiorentino.)
Photograph taken for the
Berensons by Vittorio Jacquier,
ca. 1911.

Interior view of
Villa I Tatti, with
a mix of Italian
paintings and
Asian objects,
mid-1960s. (Photo:
Luigi Artini.)



Whereas the landscaping of I Tatti is often cited for the way it influenced garden design in Tuscany and elsewhere,³⁷ the innovation of its interior decoration does not often get credit. Most of the design was set in the years before the First World War. (The Berensons rarely bought any Asian art after that date.) The combination of Italian gold-ground and other pictures with art from Asia that was largely pre-Song Chinese and for the most part figurative was absolutely new (Figs. 10 and 11). There is, for instance, hardly any porcelain, then part and parcel of most gatherings of Asian art. Furthermore, the installation is very clean, with no accumulation of knickknacks and the other paraphernalia typical of an early twentieth-century house, particularly in Umbertine Italy, but also America and England. The difference between I Tatti and other collections of Asian art, like the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, is striking.³⁸ Perhaps the best comparison would be with Frank Lloyd Wright's Taliesin, his Wisconsin studio that was begun in 1911 (though rebuilt twice), in which Asian art is cleanly arranged along the shelving (although high and unreachable). Unfortunately, it is not known if Wright

37 Fantoni, Flores, and Pfordresher 1996; and Liserre 2008.

38 See Chong 2009, 42–44, figs. 23, 41, 45–46, 48–51.



11

Interior view
of Villa I Tatti,
showing Asian
sculptures before
Sassetta's Borgo
San Sepolcro
Altarpiece, ca. 1960.
(Photo: Luigi
Artini.)

visited I Tatti and saw its collections when he lived nearby in Fiesole for a few months in 1910.³⁹

Berenson did not become the scholar of Chinese art that he had hoped. It was his Finnish colleague Osvald Sirén, professor at Stockholm University, who took up its study after a career devoted to Florentine Trecento and Quattrocento painting from Giotto to Buffalmacco to Lorenzo Monaco.⁴⁰ This included in 1916 a catalog of the Jarves collection of early Italian painting at Yale University—a work that in 1927 the critic Richard Offner systematically destroyed in a magisterial display of the new connoisseurship.⁴¹ Speaking of the troubled history of the collection's display and upkeep at the university, he wrote that Sirén's catalog was "a final sop to its story."⁴² If anyone, then, it was not Sirén but Berenson who was Offner's principal interlocutor.⁴³ The poor reception that Sirén's attri-

39 Levine 1996, 67–71. A website by Gianpaolo Fici and Filippo Fici, Frank Lloyd Wright Fiesole 1910 (architettura.supereva.com/wright/index.htm), also gathers information about Wright's stay and his design for a house and studio in Fiesole.

40 Vakkari 2002, 109–110.

41 In November 1908, Berenson told the Philadelphia collector John G. Johnson that he had once wanted to catalog the Jarves collection. See Strehlke 1989–90, 428.

42 Offner 1927, 1.

43 Offner enjoyed correcting Berenson's attributions. He did so concerning Berenson's 1913 catalog of the John G. Johnson Collection in a series of lectures held at Johnson's house in 1926–27. See Strehlke 2004, 12.

butions received in the small world of connoisseurs concerned with such things does not seem to have been the reason he turned to China,⁴⁴ which he first visited in 1918, because throughout his life he continued to write articles on Tuscan art—but by the 1920s, his publications on China began to overtake all other subjects. A talented photographer, Sirén illustrated many of them himself, and as John Harris has noted, they were often magnificent examples of printing.⁴⁵ Sirén’s compilation of Chinese criticism (first published in 1936) is still consulted as a primary source, and his essays on Chinese gardens, including a study of eighteenth-century European chinoiserie gardens, were important early investigations on the subject.⁴⁶ Sirén’s friendship with Berenson dates to 1902, and Berenson owned many of Sirén’s publications on Chinese art, though late in life Berenson told his Japanese friend Yashiro Yukio that he was “deeply disappointed in Sirén’s first volume on Chinese painting.”⁴⁷

Berenson and Yashiro had an acquaintance going back to the 1920s. It was revived after the war and engendered a regular correspondence between Settignano and Tokyo, with Berenson sometimes even asking Yashiro to welcome distinguished friends like the New York collectors Charles and Jayne Wrightsman⁴⁸ and the dancer Katherine Dunham to Japan, and sending him a book on contemporary Japan by Fosco Maraini for his opinion.⁴⁹ Maraini was an inveterate traveler in Asia who later became professor of Japanese at the Università di Firenze. In 1950, Berenson had written a short introduction to Maraini’s first book, an account of Maraini’s travels in Tibet.⁵⁰ In 1953, Maraini took a particularly engaging photograph of Berenson at the Villa Palagonia in Bagheria, Sicily, which he titled *Homo civilissimus*,⁵¹ and he served as a guide to Berenson and Nicky Mariano throughout their stay in Sicily at that time (Fig. 12).

Berenson and Yashiro first met in 1921, after Laurence Binyon of the British Museum, who had been close to Fenollosa, wrote Berenson a letter of introduction to “a young Japanese friend of mine called Yashiro who has just lately gone to Florence . . . He is much more articulate than most Japanese & talks English quite well. He has come to Europe to study European art, but hasn’t turned his back on his own. He cares about poetry, too, and

44 Theosophy, a religion that combined elements of Eastern mysticism and of which Sirén was a member, may have influenced Sirén’s attraction to Chinese art, but unlike Berenson’s commentary on Sassetta, Sirén’s writings never sought to explain Chinese spirituality in art.

45 Harris 1991, 104.

46 Sirén 1936, 1949, and 1950. The latter was reprinted by the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection in 1990 with an introduction by Hugh Honour.

47 Berenson to Yashiro, I Tatti, 3 July 1957, concerning Osvald Sirén’s *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* (Sirén 1956–58).

48 “Show them all the best in Japan that they can see in a short time.” Berenson to Yashiro, Casa al Dono, Vallombrosa, 5 September 1956.

49 Maraini 1958. Berenson’s interest in East Asian art was known to a wide circle. The dedication on a catalog of the postwar traveling show of Japanese masterpieces (*Exhibition of Japanese Painting and Sculpture Sponsored by the Government of Japan*) reads, “To BB / With affectionate wishes / from Fern Shapley.” As Berenson warmly acknowledged in the preface, Fern Shapley had seen the second edition of his *Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (1938, ix) through the press.

50 Maraini 1951, 5–6. The preface is dated I Tatti, 23 March 1950.

51 Maraini and Chiarelli 1999, 89.



Bernard Berenson with Topazia Alliata di Salaparuta, her husband the Orientalist Fosco Maraini, and their daughter Dacia Maraini, Bagheria, 1953. Berenson Collection, Villa I Tatti—The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies.

in himself he seems to me really charming.”⁵² Yashiro worked in the I Tatti Library, seemingly having a pleasant effect on the household. After resettling in Tokyo as the director of the newly found Institute of Art Research in Ueno Park, he wrote to Berenson:

It is a nice little building, and I am sure that both Mr. and Mrs. Berenson would smile, imagining that naughty boy Yuki installed in it as director! What I want really to show to you is the work itself, and it is one of my most cherished dreams to be told by Mr. Berenson that he did not educate Yuki uselessly, seeing that a new method of study in the field of Oriental art is actually being opened according to the idea of Mr. Berenson, transmitted to the Far East by Yuki!!⁵³

In an earlier letter to Mary, he claimed that his “special interest is in the comparative study of the Eastern and Western arts, and in Japan one gets absolutely no chance to study the western art in the original.”⁵⁴ In Florence, he set out to remediate this with a study of Sandro Botticelli, as well as an acquisition of a Botticelli for Japan. In the latter he failed. About that, he wrote to Mary Berenson from London on 10 January 1924:

⁵² Binyon to Berenson, London, 21 October 1921. Also on Yashiro, see Takagishi 2007.

⁵³ Yashiro to Berenson, Tokyo, 1 August 1928. The institute, bequeathed an endowment by Viscount Kuroda Seiki, a painter in the *yōga*, or Western style, officially opened in 1930. It is now the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, which oversees research on Japan’s artistic heritage. The original building, which still stands and is now a gallery, was designed in a Beaux Arts style by Okada Shinichirō.

⁵⁴ Yashiro to Mary Berenson, Paris, 10 November 1923.

Perhaps you remember how I was enthusiastic when I told you that I saw a real Botticelli in the restorer's room in the Uffizi Gallery. I understood at that time that it belonged to Prof. Toesca.⁵⁵ At that time I was anxious to get it bought by a Japanese collector & I had a big hope in it when that damned earthquake⁵⁶ put an end to it.

He later also wrote to the Berensons about his find of Botticelli's *Trinity*, this time admitting that he had tried to buy it for himself.⁵⁷

Yashiro's three-volume monograph on Botticelli, published in 1925, was distinguished for the quality of its illustrations (Fig. 13), and particularly the details, an innovation for the time.⁵⁸ Because of the expense of reproducing them, Yashiro had long despaired of finding a publisher, but Sirén and the British travel writer Edward Hutton finally found him one.⁵⁹ Yashiro occasionally enlisted the Berensons to help procure photographs from private collectors like Gardner, but otherwise Giorgio Laurati of the Brogi firm took the photographs.⁶⁰ In the acknowledgments, the author credited Laurence Binyon and Arthur Waley with first encouraging his "'Oriental' enthusiasm for Botticelli"; indeed, Yashiro persevered in finding Asian undercurrents in Botticelli. My favorites are in chapter five, in the book's second section dedicated to the "Sensuous Botticelli," in which he discusses the artist's flowers; the subtitles include "Flowers of the Japanese Painters: Korin and Old Tosa Schools," "Senuous Flowers," "Utamaro's Flowers," "Sensitive Flowers," "Flowers in Buddhistic Paintings," and "Oriental Influences in Flower Painting in Italy." Yashiro's acknowledgments are a veritable who's who of Italian art history at that time, and include a wide range of art historians and museum officials. Berenson may have been irritated by the equal acknowledgment to both him and Herbert Horne (1864–1916), whom Yashiro had never met but whose *Alessandro Filipepi, Commonly Called Sandro Botticelli* was an invaluable precedent.⁶¹

Tensions over other aspects of the book caused temporary fallings-out with the Berensons, and seemingly Yashiro's removal from significant research on the revised edition of Berenson's *Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (a position later filled by

55 Pietro Toesca, an influential art historian, created a distinguished collection of Italian paintings. This Botticelli was probably the *Annunciation* sold by Toesca to Louis F. Hyde (now at the Hyde Collection, Glens Falls, NY). It was published by Berenson in the June 1924 issue of *Art in America*. Lorizzo 2009, 113.

56 He is referring to the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1 September 1923, which devastated Tokyo, Yokohama, and surrounding areas.

57 Yashiro to Bernard and Mary Berenson, London, 5 November 1924. It is not clear if Yashiro was also the potential purchaser of the Toesca picture. The *Trinity* is in the Courtauld Institute, London.

58 Kenneth Clark acknowledged that this inspired him to do the same in his books of photographs of the National Gallery, *One Hundred Details from the National Gallery* (Clark 1938), and *More Details of Pictures from the National Gallery* (Clark 1941). See Clark 1974, 259.

59 *Sandro Botticelli* was published by the Medici Society in London and Boston in an edition of 630 copies (Yashiro 1925). A second, revised edition was issued in 1929.

60 On the firm, see Silvestri 1994.

61 Horne 1908. Berenson and Horne had had a falling-out over Botticelli attributions; see Strehlke 1989–90, 427–438.

Kenneth Clark).⁶² In late 1923 and early 1924, Yashiro passed a lonely period in Paris and London worried about the Great Kanto Earthquake and the Botticelli volumes. Berenson introduced him to Salomon Reinach, whose *Apollo* was the first book on Western art that the Japanese scholar had read. Otherwise, Yashiro complained about depression, passing time in “stupid cinemas,” his mother alone in Japan, and the absence of the *Jahrbuch der Preußischen Kunstsammlungen* in the Bibliothèque nationale.⁶³ In another letter, he wrote that he had “no friend in U.S.A., except perhaps Offner, but I don’t know where he is, he never writes me.”⁶⁴ In the preface to *Botticelli*, he would write that Offner “in our daily company in Italy gave me sound influence by his seriousness of study in Florentine masters.”⁶⁵

During his time in London, Yashiro laid plans for the new Tokyo art history institute, writing to Berenson that he had persuaded “the interested people in Japan to establish an institute where practically your method of study is to be pursued in the field of Oriental art. You may have heard of this ‘Institute of Art Research’ from Sir Robert Witt.”⁶⁶

A number of years later, Berenson wrote to Yashiro expressing how much he was looking forward to seeing something from Yashiro’s hand:

But I am happy to learn that you have been applying our methods to the study of Chinese painting, & I beg of you as a personal favour to make haste & give me a specimen of your work. I am so bored with most everything, whether general or particular about Eastern art that it would give me joy to read something that was neither soap-bubbles nor microscopic pebbles.⁶⁷

62 There was a misunderstanding over a request by Yashiro’s publishers for the Berensons to provide letters of introduction for his first trip to the United States. A letter from Yashiro to Mary Berenson dated London, “late in the night” on 25 August 1924, indicates that their refusal distressed him. Mary later did write to Isabella Stewart Gardner for him; see Hadley 1987, 665–666. As can be deduced from a letter dated London, 4 November 1924, Bernard was annoyed with Yashiro’s draft for a list of Botticelli’s works, and even told Yashiro that he could only do photographic research on the revision of *Drawings of the Florentine Painters*. Though the preface of the Botticelli monograph suggests that Yashiro planned to return to Japan, he stayed in Europe for several more years, and his time at I Tatti overlapped with that of Clark. Yashiro tried to meet Clark in England in October 1925 (letter to the Berensons, dated 4 October: “I have heard that your book of Drawings is being prepared for a smaller edition & that an excellent young scholar from Oxford, whom I was about to meet & missed the chance, is helping you. I am very glad to hear that, as I am among the most ardent to see the book come out in a form within convenient reach of a student”). Yashiro and Clark became good friends, and Yashiro gave the Clarks’ first baby, born at San Martino, a *Mensola*, a present of pink Japanese silk (Clark 1974, 168). Other misunderstandings with the Berensons may have followed, as a later, undated letter reveals that Yashiro was not visiting I Tatti, but nevertheless frequenting the Clarks’ residence at San Martino.

63 Yashiro to Mary Berenson, Paris, 10 November 1923. The library still does not own a run of the periodical.

64 Yashiro to Mary Berenson, London, 10 January 1924.

65 Yashiro 1925, xii.

66 Yashiro to Bernard and Mary Berenson, 4 October [no year indicated].

67 Berenson to Yashiro, I Tatti, 31 January 1936.

13

Yashiro Yukio
examining an
illustration proof
of *Sandro Botticelli*
published by the
Medici Society of
London and Boston
in 1925, ca. 1925.
(Photo courtesy of
Tanaka Atsushi.)



The war years were difficult for Yashiro because, as he wrote in an undated letter (now at I Tatti) to John Coolidge at the Fogg Museum, of “his international way of thinking.” Berenson had addressed a letter to Paul Sachs at the Fogg recommending that the university take on the Japanese scholar: “Far Eastern studies are as all other art-historical subjects being pursued in a way that makes me despair of the subject & wish often that the teaching of art history should be altogether abandoned. Yashiro would be a corrective.”⁶⁸ The corrective was, of course, the Berensonian method; Yashiro also admitted this, saying that the “history of Eastern Art, especially that of Eastern painting, is just like [the] History of Italian painting, before it was reconstructed with a new scientific method by Morelli and B.B.”⁶⁹

68 Berenson to Sachs, I Tatti, 5 February 1949. See McComb 1963, 259.

69 Yashiro to Coolidge, Oiso, Japan, 1949.

Yashiro did not get a position at Harvard⁷⁰ and remained in Japan, visiting both Europe and America occasionally.⁷¹ Ill health delayed publication of his *2000 Years of Japanese Art*, which came out in 1958 with a dedication to Berenson, whom, he said, “illuminated and enriched my work in Eastern fields.”⁷² The then ninety-four-year-old Berenson was losing his energies, but Nicky Mariano wrote of how pleased he was by the book.⁷³

For a long time, Yashiro had also been shepherding the publication of a Japanese translation of Berenson’s *Italian Painters of the Renaissance*.⁷⁴ It was issued in 1961. However, in 1954, the same year as a Cecil Beaton photo of Berenson in front of his Sassetta and statues of the Buddha,⁷⁵ Berenson had already prepared a dedication of the translation to Yashiro in which he spoke of Botticelli’s affinity with Japanese art with the same enthusiasm that he had of Sassetta’s in 1903:

Botticelli’s swift flame-like yet modelling line is almost unique in European art but I have encountered it frequently in Japanese drawings. Indeed there is a great affinity between the draughtsmanship of Florentine and Japanese artists. Thanks to you, my dear Yashiro, we Europeans have come to have subtler and more penetrating appreciation of the achievement of your countrymen and they of ours.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ A position at Harvard had already been discussed in 1924. Mary Berenson mentioned in a letter to Isabella Stewart Gardner (I Tatti, 15 January 1924) that Edward Forbes, director of the Fogg Museum, had talked of bringing Yashiro to Harvard; see Hadley 1987, 665–666. Yashiro had given lectures at Harvard in 1933, and had also returned to Boston in 1936 on the occasion of an exhibition of Japanese art sent by the government to the Museum of Fine Arts to celebrate the tercentenary of Harvard University. At that time, he studied other works in the Boston museum. See Fontein 1992, 14.

⁷¹ In January 1952, Yashiro brought one of Berenson’s most important Chinese paintings, *In the Palace, or Ladies of the Court (Kong-zhong tu)*, to Tokyo for restoration; see Roberts 1991, 27–31, cat. 2.

⁷² Yashiro 1958.

⁷³ “Your book has been in the house already for over a week, but B.B. has taken a long time looking at it and now I can tell you how delighted he is with it and with the quality of the illustrations and deeply grateful for the dedication.” Mariano to Yashiro Yukio, I Tatti, 4 March 1959.

⁷⁴ In November 1956, the translator Yashiro Masui visited Berenson at I Tatti. In New York in April of the same year, Yashiro Yukio began negotiating with Phaidon Press about the translated version.

⁷⁵ Strehlke 2009, fig. 16.

⁷⁶ Berenson to Yashiro, 3 December 1954; see Yamada 1961.

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Roeck studied history and political science at the University of Munich, where he earned his PhD in 1979. Thereafter, he was a fellow of the Leibniz Institute of European History (Mainz) as well as scientific assistant at the University of Munich. In 1987, he obtained his habilitation with a study on the city of Augsburg during the Thirty Years' War. From 1986 to 1990, he was director of the Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani in Venice. From 1991 to 1999, he held the chair of medieval and modern history at the University of Bonn; from 1997 to 1999, he was on leave and filled the position of secretary general of the Villa Vigoni Association in Lovenjo di Menaggio, Italy. Since 1999, he has held the chair of modern history at the University of Zurich, Switzerland. His work covers the artistic, cultural, and social history of the Thirty Years' War and the European Renaissance.

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