

**Proceedings of the International Symposium**  
**The Catalogue Raisonné:**  
**Archives and Documentation in the Digital Age**

国際シンポジウム報告書

カタログ・レゾネー——デジタル時代のアーカイヴとドキュメンテーション



The National Museum of Western Art

国際シンポジウム報告書  
カタログ・レゾネ ― デジタル時代の  
アーカイヴとドキュメンテーション

陳岡めぐみ/川口雅子 編  
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Proceedings of the International Symposium  
**The Catalogue Raisonné: Archives and Documentation in  
the Digital Age**

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国際シンポジウム  
「カタログ・レゾネ ― デジタル時代のアーカイヴと  
ドキュメンテーション」

主催：  
国立西洋美術館  
ウィルデンスタイン・プラットナー研究所

日時・会場：  
2019年7月10日  
国立西洋美術館 講堂

International Symposium  
The Catalogue Raisonné:  
Archives and Documentation in the Digital Age

Organizers:  
The National Museum of Western Art  
Wildenstein Plattner Institute

Date and venue:  
July 10th, 2019  
Auditorium, Special Exhibition Wing, NMWA

プログラム Program

- 1 10:00–10:15  
馬渕明子 (国立西洋美術館長)  
開会の辞、趣旨説明  
**MABUCHI Akiko** (Director, National Museum of Western Art)  
Welcome and Introduction
- 2 10:15–10:55  
エリザベス・ゴレイエブ (ウィルデンスタイン・プラットナー研究所所長)  
ウィルデンスタイン・プラットナー研究所  
― デジタル世代に向けての新しいカタログ・レゾネとアーカイヴ調査  
**Elizabeth GORAYEB** (Executive Director, Wildenstein Plattner Institute)  
Wildenstein Plattner Institute: Reinventing Catalogue Raisonné and  
Archival Research for the Digital Generation
- 3 10:55–11:45  
フロランス・ソニエ (ウィルデンスタイン・プラットナー研究所パリ事務所長)  
ソフィ・ピエトリ (ウィルデンスタイン・プラットナー研究所アーカイヴ部門長)  
パスカル・ペラン (ウィルデンスタイン・プラットナー研究所研究部門長)  
アーカイヴと資料、ドキュメンテーション  
― デジタル時代における収集・分析・活用  
**Florence SONIER** (Head of Paris Office, Wildenstein Plattner Institute)  
**Sophie PIETRI** (Head of Archives, Wildenstein Plattner Institute)  
**Pascal PERRIN** (Head of Research, Wildenstein Plattner Institute)  
Archives, sources et documentation : collecte, analyse et  
traitement à l'ère du numérique  
11:45–13:15 昼食 Lunch
- 4 13:15–13:55  
ポール＝ルイ・デュラン＝リュエル (デュラン＝リュエル画廊アーカイヴ)  
デュラン＝リュエル画廊とそのアーカイヴ  
**Paul-Louis DURAND-RUEL** (Archives Durand-Ruel)  
La Galerie Durand-Ruel et ses archives
- 5 13:55–14:45  
川口雅子 (国立西洋美術館情報資料室長)  
陳岡めぐみ (国立西洋美術館主任研究員)  
ミュージアム・ドキュメンテーションと  
『松方コレクション 西洋美術全作品』編纂  
**KAWAGUCHI Masako** (Head of Research Library, National Museum of  
Western Art)  
**JINGAOKA Megumi** (Curator, National Museum of Western Art)  
Museum Documentation and the Compilation of “The Matsukata  
Collection: Complete Catalogue of the European Art”  
14:45–15:00 休憩 Coffee Break

- 6 15:00–15:40  
山梨絵美子 (東京文化財研究所副所長)  
矢代幸雄の東洋美術総目録構想とデジタル時代の美術アーカイヴ  
**YAMANASHI Emiko** (Duputy Director General, Tokyo National Research  
Institute for Cultural Properties)  
Yashiro Yukio's Plan of “Complete Catalogue of East Asian Art” and  
its Fruit as Art Archive in the Digital Age
- 7 15:40–16:20  
竹内順一 (東京芸術大学名誉教授/茶道美術史家)  
空前絶後のカタログ・レゾネ『大正名器鑑』  
― 茶道具名物記の歴史を踏まえて  
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Tea Ceremony Historian)  
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(distinguished tea utensils): In the Light of the History of  
Meibutsuki (Records of distinguished tea utensils)
- 8 16:25–17:30  
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Panel Discussion [Moderator: **MABUCHI Akiko**]  
17:30  
エリザベス・ゴレイエブ  
閉会の辞  
**Elizabeth GORAYEB**  
Closing Remarks

司会：渡辺晋輔 (国立西洋美術館／国立新美術館主任研究員)  
Moderator: **WATANABE Shinsuke** (Curator, National Museum of Western  
Art / The National Art Center, Tokyo)



## はじめに

2019年7月10日、国立西洋美術館講堂において、国立西洋美術館とウィルデンスタイン・プラットナー研究所との共催による国際シンポジウム「カタログ・レゾネ——デジタル時代のアーカイヴとドキュメンテーション」が実施された。本報告書は同日の口頭発表をもとに、若干の手直しを加えて収録したものである。

シンポジウム企画を立ち上げるきっかけとなったのは、冒頭の馬淵明子（国立西洋美術館長）による趣旨説明でも語られているように、国立西洋美術館による松方コレクションのカタログ・レゾネ編纂である。当館は2014年頃より実業家松方幸次郎の西洋美術コレクションのカタログ・レゾネ編纂に取り組んでいたが、その過程で、長らく所在不明だった松方旧蔵のクロード・モネ《睡蓮、柳の反映》（国立西洋美術館所蔵）がパリで再発見されるという幸運に恵まれた。その時点で唯一の手掛かりであったカタログ・レゾネ掲載の白黒写真とそのほか記載内容について、われわれが編纂元のパリのウィルデンスタイン・プラットナー研究所に情報を照会したところ、同研究所との間で松方コレクション来歴調査をめぐる交流が生まれた。一方、ウィルデンスタイン・プラットナー研究所では、同研究所としてはじめて日本でシンポジウムを開催する計画を進めていた。こうして、フロランス・ソニエ（ウィルデンスタイン・プラットナー研究所パリ事務所長）、ソフィー・ピエトリ（同所アーカイヴ部門長）、パスカル・ペラン（同所研究部門長）、陳岡めぐみ、川口雅子を中心にアーカイヴやカタログ・レゾネをテーマとしたシンポジウムを日本で共同開催する可能性が探られることとなる。折しも当館では「国立西洋美術館開館60周年記念 松方コレクション展」を準備中であり、この会期に合わせて開催する運びとなった。なお、このシンポジウムは馬淵、陳岡、川口にとっては科学研究補助金「在外松方コレクション資料の学術調査と美術品来歴研究」（基盤研究B）の研究成果の一端を公開するものでもある。

フランス側から日本側に対し、最初に提示されたキーワードは「美術のアーカイヴ」であったが、それは日本でも近年高まりつつある関心事と完全に一致するものであった。その一方で、美術史研究において、特定の芸術家や美術館、コレクションの全作品を網羅した書物が「カタログ・レゾネ」と呼ばれ、作家・コレクションに関する必須の文献とみなされていることはわが国でも知られているとおりだが、このカタログ・レゾネ編纂に際し、アーカイヴ資料（手紙、日誌、作品売買記録、所蔵品台帳、写真記録、画廊ラベル等）やドキュメンテーション資料（新聞・雑誌記事、展覧会冊子等）がきわめて重要な役割を果たしていることは日本では往々にして見落とされてきたのではないだろうか。このような現状認識から、デジタル時代において一層の重要性を増している

カタログ・レゾネに着眼点を置き、その編纂過程で活用されるアーカイヴ資料、ドキュメンテーション資料を取り上げつつ、美術史研究の視点からアプローチすることで、従来アーカイヴの文脈では等閑視されてきた新しい論点を提示することを目指すこととした。

今回のシンポジウムでは、上記の企画者5人と馬淵に加え、エリザベス・ゴレイエブ（ウィルデンスタイン・プラットナー研究所所長）、ポール＝ルイ・デュラン＝リュエル（デュラン＝リュエル画廊アーカイヴ）、山梨絵美子（東京文化財研究所副所長）、竹内順一（東京藝術大学名誉教授）、日本とフランス、アメリカから研究者4人の参加を得て、日本とフランス、それぞれの側からカタログ・レゾネや美術資料の取り扱いをめぐる歴史や現状、展望に関して領域を超えた刺激的な報告がなされ、全体討議における活発な議論へと展開した。当日は、美術史家・美術館学芸員、図書館・情報分野の関係者、美術商など約130名の会場参加者を得たが、これはこのテーマに対する関心の高さと幅広さを示すものでもある。各報告をまとめた本報告書が今後の新たな議論や研究の発展につながれば幸いである。何より、開館60周年を迎える2019年に向けて、設立の基礎となった松方コレクションの調査研究を進めてきた当館にとって、カタログ・レゾネ編纂拠点として名高いウィルデンスタイン＝プラットナー研究所との共同開催によって、国内外の重要な研究者とともに国際シンポジウムを開催できたことは望外の喜びであった。同研究所の方々ならびに御参加いただいた研究者の方々、会場参加者の皆様にあらためて深く感謝申し上げたい。

また、シンポジウムの司会を務めた渡辺晋輔（国立西洋美術館／国立新美術館主任研究員）、開催準備に尽力した酒井敦子（国立西洋美術館教育普及室長）、同じく教育普及室の松尾由子、大木章子、情報資料室の高橋悦子、松井美樹、板垣ゆき、森岡美樹、廣瀬成美、田中真帆、一瀬あゆみ、中尾美穂（以上敬称略）、同時通訳の株式会社サイマル・インターナショナル、また本報告書作成にあたって編集を担当してくださったコギトの和田綾乃氏、翻訳を担当してくださったジュディット・アンドレーエフ氏、マーサ・マクリントク氏ほか、ご尽力賜った方々に心より感謝を申し上げる次第である。

2020年3月

国立西洋美術館主任研究員  
陳岡めぐみ  
国立西洋美術館情報資料室長  
川口雅子

## Introduction

On July 10, 2019 the National Museum of Western Art (NMWA) and the Wildenstein Plattner Institute (WPI) held the “International Symposium: The Catalogue Raisonné: Archives and Documentation in the Digital Age” in the NMWA Lecture Hall. This volume presents slightly edited and revised versions of the papers delivered at the symposium.

As indicated in the Foreword of this volume by Mabuchi Akiko (Director, NMWA), the impetus for this symposium was the Matsukata Collection catalogue raisonné compiled by the NMWA. The cataloguing of Matsukata’s Western art collection began at the NMWA around 2014, and during that process, the long whereabouts-unknown work by Claude Monet, *Water Lilies, Reflections of Weeping Willows*, was rediscovered in Paris. At that point the only clue about the painting was a black and white photograph and other information published in the Monet catalogue raisonné. When we turned to the Wildenstein Plattner Institute in Paris, the compilers of the Monet catalogue raisonné, for further information on the work, they were extremely helpful, and thus began many fruitful discussions between WPI and the NMWA regarding the provenance of other Matsukata Collection works. At the same time, the Institute was working on plans to hold their first symposium in Japan. This led to discussions between Florence Sonier (Head, WPI Paris Office), Sophie Pietri (Head of Archives, WPI), Pascal Perrin (Head of Research, WPI), Jingaoka Megumi and Kawaguchi Masako about the possibility of jointly holding a symposium in Japan on the subject of archives and catalogues raisonnés. At the time the NMWA was in the process of organizing its *Upon the 60th Anniversary of the NMWA—The Matsukata Collection: A One-Hundred-Year Odyssey* exhibition, which was held at the same time at the symposium. This symposium also served as the public presentation of the results of research conducted by Mabuchi, Jingaoka and Kawaguchi under the auspices of the KAKEN Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B): Scholarly Surveys of Matsukata Materials Overseas and Art Provenance Research (fiscal 2016–2019).

The French organizers first proposed the keywords “art archives” to the Japanese organizers, and this subject coincides perfectly with an area of growing interest in Japan. On the other hand, in the study of art history the comprehensive book including all of the works by a specific artist or in a specific museum or collection is called a catalogue raisonné. These books that are considered essential reference materials on artists and collections are known in Japan, but it became apparent that the essential nature of archival materials (letters, diaries, auction catalogues, collection lists, photographic records, gallery labels) and documentation (newspaper and magazine articles, exhibition publications) was often overlooked in Japan. With that awareness of the current situation, we focused on catalogues raisonnés whose importance has only further heightened in the digital age, and considered the archival material and

documentation used in the compilation of such catalogues. We aimed to offer a new art history research-based approach which tended to be under-represented in present archival contexts.

The five above-mentioned symposium planners and Mabuchi, along with four additional researchers from Japan, France and the US—namely Elizabeth Gorayeb (Executive Director, WPI), Paul Louis Durand-Ruel (Archives Durand-Ruel), Yamanashi Emiko (Deputy Director-General, Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties) and Takeuchi Jun’ichi (Professor Emeritus, Tokyo University of the Arts, Tea Ceremony Art Historian)—presented stimulating reports from their own vantage points regarding the history, current state and outlook of catalogues raisonnés and art archives. These varied reports provided an opportunity for the entire assembly to conduct a lively discussion of these issues. Approximately 130 art historians, art museum curators, and those involved in the library and information sciences along with art dealers attended the symposium, indicating the depth and breadth of the interest in this theme. This volume presenting the papers given at the symposium will hopefully provide stimulus for new discussion and research on this theme. For the NMWA, celebrating 2019 as the 60th anniversary of its founding and continuing its research on the Matsukata Collection which forms the basis of that founding, it was a truly great joy to co-sponsor this international symposium with important researchers from both Japan and overseas with the WPI, renowned for its compilation of catalogues raisonnés.

We would like to take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation to the WPI staff, the presenters and to all of the participants at the symposium.

We would also like to acknowledge those who helped with the symposium and this publication, namely symposium moderator Watanabe Shinsuke (Curator, NMWA and National Art Center, Tokyo), Sakai Atsuko (Head, Education Department, NMWA), Matsuo Yūko and Ōki Shōko (Education Department, NMWA), Takahashi Etsuko, Matsui Miki, Itagaki Yuki, Morioka Miki, Hirose Narumi, Tanaka Maho, Ichinose Ayumi and Nakao Miho (Research Library, NMWA) for their assistance with the event, Simul International, Inc. for simultaneous translating on the day, Wada Ayano of Cogito Inc. for the publication of this volume, and Judith Andreyev and Martha J. McClintock for the text translations in this volume.

March 2020

**JINGAOKA Megumi**  
*Curator, NMWA*

**KAWAGUCHI Masako**  
*Head of Research Library, NMWA*

馬渕明子

国立西洋美術館長

## 開会の辞

司 会： はじめに当館の馬淵明子館長より、開会の辞および趣旨の説明があります。よろしくお願いいたします。

馬 淵： みなさま、こんにちは。国際シンポジウム「カタログ・レゾネ デジタル時代のアーカイヴとドキュメンテーション」を開催いたします。

本シンポジウムは、当国立西洋美術館とウィルデンスタイン・プラットナー研究所の共同で主催するものでございます。たくさんの方々に、ニューヨーク、そしてパリから今回お越しいただきました。ありがとうございます。このシンポジウムがどういうきっかけで行なわれるようになったか、いきさつを少しご説明いたします。

ご存知のように、当館は松方コレクションを所蔵しておりまして、今、「松方コレクション展」を開館60周年記念として開催しておりますが、それに少し先立って、松方コレクションの総目録、カタログ・レゾネの刊行を目指して、調査を始めておりました。ここにありますが、その『松方コレクション 西洋美術全作品』2巻のカタログ・レゾネになります。

その過程で、色々報道していただいてみなさんご存知と思いますが、モネの破損作品である《睡蓮、柳の反映》を当館のカタログ・レゾネに掲載すべく、かつてモネのカタログ・レゾネを出版したウィルデンスタイン研究所に、精度の高い写真を求めて問い合わせをいたしました。ここにいます陳岡主任研究員がパリの研究所を訪れて、カタログに掲載する紙焼き写真を見せていただきました。

その裏に、「monuments historiques」歴史建造物局（フランスの機関ですが）の名前を見出し、現在、写真資料をもっているフランス建築文化財メディアテークに辿りつくことができました。そのメディアテークに行きましたところ、なんと300点を超える当時の松方コレクションを撮影した乾板を保管していたことがわかり、それがなんとかこの2巻目のカタログに間に合って、この補遺の部分に新しい情報を掲載することができました。

そういったいきさつで、ウィルデンスタイン・プラットナー研究所が、私どもの

活動を知って、このシンポジウムの開催をご提案くださった、という次第でございます。

私自身、モネの研究に学生時代から携わっておりまして、1974年にウィルデンスタインからカタログ・レゾネ第1巻が出版された時は、非常に興奮いたしました。またそれが出版されてすぐ、ある旧知のフランス人の研究者の方が、私にそれをプレゼントしてくださった、というたいへん忘れられない思い出もございます。それ以来、このモネのカタログ・レゾネ5巻本は、あらゆる場面で私を助けてくれました。このような研究の最も基本となる情報を提供する出版活動に対して、心からの敬意を表します。

それと同時に私の研究を支えてくれたのは、オルセー美術館の資料室[Documentation du musée d'Orsay]の資料でした。そこには様々なファイルがあり、国内外の研究者に広く公開されて、常に新しい資料が補充されています。こうした活動は、貴重な資料を共有するということで美術史研究の発展に寄与しようという高い志に裏付けられていると思います。独立行政法人国立美術館でも所蔵作品の情報を公開すべく、ここ数年、データベースの作成とその公開に取り組んでまいりました。現在、各館でできる限り所蔵作品の歴史情報も含めたデータを検索できるように公開しておりますし、それを絶えず更新しながら活動を継続しているところです。

そうした活動において、もちろん様々な障害もあります。そしてそういった障害を乗り越えるべく、このシンポジウムにおいては、たとえば資料の整理と発信の方法の統一、あるいは人材育成や経費の確保、継続性をどのように保っていくのか、また今後どのような方向性をもつべきか、などといった様々な問題について、広く話し合いたいと思っております。今回は、ウィルデンスタイン・プラットナー研究所の、非常に豊富な経験をここでみなさまと共有し、ともに未来のカタログ・レゾネ作りの問題点について、議論できる場になれば嬉しく思います。ありがとうございました。

司 会： 馬淵館長、ありがとうございました。



**MABUCHI Akiko**

*Director, National Museum of Western Art*

Opening Address



**Moderator:** First, Mabuchi Akiko, director of the NMWA, will present an opening address and explain the aims of today's symposium. Please welcome Director Mabuchi.

**Mabuchi:** Welcome everyone to today's "International Symposium: The Catalogue Raisonné: Archives and Documentation in the Digital Age." The NMWA and the Wildenstein Plattner Institute are co-organizers of this event. I would particularly like to welcome all of those attending today from New York and Paris.

I would like to now explain how this symposium came about.

As is well known, the NMWA is home to the Matsukata Collection, and the current Matsukata Collection exhibition marks the 60th anniversary of the founding of the NMWA. Prior to this year, the NMWA staff had begun surveys of Matsukata Collection related artworks and materials with the aim of publishing a Matsukata Collection catalogue raisonné. The result is the two-volume *Matsukata Collection: Complete Catalogue of the European Art*.

The discovery of a damaged Claude Monet painting occurred during our Matsukata Collection research. Given our need for suitable-for-publication photographs of this newly rediscovered work, *Water Lilies, Reflections of Weeping Willows*, for use in our catalogue raisonné, we contacted the Wildenstein Plattner Institute (referred to here as WPI), publishers of the Monet catalogue raisonné. Our curator Jingaoka Megumi visited Paris and was able to view silver print photograph of the work which had been published in their catalogue.

The phrase "monuments historiques" stamped on the back of this photograph—a term that refers to the French national organization in charge of historic buildings—led us to the Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine, just outside Paris, that today houses these "monuments historiques" materials. There we discovered more than 300 glass plate negatives of Matsukata Collection works. The discovery of these materials was in time for their inclusion in a supplement to the 2nd volume of our Matsukata Collection catalogue raisonné.

At that time the WPI became aware of our activities and suggested the holding of this symposium.

I myself have studied Monet since my student years and have found the 1st volume of the Monet catalogue raisonné published by Wildenstein in 1974 to be an invaluable resource. And I never forget how not long after its publication a French researcher whom I had known long presented me with a copy of the catalogue. Since then the Monet catalogue raisonné has expanded to five volumes, a publication which has helped me in various instances. I would like to express my heartfelt thanks for the publication work involved in providing this essential information for research.

The Documentation du musée d'Orsay has been another important resource in my research. This archive holds various files which are made widely available to scholars worldwide, and these files are regularly updated with new materials. The act of providing these materials to the public is underscored by the noble aim of contributing to the development of art history research. The member museums of Japan's Independent Administrative Institution National Museum of Art also strive to share information on the works in their collections, and as part of this process, have spent the last several years creating a publicly accessible database of such information. To the greatest degree possible, today this database includes all available historical information on collection works. We continue to improve these offerings on an ongoing basis.

Of course, such activities involve various mishaps. In order to avoid problems and overcome such issues, we hope that this symposium will provide an opportunity for the broad discussion of such topics as the standardization of material organization and dissemination, how to ensure and continue staff development and funding, and directions for the future. I am delighted that the WPI can share their extensive experience in these matters with us all today, and hope that today's event will allow further discussion of issues related to catalogues raisonnés in the future. Thank you for your kind attention.

**Moderator:** Thank you, Director Mabuchi.

(Translated by Marth J. McClintoch)



**Elizabeth GORAYEB**

*Executive Director, Wildenstein Plattner Institute*

Wildenstein Plattner Institute:  
Reinventing Catalogue Raisonné and Archival Research for  
the Digital Generation

Good morning, everyone. On behalf of the Board of Directors of the Wildenstein Plattner Institute, Ms. Stefanie Plattner and Ms. Vanessa Wildenstein, as well as our founders Guy Wildenstein and Hasso Plattner, I would like to thank the National Museum of Western Art for organizing today's symposium. And I would also like to express my gratitude to the museum's esteemed curators and directors for their generosity in welcoming the WPI to Tokyo. I am here today with my colleagues from Paris, Florence Sonier, Pascal Perrin and Sophie Pietri, along with our venerable consultant Paul Louis Durand Ruel, and we are honored to take part in this event. On a personal note, this is my first time visiting Japan, and I am thrilled to be here. It is also the first time that the Wildenstein Plattner Institute has ever participated in a conference in Asia, and we hope it will be the first of many. We also hope that our presentations today will clarify the services that we can offer to the international art historical community, and that our discussion here will yield new avenues for collaborations with art historians, archivists and curators in Japan. Thank you so much for this opportunity to introduce ourselves to you in such a prestigious forum.

I'd like to begin by telling you about who we are as an organization. The Wildenstein Plattner Institute, Inc., (also called the WPI) is a not-for-profit, private American foundation that is headquartered in New York. Together with our sister organization, the Fonds WPI in Paris, and our computer technology team in Berlin, we are working to make art history accessible to a "digital" generation. (fig. 1) Or, as our mission states, the Wildenstein Plattner Institute is dedicated to the study of art history and to fostering the accessibility, cataloguing and digitization of archival materials that support the publication of digital catalogues raisonnés and other critical research in the field.

What does that mean? We believe that there is a need for art historical material—archival photographs, artists' correspondence, exhibition checklists, etc.,—to be preserved for the future and to be accessible to scholars, artists, art collectors, art market professionals and art history enthusiasts in general around the world. (fig. 2) Traditionally, this material is often locked away in a library or private facility, only accessible to a select few who have the means to travel or the privilege of special access. And because these materials are fragile, they must be protected from environmental degradation, overhandling and general neglect. Paper, color ektachromes and glass plates cannot be expected to stand the tests of time, but the information that they carry must be safeguarded.

In response to this need, the WPI has built an internet-based technological platform that will host the digitized scans of these materials so that they can be shared and searched over the internet. (fig. 3) We will also be publishing digital compendiums of the artworks attributed to leading artists, including Monet, Renoir and Gauguin. These compendiums are known as "catalogue raisonnés" or "critical catalogues," and they are important for documenting the entire production of an artist's career. My colleague Pascal Perrin, who is the Head of Research at the WPI in Paris, will be discussing this in greater detail later in today's program.

As I will show you momentarily, the WPI's digital catalogue raisonnés will also "link" to digitized archival material, such as artists' estate lists,

dealers' stock books, exhibition catalogues and historic critical reviews and publications, that relate to these works of art and their provenance. (fig. 4)

Before I elaborate on the process, I'd like to explain how this all came into being. I'm showing you an image of Guy Wildenstein (fig. 5), who is the patriarch of the Wildenstein family of art dealers. You may know the name Wildenstein from the Tokyo gallery famous for selling some of the most prestigious examples of Impressionist and Post-Impressionist works of art. The Wildensteins also had galleries in Paris and London, and today they maintain their gallery in New York. In addition to their galleries and art dealing business, the Wildenstein Family also created the Wildenstein Institute, an independent organization in Paris that supported historical research and writing on Renaissance and Impressionist art (which was, incidentally, the stock and trade of the Wildenstein Gallery).

The Wildenstein Institute also funded and enabled the creation of artists' catalogues raisonnés, including the ones that you see here on this screen. (fig. 6) For over half a century, the Wildenstein Institute was the leading authority on the scholarship of these artists, and the entity the art market would consult when the attribution of a work of art was in question.

Since the early 1970s, the treasure trove of archival holdings at the Wildenstein Institute was private property. (fig. 7) The holdings were never intended to be used for anything other than the publication of the Institute's catalogues raisonnés, and therefore they were not maintained in optimal archival condition or inventoried with the intention of ever making them public. Materials in this storied archive include: the scholarly papers, correspondence and research notes of every art historian who ever published with the Wildenstein Institute's thousands of dossiers on works of art that were presented for study to the committees at the Wildenstein Institute's unique stock books of 19th and early 20th century art European dealers' thousands of annotated auction catalogues and annotated exhibition catalogues from around the world and countless images of works of art that had been studied over the years by the Institute's scholarly affiliates.

Following the death of Daniel Wildenstein in 2001, the succeeding generation of the Wildenstein Family had more philanthropic ideas with regard to the future of the Wildenstein Institute. Guy Wildenstein, along with his daughter Vanessa Wildenstein, were mindful that all of the scholarly information compiled by their family and housed at the Wildenstein Institute in Paris (fig. 8) would be of great benefit to the art historical community at large.

In 2016, Guy Wildenstein and his family made the groundbreaking decision to transform the archive of the Wildenstein Institute into a state-of-the-art resource for art historians. This could be made possible, they knew, by joining forces with a leading figure in the world of technology, Hasso Plattner.

Hasso Plattner, pictured here (fig. 9), is a German tech industrialist who is responsible for the global software and database company, SAP. Dr. Plattner is also an international philanthropist, and his German-based foundation, the Hasso Plattner Stiftung, provides financial support for select charitable projects around the world. To date, his



most influential philanthropic efforts are in education, and include the leading computer science and engineering school in Germany, the Hasso Plattner Institute, as well as the Hasso Plattner Institute of Design at the Engineering School of Stanford University in Palo Alto, California. Most notable among Dr. Plattner's involvement in the art world is his creation and support of the Barberini Museum in Potsdam, near Berlin. (fig. 10) His other philanthropic activity in the art world is the support of the Wildenstein Plattner Institute.

As an art history enthusiast and big data specialist, Dr. Plattner understood the importance of the historical documentation that supported and justified the cultural value of works of art. He also recognized that "rarefied" art historical data, otherwise known as archives, could be made more accessible with state-of-the-art innovations in computer technology and data sharing. The Wildenstein Institute, which was replete with this type of under-utilised, uncatalogued and under-preserved information, was the perfect partner for such an endeavour.

Together, Guy Wildenstein and the Hasso Plattner Stiftung formed the Wildenstein Plattner Institute in New York. The WPI is an entirely new and distinct organization from the Wildenstein Institute, and we are not affiliated with the Wildenstein Gallery in any way. To endow the WPI with art historical resources, the Wildenstein Institute gifted the new foundation the entire contents of its invaluable archive and library in Paris, along with the copyrights to all of the publications it produced over its history. The WPI is now committed to digitizing all of that documentation, formerly housed at the rue la Boetie in Paris, and we are also work to complete and update select catalogues raisonnés that were formerly under the sponsorship of the Wildenstein Institute. Our methodology, however, is different. (fig. 11)

As an American not-for-profit organization that receives its funding from a German not-for-profit organization (the Hasso Plattner Stiftung), the WPI is beholden to the strict regulations of both U.S. and German tax code. This means that all of the money we spend must be for charitable purposes. For us, that purpose is education. This is why we are choosing to make all of our research accessible to the public, and we have created a web-based digital platform that will enable this access.

The access will be provided by two key features: Our archiving tool (fig. 12) and our digital cataloguing tool. (fig. 13)

The archiving tool will be the portal on which we will store all of the archives that we are currently scanning in Paris. As I mentioned, these archives were compiled to support the researchers collecting information for each catalogue raisonné project. My colleague Sophie Petri, who is the Head of Archives at the Fonds WPI in Paris, will be discussing the archive in greater detail later this morning. During that process and over the last half-century, it was never anticipated that these archives would be used for any other purpose. For that reason, the archives were never systematically inventoried in the manner of a traditional archival repository. This means that our job is not only to digitize the archives, but also to create a finding aid and classification system for them. Once they are digitized, select elements of the archive will be searchable and accessible to the public.

There are several challenges to this endeavor:

## **Copyright**

We must ensure that the materials that we display do not violate any copyright laws.

These laws are continually changing, vary from country to country, and are not entirely up-to-date with the implications of online publishing. The WPI, along with other internationally-relevant archival repositories, but must face this challenge as "pioneers" in the field, while being mindful of the risks.

## **Cultural property / Cultural heritage of archival material**

Because the archives are considered cultural treasures in France, we could not relocate them to the United States. For this reason, we decided to scan all of these materials in France, and we would pay for them in the United States so that our U.S. entity could display them online.

## **Liability exposure**

We need to be aware of any issues of confidentiality that might be violated by making certain elements of the archive public. There is always a risk that we might be sued for revealing information that someone regards as proprietary (such as the name of a collector who would otherwise wish to remain anonymous), so we must carefully review all materials intended for online publication with this in mind.

## **Volume of materials**

We are processing 10 terabytes of material, which will take three years to scan. This process is intimidating and can seem overwhelming. Devising a manageable workflow for the scanning and processing of these documents is critical. This is being administered by a scanning company in France, and our computer scientists in Berlin are overseeing the quality control from a technical perspective.

## **Expertise and navigation through data**

Our staff in Paris has been working with this material for decades, and only they know its content. Their input is essential to making this material navigable and accessible. For this reason, our staff must document the holdings with a comprehensive finding aid.

## **Sustainability of platform and hosting capabilities**

We are working with computer scientists from the Hasso Plattner Institute in Potsdam, who have designed a technology that will be sustainable, by virtue of the commitment of our founder, and compatible with new technologies and archiving practices. We are in continual communication with other cultural repositories with similar missions, including the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles, The Netherlands Institute of Art History in The Hague and The Institut national d'histoire de l'art in France.

## **Cultural Resistance**

Perhaps the most sensitive part of our job is convincing skeptics that these efforts are necessary.

— Older generations of art historians are often skeptical of new technologies replacing traditional modes of research.

- Custodians of archival repositories are often reluctant to share information, due to various legal restrictions and cultural reasons.
- There is a general “mistrust” of new technologies among traditional art historians, who may feel as if their expertise is being replaced by Artificial Intelligence.

The only way to bridge this divide is by broad-reaching discussions that highlight the need for archival preservation and the urgency of this endeavor.

This September in Berlin, the WPI will be hosting a symposium at the Barberini Museum, which will be devoted to addressing these topics. There is much to be gained from the sharing and accessibility of archives. New technologies are continually being developed to harvest and bring new information to light.

For example, the Hasso Plattner Institute is working with us on projects that will be critical for scholarship in the years to come. One of these projects is developing algorithms that enable a computer to recognize the difference between handwritten and printed text, and also to interpret the meaning of that text. This will be especially important for our researchers, who are currently tasked with having to search for hand-written annotations in thousands of auction catalogues. Instead of transcribing this information, page by page, a computer could theoretically read through these scans, isolate the annotations and produce a report of results. What would normally take years of manual and intellectual labor could be accomplished in a matter of minutes if this technology were to succeed. All this is to say that the intelligent preservation of archives, via a vis digitization and the involvement of pioneering tech initiatives, will yield research possibilities for art historians that were hitherto unthinkable.

This last point is relevant to the other component of the WPI’s mission: The Publication of the Digital Catalogue Raisonné. (fig. 14)

A catalogue raisonné presents a comprehensive account of an artist’s entire production. The most thorough catalogues raisonnés contain images of every work in the artist’s production, along with the accompanying cataloguing information, such as medium, size, inscriptions, as well as provenance, exhibition references and relevant bibliography. These last points continue to change over time, with each new transaction, exhibition or publication.

As a result, printed catalogues raisonnés become obsolete or are out-of-date not long after publication. For that reason, a catalogue raisonné that can be continually revised with the most up-to-date information is a much more reliable tool.

Another major benefit to an online catalogue raisonné is the robust capacity for complex searches. Rather than limiting research to a single “book” or publication in isolation of others, a digital publication can able immediate access to a primary source through a hyperlinked notation. Also, the “linking” capabilities of an online publication enables researchers to consult from a broader range of information.

Unlike digital catalogues raisonnés that are created in isolation of other projects, the WPI’s catalogues raisonnés will exist in a network, allowing for cross-referencing capabilities that are not otherwise possible with “segregated” catalogues raisonné projects. (fig. 15)

In addition to the catalogue raisonné projects being completed in

Paris, the WPI’s headquarters in New York is looking to provide support for new catalogue raisonné initiatives. We hope to facilitate new research on artists that will broaden our roster from a cultural perspective, and we will also enable existing projects to join us by offering the use of our cataloguing tool through the licensing of our software.

Because we are not a commercial enterprise, any proceeds that we collect in our endeavors will be redirected towards our programming and towards our support of underserved catalogue raisonné projects relevant to a broader spectrum of art history.

As I mentioned, my colleagues will be sharing with you some of the features of our vast art historical archive, as well as the methodology behind some of our catalogue raisonné projects. We would like to make it clear that our mission is to share our knowledge and our research, and not to establish the monetary value of works of art. We are also not in the business of “authenticating” works of art. These two concerns are the interests of the art market. While the WPI certainly plays a role in shaping the art market’s understanding of works of art, we are not in the position to advance or opine on the market or marketability of any artist.

We view ourselves as a resource of art historical information, of new technologies that can help in parsing this information, and as a pathway for the communication of knowledge and art historical opinions. As our digital undertaking increases, we will ultimately become a “virtual study center” (fig. 16), where the public can view art historical information from the convenience of their computer. By advocating for the preservation and accessibility of art historical archival information around the world, and through collaborations with significant cultural institutions like the National Museum of Western Art, we want to advance the study of art in the digital generation.

Thank you all very much for your kind attention, and I hope you enjoy today’s program.



fig. 1 Wildenstein Plattner Institute Fond WPI, Paris



WPI, New York



WPI Technology, Berlin



fig. 2 Preservation & Access

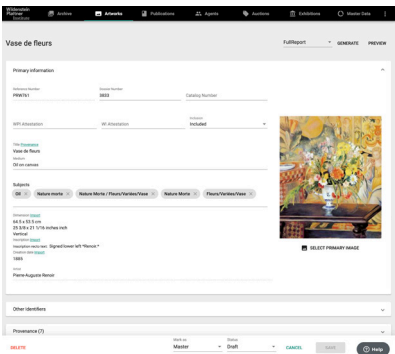
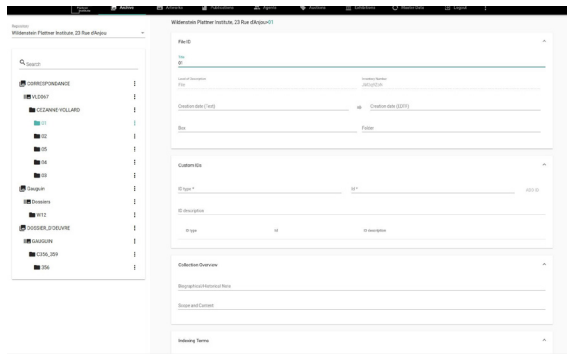


fig. 3 WPI Database Cataloguing Tool



Archiving Tool

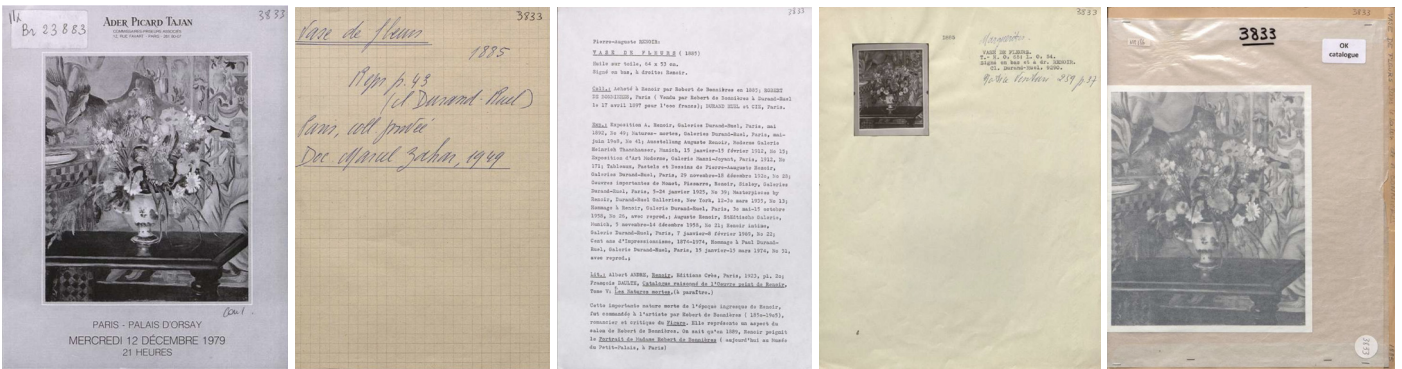
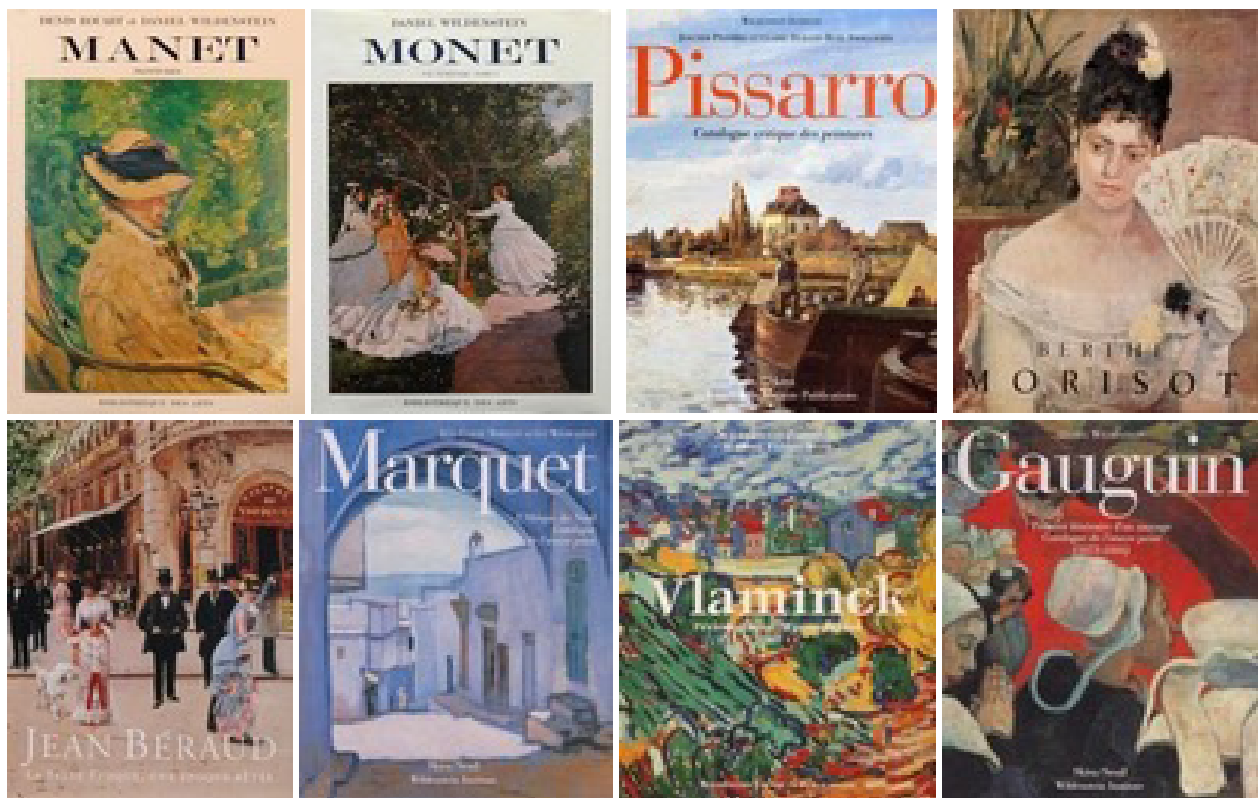


fig. 4



fig. 5 Guy Wildenstein





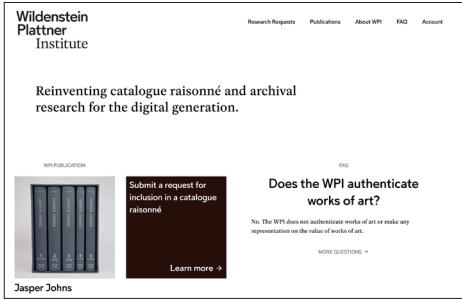


fig. 11

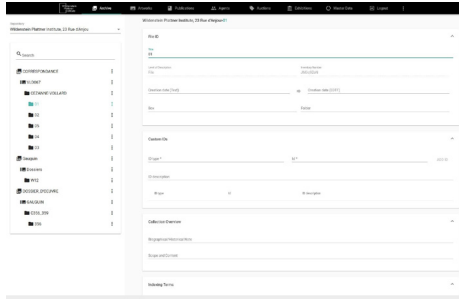


fig. 12 Archiving Tool:

This secure, web-based repository that hosts digital copies of the collected research and any other materials used to support the information published the catalogue raisonné.

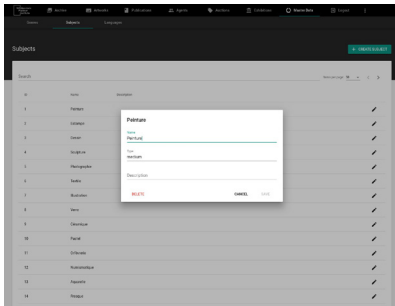


fig. 13 Cataloguing Tool:

A web application for data collection on individual works of art. The resulting database powers the online catalogue raisonné.

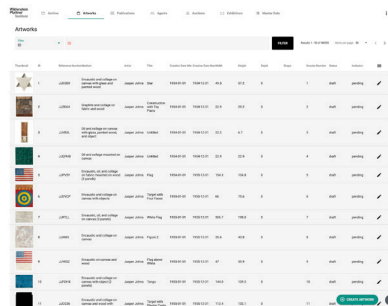


fig. 14 Digital Catalogue Raisonné



fig. 15 Upcoming Catalogue Raisonné

Catalogue Raisonné of Tom Wesselmann under production in New York



fig. 16 The WPI is a Virtual Study Center

**Florence SONIER**

*Head of Paris Office, Wildenstein Plattner Institute*

**Sophie PIETRI**

*Head of Archives, Wildenstein Plattner Institute*

Archives, sources et documentation:  
collecte, analyse et traitement à l'ère du numérique

En exergue à cette communication, je citerai cette définition intentionnellement provocante de Pierre Rosenberg, ancien président du Musée du Louvre : “L’histoire de l’art, dit-il, est une science vivante. Une archive réapparaît et tout peut changer<sup>1)</sup>”. Il convient de mesurer la portée de cette formule à l’heure où internet est devenu un outil pour la recherche dans nombre de domaines scientifiques. Mais n’est-il pas paradoxal cependant de s’interroger sur les liens que peuvent entretenir les archives et le web : c’est-à-dire entre, d’un côté, des documents réservés à un usage privé, et, de l’autre, le réseau internet qui est désormais le premier vecteur de l’information pour une diffusion planétaire ?

En réalité le caractère paradoxal de cette association ne tient pas longtemps pour qui a une pratique régulière du net et une bonne connaissance des ressources offertes par divers sites. Depuis quelques décennies en effet, les historiens de l’art et les chercheurs trouvent sur la toile des références utiles à leurs enquêtes : de grandes bibliothèques publiques (comme la Bibliothèque Nationale de France) ou privées, quelques instituts de recherche en histoire de l’art (tel le Getty Research Institute, ou bien l’Institut National d’Histoire de l’Art) ont mis en ligne une partie de leur catalogue. Par une simple connexion, la bibliographie, qui appartient au domaine public, est alors facilement accessible et exploitable. Mais, plus récemment encore, ce sont les fonds d’archives de diverses institutions, autrement dit des sources privées inédites, qui sont accessibles par le biais du réseau informatique sans qu’il soit nécessaire de se déplacer dans leur lieu de conservation. Les exemples ne manquent pas :

- qu’il s’agisse du Getty Research Institute qui propose, depuis moins d’une décennie, les archives des galeries parisiennes Goupil, Boussod et Valadon, ainsi que celles de la maison Knoedler qui fut, à sa fondation, la filiale new-yorkaise des deux premières ;
- ou qu’il s’agisse de l’Institut National d’Histoire de l’Art qui offre, par le biais de leur numérisation, un accès libre à la collection des “lettres d’artistes” du fonds Jacques Doucet.

Aujourd’hui, grâce à internet, se constitue un réseau savant, sur le modèle de la “République des Lettres”, une république, sans réalité géographique, imaginée à la Renaissance par les lettrés et humanistes européens pour faciliter leurs échanges intellectuels. Depuis la fin du XXe siècle le net est désormais l’espace virtuel où institutions et chercheurs peuvent, soit trouver matière utile à l’avancée de leurs propres recherches, soit offrir en partage sources et connaissances détenues.

Le Wildenstein Plattner Institute, lui aussi, va très prochainement prendre sa place dans cet espace et apporter sa contribution, en mettant en ligne les archives dont il est, depuis 2017, le dépositaire. Cependant ce site ne se bornera pas à la seule présentation des différents fonds indexés, dont les pièces numérisées seront, en totalité ou en partie, consultables. C’est l’exploitation de cette information archivistique, son intégration à l’un des catalogues raisonnés publiés par cet institut qui constitueront

l’aspect original du projet. Ainsi les fonds photographiques des galeries Vollard ou Barbazanges offriront-ils de précieux documents pour fonder et conforter la valeur historique d’une œuvre retenue par l’un de nos catalogues raisonnés. Les documents figureront en effet au dossier de certaines œuvres cataloguées en qualité de pièces justificatives.

Dans leurs contributions respectives, deux chercheurs du Wildenstein Plattner Institute offrent une présentation complémentaire de nos richesses archivistiques : Sophie Pietri s’attache à présenter les archives conservées par notre Institut, tandis que Pascal Perrin, Head of Research, illustre, par des exemples concrets, l’insertion de ces sources au sein des catalogues.

— Florence SONIER

1) *Le Figaro*, 30 mai 2015.



Avant de décrire quelques-unes des ressources archivistiques conservées par notre institut, il m'est apparu intéressant de situer nos communes démarches dans une perspective historique, en tentant, en manière d'introduction, de répondre à deux questions : quand l'histoire de l'art a-t-elle commencé à accorder à l'exploitation des archives toute l'importance qui lui est donnée de nos jours ? Et, plus spécifiquement, quand l'exploitation et la présentation de cette documentation archivistique ont-elles été requises dans la rédaction d'un catalogue raisonné ? Les quelques remarques, qui suivront, se limiteront à la France, puisqu'aujourd'hui une partie des artistes sur lesquels le Wildenstein Plattner Institute mène des recherches sont français (Monet, Renoir, Manet, Pissarro) et qu'une enquête élargie à d'autres pays serait trop ambitieuse.

Les études consacrées à l'art et aux artistes relevaient traditionnellement le plus souvent d'un genre littéraire, la biographie. C'est dans le courant du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle qu'en France, l'Histoire de l'art se constitue en une discipline scientifique à part entière, devenant un pan spécialisé de l'Histoire et adoptant les méthodes de cette dernière. Pour illustrer cette évolution, qui nous conduit jusqu'aux premières décennies du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, j'ai choisi trois figures emblématiques en raison de la conception qu'ils se faisaient de cette discipline et de leurs travaux : Chennevières, Moreau-Nélaton et Tabarant.

Philippe de Chennevières (fig. 1) est l'un de ceux qui ouvrent la voie à la nouvelle lignée d'historiens. Né en 1820, Chennevières est un pur produit de l'administration muséale : d'abord fonctionnaire du Louvre en 1858, il occupe ensuite longtemps le poste de conservateur au musée du Luxembourg. Mais il est également le fondateur d'une revue au titre très explicite, les *Archives de l'art français. Recueil de documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire des arts en France*, dont le premier numéro paraît en 1851. Préfaçant cette première livraison, Chennevières explique l'objectif recherché : "L'une de nos principales vues dans cette publication, écrit-il, a été d'ouvrir un recueil aux précieuses trouvailles<sup>2)</sup>". Cette ambition demeure évidemment à la mesure des outils techniques qu'offre l'époque : en l'occurrence, ceux de l'impression et de l'édition. Les *Archives de l'art français* sont donc destinées à recueillir des pièces d'archives pour en assurer la diffusion auprès de la communauté des chercheurs. Cependant, pour son fondateur, la justification de cette entreprise éditoriale repose sur le constat que l'histoire de l'art a alors investi le champ de la science et que les archives en constituent la matière première : fig. 12 Notre siècle, déclare-t-il, est en train de faire pour l'histoire des arts, ce qu'il a accompli vingt-cinq ans plus tôt, pour l'histoire politique et archéologique<sup>3)</sup>". Or, à ce souci de donner à l'histoire de l'art de nouveaux fondements, s'ajoute, chez Philippe de Chennevières, l'intérêt qu'il porte au catalogage des œuvres d'art. En 1848, il est l'auteur d'un rapport adressé au Directeur des musées

nationaux<sup>4)</sup> ; il y définit la mission incombant aux Inspecteurs des collections d'art dans les départements : inventorier sur le territoire national les objets. Dans ses préconisations à la rédaction d'un inventaire des musées de province, Chennevières n'est pas très éloigné des règles suivies aujourd'hui par les catalogistes établissant l'œuvre complet d'un artiste : il décrit ainsi ce qu'il appelle soit la "formule des inventaires raisonnés<sup>5)</sup>", soit la "formule de catalogue<sup>6)</sup>", et qui doit, pour chaque œuvre, mentionner la désignation, la description, les dimensions, la matière, les marques ou l'estampille, la signature, l'origine, etc... A ces rubriques, il ajoute également la mention du numéro des inventaires précédemment réalisés. Dans cet exercice de recensement, Chennevières souligne la nécessité d'exploiter les archives afin d'attester la provenance des objets catalogués. C'est la démarche historique que doit adopter tout historien de l'art.

C'est aussi la démarche suivie par une seconde figure d'historien de l'art : Etienne Moreau-Nélaton (1859–1927) (fig. 2), documentaliste, catalogiste et biographe, formé, quant à lui, à l'école de l'Histoire. On ne saurait cependant omettre les autres multiples activités qu'il a su conjuguer : peintre, céramiste, affichiste, photographe et collectionneur, dans la mesure où il a mis ses compétences et ses talents, si divers, au service de ses recherches historiques. Collectionneur d'art averti, Moreau-Nélaton sut amasser une colossale documentation de première main. Photographe praticien, il comprit très vite que tout catalogue ou inventaire patrimonial a besoin d'images à l'appui "pour, comme il le dit, suppléer à la vanité des mots par le témoignage des objets eux-mêmes<sup>7)</sup>". Élève du grand historien positiviste Ernest Lavisse, Moreau-Nélaton avait aussi reçu une formation scientifique fondée sur la recherche et la collecte des sources nécessaires à toute enquête. C'est cette méthode qu'il mit en œuvre quand il entreprit ensuite ses travaux d'historiographe. En effet, les différentes biographies d'artistes qu'il a rédigées entre 1916 et 1926, celles de Delacroix, Jongkind, Corot ou Manet, portent, à côté du nom de l'artiste, le sous-titre "[...] raconté par lui-même<sup>8)</sup>" ; l'écrivain avertit le lecteur qu'il a cherché, selon sa propre expression, le "fond de l'histoire", en faisant "vibrer [la] voix<sup>9)</sup>" de ces peintres, grâce à leurs correspondances, leurs écrits et le souvenir de leurs contemporains. Cependant, du point de vue de Moreau-Nélaton, les seuls éléments biographiques ne suffisent pas pour cerner complètement une personnalité artistique : les œuvres picturales sont à part entière des éléments constitutifs du portrait. Ainsi qu'il l'affirme dans son *Manet raconté par lui-même*, "les véritables confessions d'un peintre, ne les devons-nous pas plutôt à son pinceau qu'à sa plume ? [...] D'un bout à l'autre c'est Manet qui s'y raconte par ses ouvrages.<sup>10)</sup>" Aussi, même dans ses biographies, l'historien porte une attention particulière à l'illustration. Pour son *Manet*, il s'attache à exploiter tous les fonds photographiques connus

2) Philippe de Chennevières, *Archives de l'art français. Recueil de documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire des arts en France*, Tome I, Paris, 1851/1852, p. VIII.

3) Chennevières, *op. cit.*, p. XIII.

4) Philippe de Chennevières, *Travaux préparatoires et explicatifs du rapport adressé par M. le directeur des musées nationaux à M. le ministre de l'Intérieur, sur la nécessité de relier les musées des départements au musée central du Louvre*, Paris, 1848.

5) Chennevières, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

6) Chennevières, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

7) Etienne Moreau-Nélaton, "Avant-propos", *Corot raconté par lui-même*, Paris, 1924, tome 1, n. p.

8) Etienne Moreau-Nélaton, *Delacroix raconté par lui-même*, Paris, 1916 ; *Jongkind raconté par lui-même*, Paris, 1918 ; *Millet raconté par lui-même*, Paris, 1921 ; *Corot raconté par lui-même*, Paris, 1924 ; *Manet raconté par lui-même*, Paris, 1926.

9) Etienne Moreau-Nélaton, "Avant-propos", *Corot raconté par lui-même*, Paris, 1924, tome 1, n. p.

10) Etienne Moreau-Nélaton, *Manet raconté par lui-même*, Paris, 1926, tome 2, p. 121.



qu'il mentionne scrupuleusement dans la "Liste des gravures". Cette volonté d'atteindre à la vérité historique d'un créateur trouve sa pleine expression dans l'édition de son "catalogue raisonné" pour reprendre les termes choisis en 1905 par Moreau-Nélaton, éditeur du Corot par Alfred Robaut.<sup>11)</sup> Avec cette terminologie nouvelle, Moreau-Nélaton a su, au début du XXe siècle, codifier les lois du genre éditorial, tel que nous le connaissons aujourd'hui encore : collecte et compilation des archives et des publications ayant trait à l'œuvre d'un artiste, et établissement de l'ordre des œuvres répertoriées.

À cette formule éditoriale du catalogue raisonné quasiment définitive, un troisième historien a apporté d'ultimes perfectionnements. Publiant, en 1931, le catalogue raisonné de Manet, le journaliste et critique d'art Adolphe Tabarant (1863–1950) exprime sa volonté de renouveler le genre dès l'intitulé de l'ouvrage ; il recourt, en effet, à un néologisme, en titrant *Manet. Histoire catalographique*.<sup>12)</sup> (fig. 3) L'intention de l'auteur est donc de lier intimement la biographie de l'artiste au catalogue de son œuvre, "d'écrire une biographie tout en dressant un catalogue, de raconter l'homme en décrivant et classant les œuvres créées par lui"<sup>13)</sup>. Là où Moreau-Nélaton consacrait quatorze chapitres à relater "L'histoire de Corot", seules quelques pages initiales rappellent ici les principaux événements d'une vie ; en revanche, soit dans la rédaction d'un chapeau précédant un ensemble d'œuvres, soit dans le commentaire de l'une d'entre elles, Tabarant émaille son catalogue de précisions biographiques. Il demeure par ailleurs l'héritier de la méthode historique inaugurée par Moreau-Nélaton : l'établissement de son catalogue Manet est fondé sur l'examen des archives et de la bibliographie relatives à l'artiste qu'il énumère précisément dans le chapitre des "Sources catalographiques". Mais l'originalité de ses travaux tient à l'analyse critique qu'il porte sur cette documentation. Il précise ainsi que les rééditions du *Manet* de Théodore Duret "n'ajoutent à la première que des intercalations peu considérables, puisque l'auteur ne s'était pas soucié de revoir son premier texte, et que les mêmes lacunes se retrouvent dans ces éditions successives, comme les mêmes erreurs"<sup>14)</sup>. Tabarant évoque également les vicissitudes que connurent certaines pièces d'archives dans des classements parfois différents : ce fut le cas des photographies des peintures dans l'atelier de l'artiste à sa mort, réunies dans un ordre différent selon les fonds où ils sont conservés, c'est-à-dire la Bibliothèque Nationale de France et la Pierpont Morgan Library. Cependant l'esprit critique de Tabarant "catalographe" ne s'arrête pas à cette seule présentation d'une bibliographie commentée. À l'occasion de certaines notices, il s'attache à contester les hypothèses de ses prédécesseurs et à redresser leurs erreurs, ou bien même à mettre en doute la validité d'une pièce d'archive. Le long travail du cataloguiste ne doit donc pas être celui d'un simple compilateur réunissant références bibliographiques et pièces archivistiques. Il requiert une lecture avisée de cette documentation. "Source reine" pour conforter le corpus d'une œuvre, les archives doivent par ailleurs faire

l'objet d'un examen critique.

Après ce bref aperçu historique rappelant la primauté reconnue aux sources archivistiques dans la réalisation d'un catalogue raisonné, il est temps de présenter les archives du Wildenstein Plattner Institute. La richesse de notre documentation tient tant à la variété des pièces conservées par notre institut qu'à la provenance prestigieuse de certains fonds.

En effet les collections du Wildenstein Plattner Institute comportent différents types d'archives : si on s'en tient à une classification un peu sommaire, il s'agit de documents photographiques, de manuscrits et de dossiers documentaires.

Pour les photographies, les albums Druet offrent, parmi tant d'autres, un exemple : au nombre de sept, ces albums, de dimensions respectables (54 x 47 cm), conservent des clichés d'œuvres d'Albert Marquet, photographies réalisées par l'entreprise Druet.<sup>15)</sup> Son fondateur, Eugène Druet (1867–1916) eut un destin tout à fait exceptionnel. Cafetier de profession, il était propriétaire, place de l'Alma, d'un établissement régulièrement fréquenté par Auguste Rodin, et pratiquait en amateur la photographie. Les clichés qu'il fit des œuvres du sculpteur séduisirent tant le maître que ce dernier fit de Druet son "photographe officiel". Ainsi Druet se trouva-t-il introduit dans le monde de l'art en sorte qu'il ouvrit au début du XXe siècle une galerie (rue du Faubourg-Saint-Honoré) pour y vendre les artistes qu'il admirait. Pour le nouveau galeriste, la photographie servit dès lors à la publicité des œuvres à vendre. Au service de cette pratique commerciale inaugurée pour faire connaître les dernières créations d'un artiste sous contrat, ces documents photographiques sont d'une exceptionnelle qualité, grâce à un procédé dont Druet était l'inventeur : ce dernier apportait en effet un soin particulier à rendre les valeurs chromatiques en pratiquant, si besoin, des retouches au vernis ou même à la mine de plomb. Un encart publicitaire inséré en 1917 dans la *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* le proclame non sans une certaine fierté : "Les photo-procédés E. Druet donnent en blanc et noir les valeurs exactes des couleurs". (fig. 4) Aussi, pour les chercheurs et documentalistes du Wildenstein Plattner Institute qui établissent le catalogue Marquet, nos albums Druet présentent un double intérêt. D'une part, ces clichés souvent pris peu après la création d'une œuvre datent sûrement celle-ci, tout en offrant un témoignage unique sur son aspect d'origine. D'autre part, ils constituent un indice précieux concernant la provenance de celle-ci : l'existence d'une photographie-procédé Druet peut étayer une provenance Galerie E. Druet. Ces albums renferment par exemple les reproductions de deux huiles d'Albert Marquet, autrefois dans la collection de Matsukata Kōjirō : *Le Nu assis* et *Les Quais aux Sables-d'Olonne* (fig. 5) : la première est aujourd'hui conservée par le National Museum of Western Art, et la seconde n'a pu être aujourd'hui encore localisée malgré les recherches de Jingaoka Megumi et Kawaguchi Masako.<sup>16)</sup> A

11) Alfred Robaut, *L'Œuvre de Corot. Catalogue raisonné et illustré*, précédé de *L'histoire de Corot et de ses œuvres par Etienne Moreau-Nélaton*, Paris, 1905, 4 vols.

12) "A propos de la 'catalographie' de Manet", *L'Œuvre*, 28 juillet 1931.

13) Adolphe Tabarant, *Manet. Histoire catalographique*, Paris, 1931, p. 19.

14) Tabarant, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

15) "Albums de photographie Druet—Œuvres d'Albert Marquet", A à F, c. 1909–1927 (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute).

notre époque encore, la qualité de ces deux tirages est appréciable : pour le Nu assis, une huile sur toile, il est même possible de discerner, sur le cliché, la trame du support. Dans ce cas précis comme dans d'autres, un document iconographique, tel une photographie Druet, peut constituer à lui seul une pièce d'archive décisive pour le cataloguiste, puisque, dans sa matérialité, il apporte un témoignage incontestable, là où la documentation écrite, parfois ambiguë, est sujette à interprétation. Néanmoins, les sources écrites, que ce soient des annotations portées directement sur les clichés ou des informations consignées dans d'autres pièces d'archives, confortent parfois les indices donnés ces reproductions et permettent d'en préciser leur origine et leur datation. C'est le cas pour les planches de nos albums Marquet, puisqu'elles comportent également un numéro de cliché qui renvoie à des listes de prises de vue effectuées par les opérateurs de Druet. (fig. 6) Ces listes, conservées au Fort de Saint-Cyr, par la Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine, donnent le nom du commanditaire du cliché ainsi que la date de son exécution. Enfin, on peut retrouver, sur les livres de stock de la galerie Druet, ce même numéro de photo inscrit à l'encre rouge, attestant ainsi que l'œuvre avait bien été acquise par le galeriste. Nous reproduisons ici une page extraite de l'un des deux livres de stock Druet, conservés par le Wildenstein Plattner Institute.<sup>17)</sup> (fig. 7)

Avec ces derniers exemples, la transition est toute trouvée pour passer à quelques échantillons des archives écrites dont le Wildenstein Plattner Institute est le dépositaire. La diversité de celles-ci est telle qu'il est difficile de faire un choix. Sous cette dénomination d'archives écrites, on peut recenser : des livres de stock, des autographes, tels par exemple des courriers.

Outre les livres de stock d'Eugène Druet, nous détenons, entre autres, trois livres d'achat et de vente de la galerie Raphaël Gérard pour les années sombres de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, plus précisément de 1937 à 1945.<sup>18)</sup> Ainsi un feuillet tiré de l'un des registres de la galerie Gérard documente l'achat de la *Marine par temps d'orage* d'Edouard Manet auprès de Schoeller; cette peinture, auparavant dans la collection de Matsukata Kōjirō, avait probablement été vendue à l'expert parisien par l'homme de confiance de Matsukata Kōjirō, Hioki Kōzaburō. (fig. 8)

En ce qui concerne la deuxième sorte d'archives écrites, c'est-à-dire les autographes, nous possédons des lettres d'artistes ou de collectionneurs, comme quelques-uns des courriers envoyés par Georges de Bellio à Claude Monet au nombre desquels figure l'émouvante lettre que le docteur de Bellio adressait à l'artiste en 1891 : il y liste les œuvres du peintre en sa possession—et parmi elles, celle qu'il appelle "L'impression"—, affirmant que, de son vivant, jamais il ne s'en séparerait (fig. 9).

Enfin pour les dossiers documentaires : nous nous en tiendrons aux seuls dossiers d'œuvre (un type de documentation que connaissent bien tout conservateur ou tout archiviste d'un musée) ; ils nourrissent les différents catalogues raisonnés que le Wildenstein Plattner Institute

prépare. Ces dossiers représentent, dans notre fonds, une masse considérable : qu'il s'agisse de Renoir, Van Dongen, Monet, Pissarro ; pour chacun de ces artistes, ils se comptent par milliers. Chacun d'eux rassemble, pour une seule et même œuvre, des références bibliographiques, mais aussi des échanges épistolaires, soit avec un collectionneur, soit avec un musée. L'ensemble de ce fonds est le fruit d'une collecte réalisée sur plusieurs décennies, d'abord par les archivistes du Wildenstein Institute, puis par ceux du Wildenstein Plattner Institute, et assurée parfois par plusieurs générations de cataloguistes. Pour Manet, nous disposons de dossiers remontant au début du XXe siècle, rassemblés alors en vue de la publication d'un catalogue raisonné, par Paul Jamot et Georges Wildenstein, paru en 1932.<sup>19)</sup>

Après ces quelques illustrations de la diversité de notre fonds, venons-en maintenant à ce qui en constituent les deux fleurons : les archives Vollard et les archives Gachet.

Aux côtés de grandes institutions, tel le Musée d'Orsay ou le Getty Research Institute, le Wildenstein Plattner Institute détient en effet une partie des archives du marchand d'art et éditeur Ambroise Vollard (1866–1939). Ce fonds est à la fois composé d'archives de la galerie et de la maison d'édition, puisque, chez Vollard, ces deux activités étaient intimement liées. Ces archives sont aussi le reflet de la stratégie commerciale que le galeriste mit en œuvre : obtenir l'exclusivité de la production d'un artiste dont il se veut le promoteur. Or ces acquisitions ont généralement fait l'objet de campagnes photographiques. Ainsi, pour Paul Cézanne dont Vollard racheta les ateliers parisien et aixois, notre documentation photographique Vollard ne compte pas moins de 47 albums rassemblant quelque 2000 reproductions d'œuvres du peintre. (fig. 10) De la même façon, pour Mary Cassatt, dont le marchand d'art avait acquis une importante collection de gravures et de dessins, on dénombre plus de 500 clichés. Sur certains d'entre eux, l'artiste américaine a même apposé sa signature pour les authentifier, sans doute à la demande de Vollard. (fig. 11) Dans les archives de gestion comptable que nous conservons—deux livres de stock ainsi qu'un livre d'inventaire commencé au 1er janvier 1922<sup>20)</sup> (fig. 12), la technique commerciale apparaît ici clairement. Ainsi qu'on le voit sur une page du "livre de stock A", Vollard achète directement auprès des artistes, se portant acquéreur d'une partie de leur production disponible (ici Odilon Redon). (fig. 13) L'inventaire de 1922 qui liste les œuvres acquises jusqu'à cette date est plus éloquent encore : ce registre recense jusqu'à 602 œuvres de Louis Valtat. Enfin les lettres autographes adressées par Cézanne, Renoir ou Rouault attestent des liens étroits que le galeriste avait su tisser avec les artistes qu'il entendait avoir sous contrat suivant une formule commerciale nouvelle à l'époque.

Quant aux archives du docteur Paul Ferdinand Gachet (1828–1909) qui enrichissent le fonds du Wildenstein Plattner Institute, elles sont uniques, puisqu'elles permettent de tracer à la fois le portrait nuancé de l'homme, de l'artiste et du collectionneur.

Les nombreux clichés-cartes de visite de Gachet nous le restituent

16) *The Matsukata Collection : Complete Catalogue of the European Art, Paintings*, vol. 1, Tokyo, 2018, p. 237 (*Sitting Nude*) et 238 (*Riverside in Les Sables-d'Olonne*).

17) Galerie Druet, Livres de stock, années 1910–1934 (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute).

18) Galerie Raphaël Gérard, registres des ventes de la galerie, années 1937–1941

(2 vol.) ; registre des achats, années 1941–1945 (photocopies, Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute).

19) Paul Jamot et Georges Wildenstein, *Manet*, Paris, 1932, 2 vol.

20) Livre de stock "A", 1899–c. avril 1904; Livre de stock "C", mars 1918–c. 1922 ; "Inventaire 1922", 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1922–5 janvier 1938, Fonds Ambroise Vollard (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute).

dans son intimité, nous montrant, à différents âges, son apparence physique (fig. 14), tandis que le témoignage inédit d'une patiente (recueilli par le fils Gachet) nous renseigne sur les traits moraux de ce personnage. Pour documenter l'artiste amateur qui s'essaya aux arts graphiques, en signant du pseudonyme "Paul van Ryssel", nous possédons trois albums photographiques<sup>21)</sup> : ils rassemblent les reproductions des essais artistiques du docteur qui expérimenta différentes techniques, la peinture, la gravure comme le pastel (figs. 15, 16). Sur la collection enfin, nous disposons du catalogue raisonné, établi par Paul Gachet fils. Six recueils, tantôt manuscrits, tantôt dactylographiés, inventorient, avec leurs illustrations en noir et blanc, les œuvres : un volume pour Amand Gautier, un pour Armand Guillaumin, un pour Cézanne, deux pour Van Gogh, et un sixième réunissant des artistes, tel Pissarro, Renoir, Sisley ou Monticelli. (fig. 17) Par ailleurs accompagnant ces volumes, une série d'imprimés réunis par le docteur Gachet (cartons d'invitation, catalogues d'exposition, comptes-rendus de presse) attestent qu'il fut un amateur d'art averti, assidu à certaines manifestations artistiques de son temps.

A ce rapide catalogue se substituera, dans quelques mois, la mise en ligne progressive de nos archives sur le site du Wildenstein Plattner Institute, inaugurant ainsi, comme l'a dit Florence Sonier, un partage des connaissances et des données, rendues, dès lors accessibles à la communauté des chercheurs.

— Sophie PIETRI

21) Le Dr Gachet par l'image. Portraits et documents. Recueil de photographies d'après ses peintures, dessins, estampes, etc... réunies par Paul Gachet, Auvers-sur-Oise, 1928, 3 vol. (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute).

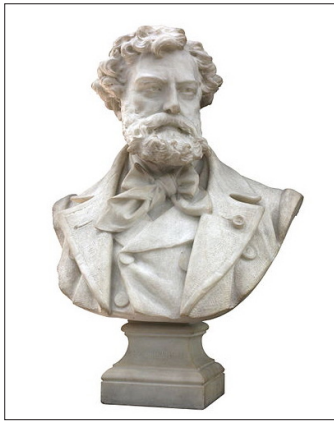


fig 1 Louis Noël, (1839–1925), *Philippe de Chennevières*, marbre blanc, 1902 (Paris, Musée d'Orsay)  
[https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Philippe\\_de\\_Chennevières-Louis\\_Noël-IMG\\_8165-white.jpg](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Philippe_de_Chennevières-Louis_Noël-IMG_8165-white.jpg)



fig. 2 Paul Paulin (1852–1937), *Etienne Moreau-Nélaton*, bronze, 1914 (Paris, Musée d'Orsay)  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Paulin\\_Etienne\\_Moreau\\_N%C3%A9laton.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Paulin_Etienne_Moreau_N%C3%A9laton.jpg)

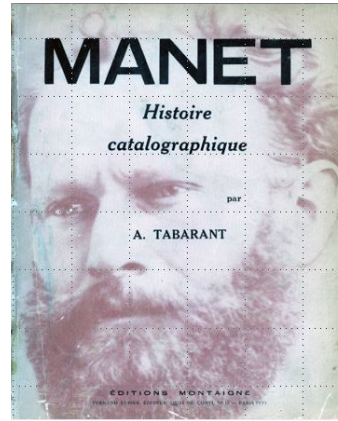


fig. 3 Adolphe Tabarant, *Manet. Histoire catalographique* (Paris : Editions Moutaigne, 1931)  
 ©Wildenstein Plattner Institute

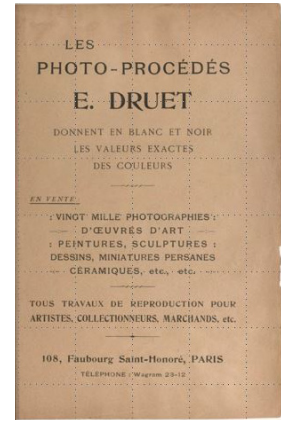


fig. 4 Annonce publicitaire insérée dans *La Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (vol. XIII, n°691, 1917)  
 ©Wildenstein Plattner Institute



fig. 5 Deux feuilles extraites des Albums Druet : à gauche : *Nu assis* ; à droite : *Quais aux Sables-d'Olonne* (Albums de photographie Druet — Œuvres d'Albert Marquet, Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)



fig. 6 Feuille extraite d'un Album Druet portant en haut à gauche le numéro de cliché : 44416 (Albums de photographie Druet — Œuvres d'Albert Marquet, Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)

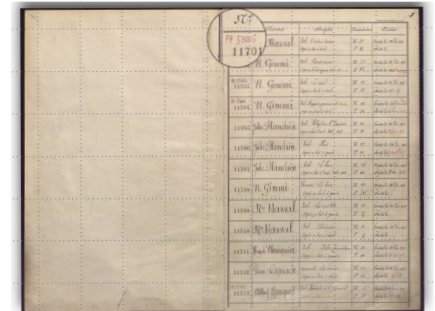


fig 7 Galerie Druet, Livre de stock (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)

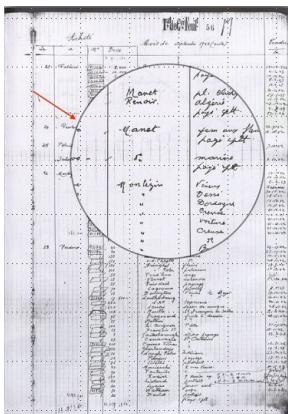


fig. 8 Feuillet 56 du registre des achats, galerie R. Gérard (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)

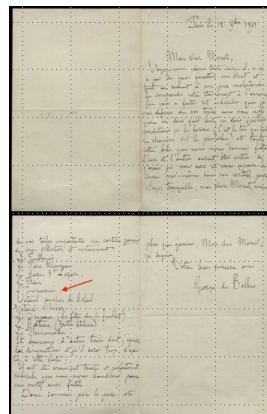


fig. 9 Lettre de Georges de Bellio à Claude Monet, 12 septembre 1891 (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)



fig. 10 Un des 47 albums-photo Paul Cézanne, Fonds Ambroise Vollard (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)



fig. 11 Cliché photographique d'un pastel de Mary Cassatt, contresigné par l'artiste, Fonds Ambroise Vollard (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)





fig. 12 Livre de stock C, mars 1918–ca. 1922, Fonds Ambroise Vollard (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)

Numéro de la notice	Artiste	Provenance	Nom à l'achat	Description de l'œuvre	Quantité	Montant	Remarques
8701	Paul Gauguin	Paris	Paul Gauguin	Portrait of a woman	1	2.40	
8702	Paul Gauguin	Paris	Paul Gauguin	Portrait of a woman	1	2.40	
8703	Paul Gauguin	Paris	Paul Gauguin	Portrait of a woman	1	2.40	
8704	Paul Gauguin	Paris	Paul Gauguin	Portrait of a woman	1	2.40	
8705	Paul Gauguin	Paris	Paul Gauguin	Portrait of a woman	1	2.40	
8706	Paul Gauguin	Paris	Paul Gauguin	Portrait of a woman	1	2.40	
8707	Paul Gauguin	Paris	Paul Gauguin	Portrait of a woman	1	2.40	
8708	Paul Gauguin	Paris	Paul Gauguin	Portrait of a woman	1	2.40	

fig. 13 Livre de stock A, 1899–ca. avril 1904, Fonds Ambroise Vollard (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)



fig. 14 Album de photographie, chagrin rouge gaufré avec 2 fermoirs, gardes moirées, tranches dorées : Paul Gachet, portraits photographiques, format carte de visite, Fonds Paul Gachet (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)



fig. 15 Paul van Ryssel, *Chaumes à Chaponval*, pastel (1879), in *Le Dr Gachet par l'image. Portraits et documents. Recueil de photographies d'après ses peintures, dessins, estampes, etc...* réunies par Paul Gachet (Auvers-sur-Oise, 1928), tome 3 (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute).

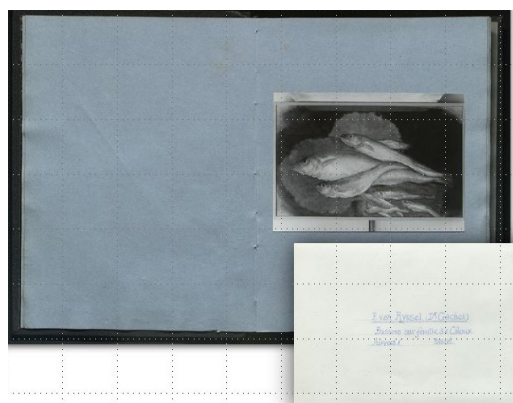


fig. 16 Paul van Ryssel, *Poissons sur feuille de chou*, pastel in *Le Dr Gachet par l'image. Portraits et documents. Recueil de photographies d'après ses peintures, dessins, estampes, etc...* réunies par Paul Gachet (Auvers-sur-Oise, 1928), tome 3 (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)

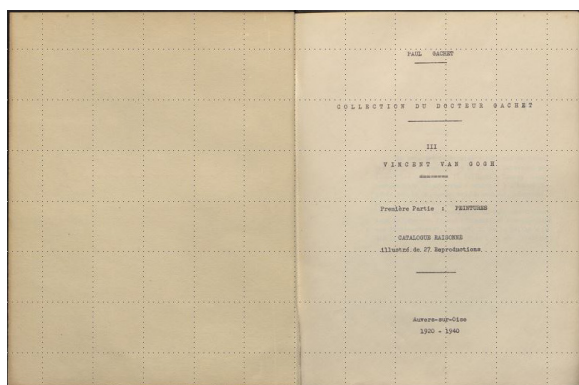
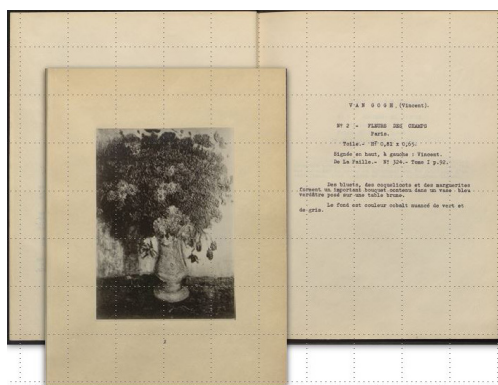


fig. 17 Paul Gachet [fils], *Collection du Docteur Gachet. Vincent van Gogh. Première partie : Peintures, catalogue raisonné* (Auvers-sur-Oise, 1920–1940), volume III. (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)



**Florence SONIER**

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Archives, Sources and Documentation:  
Collecting, Analyzing and Processing

As an epigraph to this communication, I would like to quote the intentionally provocative definition of Pierre Rosenberg, former president of the Louvre Museum: “Art history, he says, is a living science. An archive reappears and everything may change.”<sup>1)</sup> What he says is all the more important, now that Internet has become a research tool in a number of scientific areas. But isn’t it paradoxical to question the links between archives and the web? In other words, between documents intended for private use on one hand, and on the other, the internet network, now the primary vector of information for the entire planet.

In reality, the paradoxical nature of this association doesn’t hold for long for those who use the net regularly and are knowledgeable as to the resources of various sites. In the last decades, in fact, art historians and researchers have found references useful to their inquiries: huge public libraries (like the Bibliothèque Nationale de France) or private ones, a few research institutes in art history (like the Getty Research Institute or the Institut National d’Histoire de l’Art) have put part of their catalogue on line. By means of a simple connection, bibliography, which belongs to the public domain, is easily accessible and exploitable. But still more recently, archival holdings of various institutions—in other words unpublished private sources—have become accessible through the Internet network, thus ending the need to travel to the place where they are kept. There are many examples of this, among others:

- In the last decade, the Getty Research Institute has proposed the archives of the Goupil, Boussod and Valadon Parisian galleries, as well as those of the Maison Knoedler, in the beginning, the New York branch of the two former galleries.
- Thanks to their digitisation, the Institut National d’Histoire de l’Art now offers free access to the collection of “artists’ letters” in the Jacques Doucet archive.

Today, thanks to Internet, a scientific network is being built up on the model of the “République des Lettres,” a republic without a geographic reality, as imagined during the Renaissance by scholarly and humanistic Europeans to facilitate their intellectual exchanges. Since the end of the 20th century the net has become the virtual space where institutions and researchers can either find material useful to the advancement of their own research, or share the sources and knowledge they have gleaned.

The Wildenstein Plattner Institute is also planning its contribution to this new space by putting on line the archives it has been the depository of since 2017. However, the site will not only present the various indexed collections, their digitalized pieces consultable in entirety or in part; its original aspect will be the exploitation of this archival information, its integration into one of the catalogues raisonnés published by the institute. Thus the photographic collections of the Vollard or Barbazanges galleries will propose precious documents to found or support the historic value of a work retained in one of our catalogues raisonnés. Such documents will in fact figure as supporting evidence in the dossiers of certain catalogued works.

In their respective communications, two researchers of the Wildenstein Plattner Institute propose presentations of our archival riches: Sophie Pietri will describe the archives kept in our Institute, while Pascal Perrin, Head of Research, will give examples of the integration of these sources in the catalogues.

— Florence SONIER

(Translated by Judith Andreyev)

1) *Le Figaro*, 30 May 2015.

Before describing a few of the archival resources conserved in our institute, I thought it would make an interesting introduction to place our common procedures in a historic perspective, in an attempt to respond to two questions: when did art history begin to give archival research the importance it is given today? And, more specifically, when were both research and the presentation of archival documentation first required in the drafting of a catalogue raisonné? My remarks will be confined to France, since many of the artists Wildenstein Plattner is conducting research on are French (Monet, Renoir, Manet, Pissarro), and a broader inquiry into other countries would be too ambitious.

Studies of art and artists traditionally belonged to the literary genre of biography. It was during the 19th century that in France, Art History became a scientific discipline in itself, as a particular aspect of History and adopting the latter's methods. To illustrate this evolution, which leads us up to the first decades of the 20th century, I have chosen three personalities, emblematic in their conception of the discipline and in terms of their work: Chennevières, Moreau-Nélaton, and Tabarant.

Philippe de Chennevières (fig.1) was one of those who opened the way to the new line of historians. Born in 1820, he was a pure product of museum administration: starting out as a functionary of the Louvre in 1858, he then occupied for some time the post of curator at the musée du Luxembourg; but he was also founder of the very explicitly titled review, *Archives de L'art français. Recueil de documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire des arts en France* [Archives of French art, Collection of unpublished documents concerning the history of the arts in France], its first issue appearing in 1851. In his preface to this first edition, Chennevières explains his objective: "One of our principal aims in the publication was to open a repository for precious findings."<sup>2</sup> This aim of course remained dependent on the technical tools available at the time: in other words, printing and publishing. The idea behind *Archives de l'art français* was therefore to collect archival documents to ensure their diffusion among the research community. However, for its founder, this publishing enterprise was justified by the fact that art history was entering the field of science and the archives were its raw material: "Our century," he declared, "is at present doing for art history, what it accomplished twenty-five years earlier for political and archeological history."<sup>3</sup> In the aim of providing a new basis for art history, Philippe de Chennevières was also interested in the cataloguing of artworks. In 1848, he wrote a report addressed to the Director of National Museums<sup>4</sup> in which he defined the mission incumbent on Inspectors of regional art collections: to inventory objects of the national territory. In his recommendations to the editors of an inventory of provincial museums, Chennevières was not far from the rules followed today by cataloguists of an artist's complete works. Thus he describes what he calls the

"*formule d'inventaires raisonnés*"<sup>5</sup>) or the "*formule de catalogue*,"<sup>6</sup>) which for each work, must give the name, description, dimensions, material, marks or stamp, signature, origin, etc. To these categories, he also adds the indication of previous inventory numbers. In this census-taking exercise, Chennevières underscores the necessity of archival research to attest the provenance of catalogued objects—the historic procedure to be adopted by all art historians.

The same procedure was followed by another art historian: Etienne Moreau-Nélaton (1859–1927) (fig.2), librarian, cataloguist and biographer, trained in History. However, he engaged in a number of other activities—painter, ceramist, poster artist, photographer and collector in the sense that he placed his diverse skills and talents at the service of historical research. Moreau-Nélaton was a knowledgeable art collector and amassed an enormous amount of first-hand documentation. As a practicing photographer, he understood that any catalogue or patrimonial inventory needed the support of images, as he said, "to supplement the vanity of words with the testimony of the objects themselves."<sup>7</sup> A student of the positivist historian Ernest Lavisse, Moreau-Nélaton had also received scientific training based on research and the collection of sources, necessary for all investigation. It was that method which he followed when he then undertook his historiographic works. Indeed, the various biographies of artists that he wrote between 1916–1926, of Delacroix, Jongkind, Corot and Manet, next to the name of the artist bear the sub-title "[...] told by himself"<sup>8</sup>); the writer warning the reader that he sought, according to his own expression, "*le fond de l'histoire*" [the true story] by making "the voices of those painters vibrate,"<sup>9</sup>) thanks to their correspondence, their writings and the memories of their contemporaries. However, from Moreau-Nélaton's point of view, biographical elements alone were not enough to completely define an artistic personality: the paintings themselves were elements that entered into any character portrait. Thus in his *Manet raconté par lui-même*, he asks "don't we owe the real confessions of a painter more to his brush than to his pen? [...] From one end to the other, *Manet* tells his story through his paintings?"<sup>10</sup>) Thus, even in his biographies, the historian pays special attention to illustration. For his *Manet*, he makes a point of using all the known photographic collections, which he scrupulously indicates in the "List of Engravings". This determination to find a creator's historic truth is most evident in his "catalogue raisonné," to use the terms chosen in 1905 by Moreau-Nélaton, publisher of Alfred Robaut's *Corot*.<sup>11</sup>) With this new terminology, Moreau-Nélaton, in the beginning of the 20th century, was able to codify the rules of publishing as we know it today: the collection and compilation of archives and publications related to an artist's work, and the establishment of the order of works listed.

A third historian further perfected the almost definitive editorial

2) Philippe de Chennevières, *Archives de L'art français. Recueil de documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire des arts en France* [Archives of French art, Collection of unpublished documents concerning the history of the arts in France], Tome I, Paris, 1851/1852, p. VIII.

3) Chennevières, *op. cit.* p. XIII.

4) Philippe de Chennevières, *Travaux préparatoires et explicatifs du rapport adressé par M. le directeur des musées nationaux à M. le ministre de l'Intérieur, sur la nécessité de relier les musées des départements au musée central du Louvre*, Paris, 1848.

5) Chennevières, *op. cit.*, p. 28

6) Chennevières, *op. cit.*, p. 28

7) Etienne Moreau-Nélaton, "Avant-propos", *Corot raconté par lui-même*,

Paris, 1924, tome 1, n. p.

8) Etienne Moreau-Nélaton, *Delacroix raconté par lui-même*, Paris, 1916; *Jongkind raconté par lui-même*, Paris, 1918; *Millet raconté par lui-même*, Paris, 1921; *Corot raconté par lui-même*, Paris, 1924; *Manet raconté par lui-même*, Paris, 1926.

9) Etienne Moreau-Nélaton, "Avant-propos", *Corot raconté par lui-même*, Paris, 1924, tome 1, n. p.

10) Etienne Moreau-Nélaton, *Manet raconté par lui-même*, Paris, 1926, tome 2, p. 121.

11) Alfred Robaut, *L'Œuvre de Corot. Catalogue raisonné et illustré, précédé de L'histoire de Corot et de ses œuvres par Etienne Moreau-Nélaton*, Paris, 1905, 4 vol.



formula of the catalogue raisonné. The art critic Adolphe Tabarant (1863–1950), publishing the catalogue raisonné of Manet, expressed his will to renew the genre as of its title and created a neologism: *Manet. Histoire catalographique*.<sup>12)</sup> (fig.3) The author's intention was thus to closely link the biography of the artist with the catalogue of his works, "to write a biography while making up a catalogue, to describe the man while describing and classifying the works he created."<sup>13)</sup> Whereas Moreau-Nélaton devoted fourteen chapters to *L'histoire de Corot*, only a few initial pages chart the main events of his life; Tabarant on the other hand, either in a chapeau preceding an ensemble of works, or in the commentary on a work, enriches his catalogue with biographical details. He remains, furthermore, heir to the historic method inaugurated by Moreau-Nélaton: the establishment of his Manet catalog is based on the study of the archives and the bibliography related to the artist, which he lists in the chapter on "*Sources catalographiques*". But the originality of his work is due to his critical analysis of this documentation. Thus he asserts that the re-editions of Théodore Duret's *Manet* "only add to the first edition a few intercalations of little importance, since the author didn't take the trouble to review his original text, and that the same lacunas appear in the successive editions, as do the same errors."<sup>14)</sup> Tabarant also mentions how archival documents can be classified differently and cause problems as a result: this was the case for photographs of paintings in the artist's atelier at the time of his death, placed in a different order according to the archives where they were kept, in that case, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and the Pierpont Morgan Library. However, the critical thinking of Tabarant the "catalograph" does not stop at the presentation of a bibliography commented by the author. Rather, he challenges the hypotheses of his predecessors and corrects their errors, or even doubts the validity of an archival document. The work of a cataloguist is not that of a simple compiler gathering bibliographic references and archival documents, but demands a careful reading of the documentation. The "Queen source" of support for a body of work, archives too must be subjected to critical examination.

After this brief historical reminder of the recognized primacy of archival sources in drawing up a catalogue raisonné, we can now present the archives of the Wildenstein Plattner Institute. The wealth of our documentation is due as much to the variety of pieces conserved by our institute, as to the prestigious provenance of some of our collections.

Indeed, the collections of the Wildenstein Plattner Institute contain different types of archives: a brief classification would be: photographs, manuscripts, and documentary dossiers.

Concerning photographs, the Druet albums are an example, among many others: photographs of the works of Albert Marquet, made by the Druet enterprise<sup>15)</sup> are conserved in seven albums of quite good dimensions (54 x 47 cm). The life of Eugène Druet (1867–1916), founder of the enterprise, was exceptional. A café owner by profession, he had an establishment place de l'Alma, often frequented by Auguste Rodin,

and was an amateur photographer. Rodin was so impressed with the photos he took of his works that he made Druet his "official photographer". Thus Druet entered the world of art and opened a gallery in the beginning of the 20th century, located rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré, to sell the artists he admired. For this new gallery owner, photography served as publicity for the works to be sold. Since these photographs were of a commercial nature, intended to publicize the latest works of an artist under contract, they are of exceptional quality, thanks to a procedure invented by Druet, who took extreme care to render chromatic values, if needed, with varnish or even graphite touch-ups. An advertising insert in a 1917 issue of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, not without pride, praises his skills: "The black and white E. Druet photo-procedures give the exact values of the colors." (fig. 4) Thus, for the researchers and archivists of the Wildenstein Plattner Institute who are establishing the Marquet catalogue, our Druet albums have a dual interest. On one hand, these photographs, often taken just after the creation of a work, certify its date, while offering a unique testimony of its original aspect. Second, they provide a precious clue to its provenance: the existence of a Druet process photograph can confirm a Galerie E. Druet provenance. These albums, for example, contain reproductions of two oil paintings by Albert Marquet, previously in the collection of Matsukata Kōjirō: *Sitting Nude* and *Riverside at Sables-d'Olonne* (fig. 5), the former now conserved by the National Museum of Western Art, and the latter still not located today, despite the research of Jinkaoka Megumi and Kawaguchi Masako.<sup>16)</sup> Still today, the quality of these two prints is certain: for *Sitting Nude*, an oil on canvas, it is even possible to discern, on the photograph, the weave of the canvas. In this precise case, as in others, an iconographic document such as a Druet photograph, can in itself be a decisive element for the cataloguist, since due to its materiality, it constitutes an unquestionable testimony, whereas written documentation can be ambiguous and subject to interpretation. Nonetheless, written sources, be they annotations on the photograph itself or information recorded on other archival pieces, sometimes confirm the clues present on these reproductions and make it possible to determine their origin and date. This is the case for the plates in our Marquet albums, since they also possess a photograph number that refers to lists of shots taken by Druet operators. (fig. 6) These lists, conserved at the Fort de Saint-Cyr by the *Mediathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine*, give the name of the commissioner of the photo and its date. Finally, in the stock books of the Druet Gallery, one can find the same photograph number noted in red ink, attesting that the work had been acquired by Druet. On the following reproduction is a page from one of two Druet stock books conserved by the Wildenstein Plattner Institute.<sup>17)</sup> (fig. 7)

These last examples provide an ideal transition to the description of a few written archives for which the Wildenstein Plattner Institute is depository. There are so many and of such diversity that it is difficult to choose among them. Under written archives we can mention stock books

12) "A propos de la 'catalographie' de Manet", *L'Œuvre*, 28 juillet 1931.

13) Adolphe Tabarant, *Manet. Histoire catalographique*, Paris, 1931, p. 19.

14) Tabarant, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

15) "Albums de photographie Druet—Œuvres d'Albert Marquet", A à F, c. 1909–1927 (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute).

16) *The Matsukata Collection: Complete Catalogue of the European Art, Paintings*, vol. 1, Tokyo, 2018, p. 237 (*Sitting Nude*) and 238 (*Riverside in Les Sables-d'Olonne*).

17) Galerie Druet, Stock books 1910–1934 (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute).

and autographs such as letters, for example.

In addition to the stock books of Eugène Druet, we have, among others, three purchase books of the Raphaël Gérard gallery for the dark years of World War II, 1937–1945; to be exact.<sup>18)</sup> Thus, a page from one of the registers of the Gérard gallery documents the purchase from Schoeller of Edouard Manet's *Seascape during a Storm*. This painting, previously in the collection of Matsukata Kōjirō, had probably been sold to the Raphaël Gérard gallery by the close confidant of Matsukata Kōjirō, Hioki Kōsaborō (fig. 8).

Concerning autographs, the second type of written archives, we possess letters of artists and collectors, such as some of the letters sent by Georges de Bellio to Claude Monet, among others the very moving letter addressed by the doctor to the artist in 1891, where he lists the works of Monet in his possession, and among them, the one he calls "*L'impression*," saying that as long as he lives he will not be separated from it. (fig. 9)

Finally, concerning documentary dossiers, we will limit ourselves to those related to works (a type of documentation well known to all curators and museum archivists), as they provide information for the various catalogues raisonnés prepared by the Wildenstein Plattner Institute. These dossiers represent a significant mass in our collection: thousands of documents each for Renoir, Van Dongen, Monet, Pissarro. For a single work, each dossier contains bibliographic references, but also exchanges of letters, either with a collector, or a museum. This fund is the fruit of decades of collection, first by the archivists of the Wildenstein Institute, then by those of the Wildenstein Plattner Institute, and sometimes taken on by several generations of cataloguists. For Manet we have dossiers dating from the beginning of the 20th century, gathered at the time by Paul Jamot and Georges Wildenstein for the publication in 1932 of a catalogue raisonné.<sup>19)</sup>

After these illustrations of the diversity of our resources, a word about our two star collections: the Vollard and Gachet archives.

Along with important institutions such as the Musée d'Orsay and the Getty Research Institute, the Wildenstein Plattner Institute holds part of the archives of the art dealer and publisher Ambroise Vollard (1866–1939). The collection is composed of the archives of both the gallery and the publishing house, the two activities being closely linked. The archives also reflect the commercial strategy put in place by Vollard, that of obtaining the exclusivity of artists he aimed to promote. Such acquisitions were generally accompanied by extensive photographic campaigns. Thus for Vollard, who bought Cézanne's ateliers in Paris and Aix, our photographic documentation numbers no less than 47 albums containing some 2000 reproductions of the painter's works. (fig. 10) Likewise, Vollard had acquired a large collection of engravings and drawings by Mary Cassatt, for whom we have over 500 photographs, some of which

are signed by the painter for the purpose of authentication, doubtless requested by Vollard (fig. 11). In the accounting archives we hold—two stock books and an inventory book begun on January 1st 1922<sup>20)</sup> (fig. 12)—the commercial technique appears clearly. As we see on a page of "stock book A," Vollard bought directly from artists acquiring part of their available production (here Odilon Redon). (fig. 13) The 1922 inventory that lists the works acquired up to that date is even clearer: this register lists up to 602 works of Louis Valtat. Finally, the letters written by Cézanne, Renoir and Rouault, show the close relationships of Vollard with the artists he worked with under contract, following a commercial strategy new at the time.

As for the archives of doctor Paul Ferdinand Gachet (1828–1909) that enrich the collection of the Wildenstein Plattner Institute, they are unique, since they make for a nuanced portrait of the man, the artist, and the collector.

Gachet's numerous photo-visiting cards give us an intimate idea of the person, showing his physical appearance at different times of life (fig. 14), while the unusual testimony of a patient (requested by Gachet's son) informs of the man's moral characteristics. As documentation of the amateur artist who tried his hand at graphic arts, signing with the pseudonym "Paul van Ryssel," we possess three photographic albums,<sup>21)</sup> containing reproductions of docteur Gachet's experiments with various technique—painting, engraving, pastels (figs. 15, 16). We have a catalogue raisonné of the collection established by his son, Paul Gachet. Six albums, sometimes handwritten, sometimes typewritten, provide an inventory, with illustrations of works in black & white: one volume for Amand Gautier, one for Armand Guillaumin, one for Cézanne, two for Van Gogh, and a sixth with several artists, such as Pissarro, Renoir, Sisley and Monticelli. (fig. 17) Along with these volumes a series of prints collected by doctor Gachet (invitation cards, exhibition catalogues, press reviews) illustrate his being a knowledgeable art lover, very much aware of the artistic events of his time.

In a few months, this rapid catalogue will be replaced by the gradual placing on line of our archives on the Wildenstein Plattner Institute site, thus inaugurating, as Florence Sonier mentioned, the sharing of knowledge and data which will then be accessible to the research community.

— Sophie PIETRI

(Translated by Judith Andreyev)

18) Galerie Raphaël Gérard, sales registers of the gallery 1937–1941 (2 vol.); register of purchases 1941–1945 (photocopies, Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute).

19) Paul Jamot et Georges Wildenstein, *Manet*, Paris, 1932, 2 vol.

20) Stock book "A," 1899–c. April 1904; Stock book "C," March 1918–c.1922;

"Inventaire 1922", 1 January 1922–5 January 1938, Fonds Ambroise Vollard (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute).

21) *Le Dr Gachet par l'image. Portraits et documents. Recueil de photographies d'après ses peintures, dessins, estampes, etc... réunies par Paul Gachet*, Auvers-sur-Oise, 1928, 3 vol. (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute).

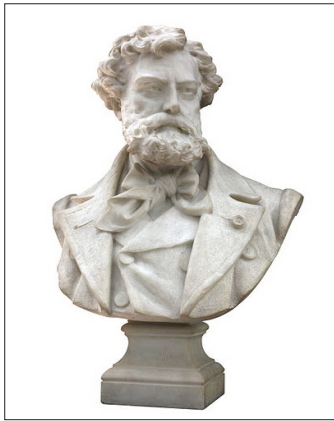


fig 1 Louis Noël, (1839–1925), *Philippe de Chennevières*, white marble, 1902 (Paris, Musée d'Orsay)  
[https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Philippe\\_de\\_Chennevieres-Louis\\_Noel-IMG\\_8165-white.jpg](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Philippe_de_Chennevieres-Louis_Noel-IMG_8165-white.jpg)



fig. 2 Paul Paulin (1852–1937), *Etienne Moreau-Nélaton*, bronze, 1914 (Paris, Musée d'Orsay)  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Paulin\\_Etienne\\_Moreau\\_N%C3%A9laton.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Paulin_Etienne_Moreau_N%C3%A9laton.jpg)

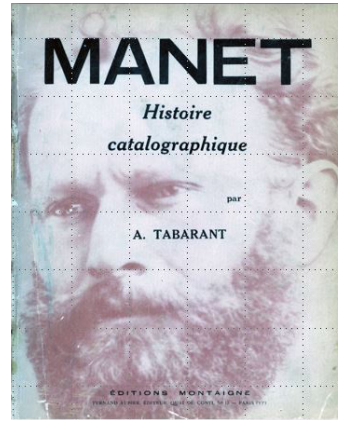


fig. 3 Adolphe Tabarant, *Manet. Histoire catalographique* (Paris : Editions Montaigne, 1931)  
 ©Wildenstein Plattner Institute

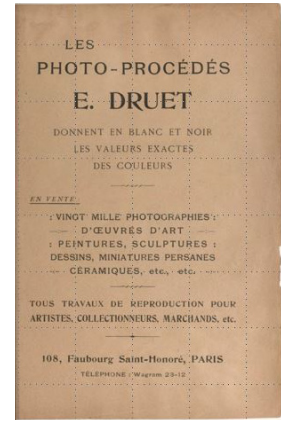


fig. 4 Advertising insert in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (vol. XIII, n°691, 1917)  
 ©Wildenstein Plattner Institute



fig. 5 Extracts from Album Druet: (left) *Nu assis*; (right) *Quais aux Sables-d'Olonne* (Albums de photographie Druet—Œuvres d'Albert Marquet, Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)

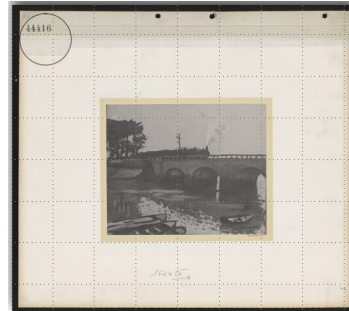


fig. 6 Extracts from Album Druet with photograph number: 44416 (Albums de photographie Druet—Œuvres d'Albert Marquet, Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)

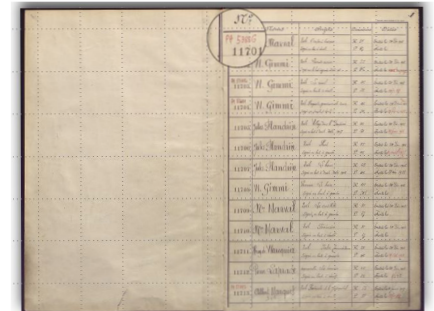


fig 7 Stock book of the Druet Gallery (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)

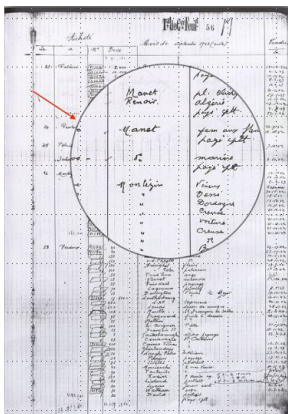


fig. 8 Page 56 from the sales register of the Raphaël Gérard Gallery (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)

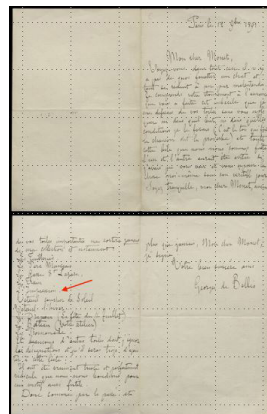


fig. 9 Letter from Georges de Bellio to Claude Monet, 12 September 1891 (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)



fig. 10 One of 47 Photo Albums Paul Cézanne, Fonds Ambroise Vollard (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)



fig. 11 Photograph of a pastel by Mary Cassatt signed by the artist, Fonds Ambroise Vollard (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)





fig. 12 Stock book C, March 1918–ca. 1922, Fonds Ambroise Vollard (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)

Numéro Vendu	Date Vente	Provenance	Nom à l'achat	Désignation de l'œuvre ou des œuvres	Quantité vendue	Montant total	Coût
8701		Paris	Paris	Paris en 1818 - Paris en 1818	1	2.40	8
8702		Paris	Paris	Paris en 1818 - Paris en 1818	1	2.40	8
8703		Paris	Paris	Paris en 1818 - Paris en 1818	1	2.40	8
8704		Paris	Paris	Paris en 1818 - Paris en 1818	1	2.40	8
8705		Paris	Paris	Paris en 1818 - Paris en 1818	1	2.40	8
8706		Paris	Paris	Paris en 1818 - Paris en 1818	1	2.40	8
8707		Paris	Paris	Paris en 1818 - Paris en 1818	1	2.40	8
8708		Paris	Paris	Paris en 1818 - Paris en 1818	1	2.40	8

fig. 13 Stock book A, 1899–ca. April 1904, Fonds Ambroise Vollard (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)



fig. 14 Album of photo-visiting cards of Gachet, Fonds Paul Gachet (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)



fig. 15 Paul van Ryssel, *Chaumes à Chaponval*, pastel (1879), in *Le Dr Gachet par l'image. Portraits et documents. Recueil de photographies d'après ses peintures, dessins, estampes, etc...* réunies par Paul Gachet (Auvers-sur-Oise, 1928), tome 3 (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute).

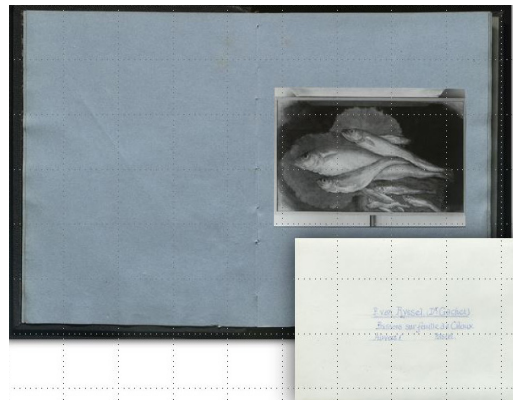


fig. 16 Paul van Ryssel, *Poissons sur feuille de chou*, pastel in *Le Dr Gachet par l'image. Portraits et documents. Recueil de photographies d'après ses peintures, dessins, estampes, etc...* réunies par Paul Gachet (Auvers-sur-Oise, 1928), tome 3 (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)

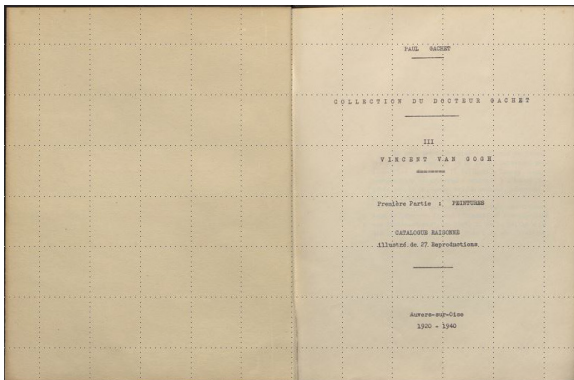
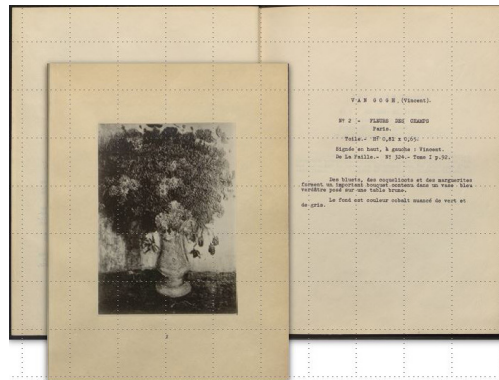


fig. 17 Paul Gachet [fils], *Collection du Docteur Gachet. Vincent van Gogh. Première partie : Peintures, catalogue raisonné* (Auvers-sur-Oise, 1920–1940), volume III. (Archives Wildenstein Plattner Institute)



**Pascal PERRIN**

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## Le Catalogue raisonné à l'ère du numérique

Qu'est-ce qu'un catalogue raisonné ? Il s'agit d'un ouvrage qui rassemble, recense et classe l'œuvre complet d'un peintre ou d'un sculpteur. Travail d'inventaire et de documentation, le catalogue retrace le parcours de l'œuvre, dans son ensemble et en détail. Chaque peinture, ou sculpture, est en effet décrite, analysée et replacée dans le processus créateur de l'artiste. Toutes les œuvres sont reproduites, à chacune est associée une notice détaillée : fiche technique, données bibliographiques et historiques, accompagnées d'un commentaire, parfois de documents iconographiques en rapport. Un travail minutieux de relevés, de recoupements, d'enquêtes « sur le terrain », de vérifications des données, de recherche de l'information, jusque dans des lieux en apparence les plus éloignés de l'histoire de l'art (Météorologie nationale, Hôpitaux, Administration portuaire), permet d'approfondir et d'enrichir la recherche.

À ce travail de compilation et de confrontation succède l'élaboration d'un plan qui sera soit chronologique soit thématique (soit les deux) selon que l'artiste datait ou non son œuvre, selon également les sujets dominants du corpus.

Deux parties distinctes—biographie et catalogue proprement dit—caractérisaient les premiers catalogues raisonnés, à visée didactique. Dans les catalogues critiques, plus récents, le ou les auteurs ont adopté une démarche privilégiant l'approche et la réflexion personnelles avec le même souci constant de rigueur et de méthode.

L'établissement du catalogue de l'œuvre complet d'un artiste peut réclamer de nombreuses années de recherche : trente-cinq pour celui de Fragonard, quarante pour Monet, soixante pour Vuillard. Une dizaine de ces ouvrages de référence sont actuellement en préparation au Wildenstein Plattner Institute qui assume la réalisation sur le plan scientifique et matériel. Après la publication, les recherches ne sont pas abandonnées ; les informations nouvelles sont rassemblées en vue de rééditions revues, corrigées, augmentées.

## I. Le dossier d'une œuvre

L'établissement d'un catalogue raisonné se base essentiellement sur la constitution du dossier de l'œuvre. Ce travail est primordial et permet au chercheur d'établir le pedigree d'une œuvre grâce aux documents, archives et renseignements collectés en amont. Il rassemblera le maximum d'informations autour de l'œuvre concernée en vue d'établir une notice précise en vue de la publication du catalogue raisonné.

Ce dossier servira également aux membres des comités pour rendre leur avis sur l'inclusion d'une œuvre, son rejet ou sa mise en attente. En effet, l'étude de l'œuvre elle-même et l'analyse de son pedigree constituent le socle du catalogue raisonné et de la prise de décisions.

## II. Les comités

Au cours de l'élaboration d'un catalogue raisonné, les comités consultatifs ont un rôle essentiel dans l'inclusion, ou non, d'une œuvre. Un comité est une association constituée d'historiens de l'art, et/ou de descendants et d'ayants droits du peintre concerné, du ou des auteurs du catalogue ou encore de sachants : il se réunit de façon périodique afin de délibérer sur les œuvres présentées physiquement. Les chercheurs peuvent ainsi effectuer de nouvelles prises de vues de l'œuvre et du dos (où sont souvent présents des étiquettes de galerie et des numéros permettant

d'affiner les historiques), vérifier les dimensions et noter l'état actuel de conservation.

À la différence d'un expert qui statue momentanément sur l'authenticité d'une œuvre, un comité composé de sachants, d'historiens de l'art, permet après l'étude d'une œuvre et de son dossier de rendre un avis collégial.

Après examen, et selon l'opinion des membres du comité, des avis sont émis : il s'agit d'intentions d'inclusion ou de non-inclusion ; une troisième possibilité est le maintien à l'étude. En aucun cas, ces avis ne peuvent ni ne doivent être considérés comme des certificats d'authenticité ou des certificats d'expertise ; ils ne sont jamais motivés.

\* \* \*

## I. Le dossier et la notice de l'œuvre

Avant qu'une œuvre soit présentée au comité, l'équipe de chercheurs rédige la notice, véritable compilation des sources et documents réunis dans le dossier.

Une fois rédigée (en langue anglaise) elle se présente ainsi (fig. 1):

Le Pêcheur à la ligne  
1874  
Oil on canvas  
54.3 x 65.3 cm  
Signed lower right: *Renoir*.

### Provenance

- Sale, consigned by the artist to Drouot, Paris, March 24, 1875, no. 48 (as “Pêcheur à la ligne”) 1
- Georges Charpentier, Paris, purchased at the above sale
- Sale, consigned by above to Drouot, Paris, April 11, 1907, no. 22 (ill., as “Le Pêcheur à la ligne”) 2
- Raymond Elois Tournon, Paris, purchased at the above sale
- Georgette Tournon-Charpentier, Paris, gift from above 3
- Robert Chambolle-Tournon, by descent from above (1945)
- Claude Chambolle-Tournon, Costa Rica, by descent from above (1971)
- The Tournon-Charpentier family collection, Paris
- Sale, consigned by above to Christie's, London, July 6, 1971, no. 30 (color ill.)
- Mr. & Mrs. Nigel Broackes, London, purchased at the above sale
- Sale, consigned by above to Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co, London, July 4, 1979, no. 78 (color ill.)
- Private collection, purchased at the above sale
- Private collection, Paris, by descent from unknown
- Sale, Christie's, New York, May 13, 2019, no. 38A (color ill.) 4

### Exhibitions

- Paris, Galerie Bernheim Jeune & Cie, Exposition A. Renoir, January 25–February 10, 1900, no. 18 (as “Le Pêcheur”) (Lender: Georges Charpentier, Paris)
- Paris, Galeries L et P. Rosenberg, Exposition “Le Grand Siècle” organisée au profit de la Société des amis du Louvre, June 15–July 11, 1936, no. 46
- Paris, Galerie Dabert, Rétrospective des Maîtres du XIXe siècle, 1942
- Paris, Galerie Charpentier, La vie familiale. Scènes et Portraits, January 1, 1944, no. 120 (ill., as “Le Pêcheur à la ligne”)
- London, The Diploma Galleries, Royal Academy of Art, Impressionism, its Masters, its Precursors, and its Influence in Britain, February 9–April 28, 1974, no. 98 (ill. pl. XVIIIa)

### Publications

- Julius Meier-Graefe, Auguste Renoir (Paris: Floury, 1912), p. 53
- Lucien Rebatet, “Une admirable galerie en vingt toiles des maîtres du XIXe siècle,” *Le Petit parisien*, June 10, 1942 (ill.) 1
- Germain Bazin, Michel Drucker, Renoir (Paris: Editions Pierre Tisné, 1944) (color ill. p. 45 dated 1877)
- Michel Robida, Le Salon Charpentier et les impressionnistes (Paris: La

Bibliothèque des Arts, 1958) (ill. pl. VIII)

- François Fosca, Renoir. L'Homme et son oeuvre (Paris: Éditions Aimery Somogy, 1961), p. 88
- Merete Bodelsen, "Early Impressionist Sales, 1874–94 in the Light of some unpublished Procès-Verbaux," The Burlington Magazine 110, no. 783 (June 1968), p. 335
- Monsieur François Daulte, Charles Durand-Ruel, Jean Renoir, Auguste Renoir. Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint. I. Figures, 1860–1890 (Lausanne: Editions Durand-Ruel, 1971), no. 103 (ill., as "Le Pêcheur à la ligne" dated 1874)
- Keith Wheldon, Renoir, His Art (New York: Galahad books, 1975), p. 68 (color ill. pl. 48)
- Elda Fezzi, Jacqueline Henry, Tout l'oeuvre peint de Renoir, période impressionniste, 1869–1883. Edition française mise à jour (Paris: Flammarion, 1985), no. 138 (color ill. pl. XIV)
- Gilles Néret, Renoir, peintre du bonheur 1841–1919 (Cologne: Benedikt Taschen Verlag, 2001) (color ill. p. 81)
- Guy-Patrice Dauberville, Michel Dauberville, Camille Fremontier-Murphy, Renoir. Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, pastels, dessins et aquarelles, Vol. I: 1858-1881 (Paris: Bernheim-Jeune, 2007), no. 263 (ill. p. 313)

### La reproduction de l'œuvre — Les documents photographiques

Un même dossier peut comporter plusieurs photographies de l'œuvre, parfois des dizaines qui seront conservées et numérisées autant que possible. Les photographies d'avant l'ère du numérique ont été en grande majorité prises en direct, devant l'œuvre elle-même. Ce qui n'est pas toujours le cas aujourd'hui.

En effet, l'image d'une œuvre peut être copiée depuis internet sans aucune difficulté. Il s'agit donc de toujours vérifier la source d'un tel document.

La photographie en noir et blanc garde beaucoup d'avantages pour l'analyse des documents et même la comparaison avec l'œuvre durant un comité, Le noir et blanc faisant ressortir les contrastes.

**La fiche technique :** c'est la carte d'identité qui relèvera les caractéristiques physiques de l'œuvre, l'objet en lui-même. Elle comprend :

**Le titre de l'œuvre,** qu'il soit donné par le peintre lui-même, son marchand, une maison de ventes, un auteur ou d'autres sources permet la plupart du temps d'identifier le sujet de l'œuvre dans le cas des œuvres figuratives. Il peut être simplement descriptif ou renseigner sur un lieu, une personne, un sujet ou un thème : Le Pont-Neuf à Paris, Portrait de Madame Charpentier, Nymphéas, matin. Le titre peut d'ailleurs varier d'une époque ou d'un ouvrage à l'autre et ne se fixera de manière quasiment définitive que dans le catalogue raisonné, les inventaires des musées ou les ouvrages de référence.

La carte postale d'époque confirme ici la localisation du site et dans ce cas le titre donné à l'œuvre. (figs. 2, 3)

### Le Portrait de Willhem Mühlfeld par Pierre-Auguste Renoir

Dans le cas du Portrait de Willhem Mühlfeld, attribué à Renoir, il s'agit bien de la personne représentée. L'œuvre de l'ancienne collection Matsukata avait été débaptisée en "Homme à la cravate rouge." et considérée comme fausse. L'œuvre a depuis repris son titre d'origine et a été incluse au catalogue raisonné. (figs. 4, 5)

**La datation :** indique la date présumée de l'exécution de l'œuvre si celle-ci n'a pas été clairement reportée par l'artiste. Elle permet de

procéder au classement chronologique de l'œuvre d'un artiste mais également de suivre son évolution technique et esthétique.

### La technique

Cette information primordiale permet de préciser quel médium et quel support l'artiste a utilisé pour créer son œuvre. Ces différents éléments feront également l'objet d'un classement : couleurs et pigments généralement utilisés par un artiste, toiles, châssis, papiers, permettront d'identifier au mieux ses fournisseurs et ses 'habitudes' de travail.

### Les dimensions

En peinture, la prise des dimensions se fait en deux dimensions, en centimètres, sur la surface peinte de l'œuvre décadrée, de bord à bord. Ces indications précises font également partie des éléments identitaires de l'œuvre.

Lors de la publication, la notation des dimensions permet de donner une échelle et sera d'une grande utilité pour la comparaison des œuvres. Nous le verrons dans le cas des fragments de Renoir.

### La signature

La ou les signatures seront indiquées telle que lue sur l'œuvre (et même au dos de celle-ci) ainsi que leur emplacement.

En effet les œuvres ne sont pas systématiquement signées après la réalisation de l'œuvre. L'artiste peut parfois signer à une période ultérieure, à l'occasion d'une vente ou d'une exposition. Certaines œuvres répertoriées non-signées du vivant de l'artiste peuvent porter une signature apocryphe reprenant l'attribution communément admise pour l'œuvre et être apposée par un tiers.

D'autres cas montrent qu'une signature originale a pu disparaître au cours du temps, suite à une restauration ou un nettoyage un peu agressif de l'œuvre.

Pour certains artistes un cachet de la signature sera apposé en présence d'un huissier et fera office de signature. Il est apposé sur toutes les œuvres présentes dans l'atelier à la mort du peintre.

\* \* \*

La notice se décompose ensuite en trois grandes parties qui vont permettre de séquencer la vie de l'œuvre:

**La provenance :** a qui l'œuvre a appartenue, propriétaire ou dépositaire

**Les expositions :** quand et où l'œuvre a-t-elle été exposée ou vue.

**La bibliographie :** dans quels ouvrages ou catalogues l'œuvre a-t-elle été citée, décrite ou reproduite.

### La provenance

Elle contient les éléments clés de la vie de l'œuvre, elle permet de déterminer essentiellement les différents propriétaires ou acquéreurs qu'ils soient des personnes physiques, des entités diverses- galeries, associations, fonds d'investissement ou des institutions tels que les musées ou les fondations.

La principale source des provenances sont les catalogues de ventes publiques et les archives des marchands des artistes concernés telles que



les archives Durand-Ruel, Vollard, Druet, Bernheim-Jeune.

La provenance doit refléter les différents types de transactions volontaires ou non : vente, achat, héritage, don, session, et même vol, perte, découverte.

Le chercheur s'attachera à reconstituer au mieux les différents protagonistes de ces événements en évitant au possible les manques entre deux propriétaires.

Analysons la provenance de l'œuvre "Le pêcheur à la ligne" qui ne comporte aucun manque. (fig. 1)

#### Provenance

- Vente, consignée par l'artiste à Drouot, Paris, 24 mars 1875, no. 48 ('Le pêcheur à la ligne' 180 francs) (fig. 6)
- Georges Charpentier, Paris, acheté à la vente précédente
- Vente, consigné par le précédent à Drouot, Paris, 11 avril 1907, no. 22 (ill., as "Le Pêcheur à la ligne" 14050 francs)
- Raymond Elois Tournon, Paris, acheté à la vente précédente
- Georgette Tournon-Charpentier, Paris, don du précédent, son époux
- Robert Chambolle-Tournon, par descendance de la précédente (1945)
- Claude Chambolle-Tournon, Costa Rica, par descendance du précédent (1971) (figs. 7–9)
- Collection Tournon-Charpentier, Paris
- Vente, consigné par les précédents à Christie's, London, 6 juillet 1971, no. 30 (color ill.) (fig. 10)
- Mr. & Mrs. Nigel Broackes, London, acquis à la vente précédente
- Vente consigné par les précédents à Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co, London, 4 juillet 1979, no. 78 (color ill.) (fig. 11)
- Private collection, acquis à la vente précédente
- Private collection, Paris, par descendante du précédent
- Vente, Christie's, New York, 13 mai 2019, no. 38A (color ill.)

#### Les expositions

Un catalogue raisonné peut choisir de lister les expositions dans lesquelles l'œuvre a été montrée sur une plus ou moins longue période et parfois dans plusieurs lieux successifs. Les expositions font l'objet d'un catalogue. Bien souvent, constitués d'une simple liste d'œuvres au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle et au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, avec très peu d'illustrations, pour la plupart en noir et blanc, ils sont aujourd'hui richement illustrés et documentés. L'exposition devient également l'occasion pour les conservateurs et les historiens d'art d'aborder l'œuvre d'un artiste sous un certain angle ou une certaine problématique. Nous le constatons dans la liste des expositions du Pêcheur à la ligne: en 1900, Exposition A. Renoir sous un angle très général, en 1974, Impressionism, its Precursors, and its Influence in Britain, sur thème extrêmement précis.

Les expositions sont autant d'occasions de 'faire bouger' les œuvres, de les étudier, les photographier mais également de les localiser et de les mettre en rapport les unes avec les autres, esthétiquement ou techniquement.

Le catalogue d'exposition devient alors une source de renseignements pour le catalogue raisonné. Cependant ces renseignements devront être vérifiés: certaines publications relaient des informations erronées.

#### Exhibitions

- Paris, Galerie Bernheim Jeune & Cie, Exposition A. Renoir, January 25–February 10, 1900, no. 18 (as "Le Pêcheur") (Lender: Georges Charpentier, Paris)
- Paris, Galleries L et P. Rosenberg, Exposition "Le Grand Siècle" organisée au profit de la Société des amis du Louvre, June 15–July 11, 1936, no. 46
- Paris, Galerie Dabert, Rétrospective des Maîtres du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, 1942
- Paris, Galerie Charpentier, La vie familiale. Scènes et Portraits, January 1,

1944, no. 120 (ill., as "Le Pêcheur à la ligne")

- London, The Diploma Galleries, Royal Academy of Art, Impressionism, its Masters, its Precursors, and its Influence in Britain, February 9–April 28, 1974, no. 98 (ill. pl. XVIIIa)

#### La bibliographie

Les monographies, les ouvrages, articles et périodiques seront également traités afin de recueillir des informations, des visuels ou confirmer la présence d'une œuvre à une exposition ou dans une collection, au même titre que les catalogues de vente ou d'exposition. Le même traitement de fond sera appliqué à ces publications.

#### Publications

- Julius Meier-Graefe, Auguste Renoir (Paris: Floury, 1912), p. 53
- Lucien Rebatet, "Une admirable galerie en vingt toiles des maîtres du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle," Le Petit parisien, June 10, 1942 (ill.) 1
- Germain Bazin, Michel Drucker, Renoir (Paris: Editions Pierre Tisné, 1944) (color ill. p. 45 dated 1877)
- Michel Robida, Le Salon Charpentier et les impressionnistes (Paris: La Bibliothèque des Arts, 1958) (ill. pl. VIII)
- François Fosca, Renoir. L'Homme et son oeuvre (Paris: Éditions Aimery Somogy, 1961), p. 88
- Merete Bodelsen, "Early Impressionist Sales, 1874–94 in the Light of some unpublished Procès-Verbaux," The Burlington Magazine 110, no. 783 (June 1968), p. 335
- Monsieur François Daulte, Charles Durand-Ruel, Jean Renoir, Auguste Renoir. Catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre peint. I. Figures, 1860–1890 (Lausanne: Editions Durand-Ruel, 1971), no. 103 (ill., as "Le Pêcheur à la ligne" dated 1874)
- Keith Wheldon, Renoir, His Art (New York: Galahad books, 1975), p. 68 (color ill. pl. 48)
- Elda Fezzi, Jacqueline Henry, Tout l'œuvre peint de Renoir, période impressionniste, 1869–1883. Edition française mise à jour (Paris: Flammarion, 1985), no. 138 (color ill. pl. XIV)
- Gilles Néret, Renoir, peintre du bonheur 1841–1919 (Cologne: Benedikt Taschen Verlag, 2001) (color ill. p. 81)
- Guy-Patrice Dauberville, Michel Dauberville, Camille Fremontier-Murphy, Renoir. Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, pastels, dessins et aquarelles, Vol. I: 1858–1881 (Paris: Bernheim-Jeune, 2007), no. 263 (ill. p. 313)

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#### Catalogue de vente du 4 juillet 1979 (fig. 12)

La demande qui est faite à un comité concerne différents types d'œuvres:

Les œuvres répertoriées dans un précédent catalogue raisonné ou déjà étudiées qui sont présentées en vue d'une confirmation: le comité s'assure lors d'un examen visuel, en présence de l'œuvre qu'il s'agit bien de "l'objet" concerné. La comparaison se fera d'après les photographies anciennes ou celles déjà présentes dans le dossier. La provenance sera également vérifiée et augmentée des derniers éléments possiblement fournis par le demandeur.

Exemple de l'œuvre répertoriée dans le Catalogue raisonné de Claude Monet, numéro W 1166.

L'œuvre était incluse mais reproduite en noir et blanc. Le comité examine donc l'œuvre physiquement et confirme qu'il s'agit bien de l'œuvre répertoriée. (fig. 13)

Les œuvres considérées comme de l'artiste, dans diverses publications, archives privées ou publiques. Le demandeur peut également fournir d'autres renseignements en sa possession. Il peut s'agir d'une œuvre provenant d'une succession, d'une collection privée ou d'une vente publique, plus rarement d'un musée. L'œuvre peut avoir un dossier



correspondant qui a été constitué d'après des archives propres à chaque catalogue. Ainsi une œuvre provenant de la galerie Durand-Ruel n'était connue que d'après une photographie en noir et blanc, était bien incluse dans le corpus de l'œuvre du peintre mais n'avait jamais été étudiée par le comité. Elle sera examinée, son dossier complété et son inclusion confirmée. (figs. 14, 15)

L'archive nous a permis une fois de plus de confirmer la provenance et de constater que l'œuvre présentée est dans son état d'origine.

Les œuvres supposées de l'artiste. Cette catégorie concerne des œuvres pour la plupart inconnues, jamais photographiées ou répertoriées qui sont présentées au comité de l'artiste pour une inclusion possible au catalogue raisonné. Le comité procédera comme plus haut et délivrera son avis après l'examen physique de l'œuvre. (fig. 16)

Une œuvre présentée en 2019 par une maison de ventes attribuée à Édouard Manet. Cette œuvre, selon les propriétaires, aurait été répertoriée dans l'inventaire après décès d'Édouard Manet réalisé par son frère Eugène. Malgré une provenance qui semblait parfaite, cette œuvre n'a pas été retenue au catalogue raisonné.

L'inventaire après décès de Manet étant sur Internet et non-illustré, certains propriétaires estiment reconnaître leur œuvre sous un titre imprécis. Ex: Portrait de femme assise.

\* \* \*

La confrontation de l'œuvre avec son dossier et les photographies d'archive.

- fig. 17 L'œuvre reproduite en 1931 d'après les clichés effectués par Bernheim Jeune (circa 1919). L'œuvre ne porte pas de signature ni de cachet.
- figs. 18, 19 Archive de la Galerie Barbazanges : Cachet de l'atelier apposé en bas à gauche.
- figs. 20, 21 Œuvre présentée au comité Renoir en 2019.

Dans ce cas précis, nous savons que l'œuvre provenant de l'atelier de Renoir a été photographiée par la Galerie Bernheim-Jeune vers 1919: nous constatons que le cachet n'a pas encore été apposé.

Photographiée par Galerie Barbazanges vers 1920: nous apercevons clairement le cachet de la signature en bas à gauche.

L'œuvre présentée en avril 2019 est conforme aux deux archives, excepté l'important repeint à gauche: le rideau a été 'complété' après la mort du peintre par une main inconnue.

- fig. 22 Attestation d'inclusion délivrée à l'issue de comité.

## Le support de l'œuvre

L'étude directe des œuvres permet également d'étudier au plus près le support et notamment le dos des tableaux.

Le châssis, la toile et l'encadrement peuvent être une source d'informations essentielles pour compléter une notice, valider certaines provenances ou expositions, préciser un titre, constater l'état général de l'œuvre, restaurations diverses, dommages éventuels. En effet, des étiquettes de galerie, d'expositions, des numéros à la craie ou au crayon, des marques de fournisseurs peuvent corroborer d'autres sources présentes dans le dossier.

Au comité Van Dongen nous avons pu étudier l'œuvre suivante:

Camélias  
Huile sur toile  
65 x 53,8 cm  
Signé haut droite: Van Dongen  
Titre au dos sur le châssis: Camélias

Sur cette œuvre, nous avons pu constater que l'artiste avait peint directement le bouquet, sans dessin préalable, sur une toile à préparation blanche. Nous voyons en rétro-éclairage la toile laissée vierge (en rouge sur la photo en bas à droite). (figs. 23–29)

En examinant la toile de plus près et de biais, des empâtements de matière apparaissent et révèlent une très grande spontanéité du geste de l'artiste. Cette œuvre faite 'd'un coup' était d'ailleurs dans un état exceptionnel.

## Le dos des œuvres.

Dans le cas de cette œuvre, le châssis et la toile elle-même comprenaient de nombreuses informations telles que le titre de l'œuvre, inscrit par l'artiste lui-même, sa signature et l'adresse de son atelier à cette époque. De nombreuses étiquettes étaient également collées sur le châssis confirmant la plupart des expositions relevées dans le dossier. (figs. 30–32)

Johnny Hudgins, ouaa!! ouaaa!!!  
circa 1926  
Huile sur toile  
134 x 120 cm  
Signed lower left: van Dongen. Titled on the reverse: Johnny Hudgins / ouaa!! / ouaaa!!! Signed on the reverse: \*Van Dongen / 75. Rue de Courcelles / Paris XVII

## Le cas des fragments.

Particulièrement présents au comité Renoir, les fragments sont des parties d'une plus grande peinture qui ont été en quelque sorte découpées pour 'rentabiliser' des toiles d'études.

Voici le cas de deux œuvres-fragment qui nous ont été présentées au même comité et provenant de la même œuvre d'origine. La photographie faite du vivant de l'artiste, provenant du fonds Vollard nous a permis d'identifier ces œuvres et leur provenance.

Deux œuvres ont été présentées simultanément au comité Renoir par deux maisons de ventes en 2019 :

Anémones dans un vase—fragment  
Huile sur toile  
23,7 x 19 cm  
Inscription bas droite

Buste de femme—fragment  
Huile sur toile  
15,5 x 12,3 cm  
Initiale haut droite: R

- fig. 33 Archive Ambroise Vollard montrant l'œuvre dans son état d'origine (circa 1910)

- fig. 34 Intégration numérique des œuvres dans leur 'contexte' d'origine. La superposition numérique permet de faire coïncider les fragments et l'œuvre entière. Nous pouvons également remarquer quelques repeints qui seront mentionnées sur l'attestation.

Nous pourrions multiplier les exemples à l'infini: chaque évènement, chaque vente, chaque publication, chaque comité sont autant d'occasions de remettre à jour la notice d'une oeuvre, de récolter des documents, d'affiner une provenance ou encore de suivre l'évolution d'une collection. Ces recherches permanentes aboutissent aussi et avant tout au plaisir de contempler des oeuvres d'art, de les regarder, les découvrir et en quelque sorte de les préserver pour l'avenir.

Photographies, archives, catalogues, publications, compte-rendu des comités sont maintenant soigneusement et quotidiennement intégrés et saisis dans la Database du WPI afin d'offrir un Catalogue Raisonné Digital en perpétuel devenir.

fig. 35      Claude Monet à Giverny au travail de ses « Grandes Décorations ».



fig. 1 Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Le Pêcheur à la ligne*, 1874



fig. 2 Claude Monet, *Les Falaises des Petites-Dalles*, 1880. W621



fig. 3 Carte postale identifiant clairement le lieu peint par l'artiste.



fig. 4 *Homme à la cravate rouge* (Ancienne collection Matsukata) Déclaré faux, à tort - Inclus au Catalogue raisonné en 2008



fig. 5 *Portrait de Wilhelm Mühlfeld* (Southampton City Art Gallery)

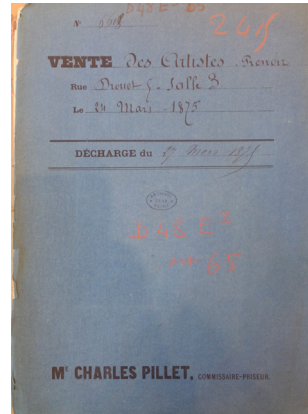


fig. 6 Catalogue de vente du 24 mars 1875. Le lot 48 a bien été vendue à Mr Charpentier pour 180 francs

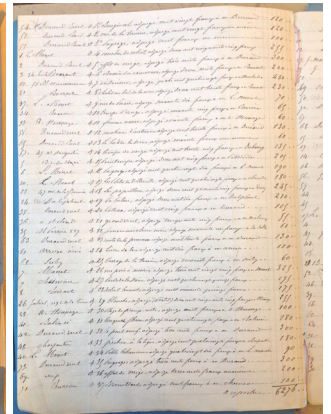


fig. 7 Photographie de l'appartement de Claude Chambolle-Tournon au Costa-Rica, circa 1960 (archives Chambolle-Tournon) où nous apercevons d'autres Renoir dont le fameux portrait de Georgette Charpentier aujourd'hui au Japon.

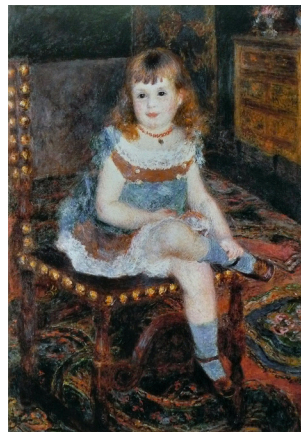


fig. 8 Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Mademoiselle Georgette Charpentier assise*, 1876 (Kyobashi, Tokyo)

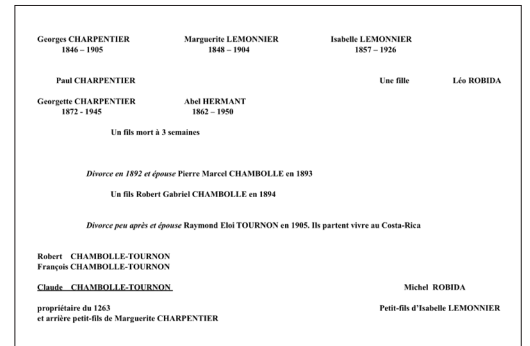


fig. 9 Arbre généalogique de la Famille Charpentier indiquant la provenance jusqu'à nos jours.



fig. 10 Catalogue de vente du 6 juillet 1971

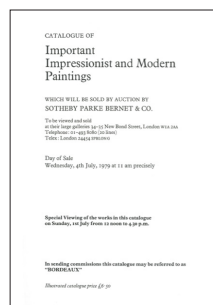
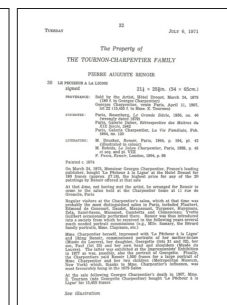
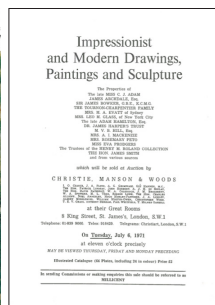


fig. 11 Catalogue de vente du 4 juillet 1979

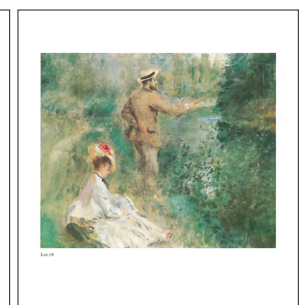
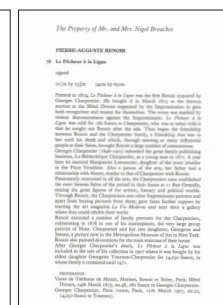






fig. 12 Colin Bailey et Elizabeth Gorayeb Durant le comité Renoir à New York en Avril 2019.

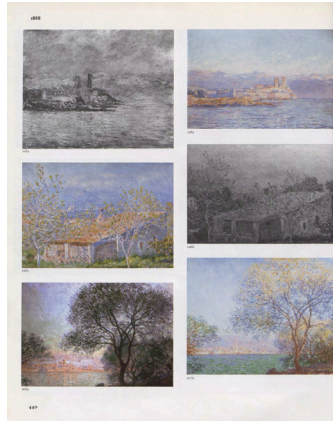


fig. 13 Claude Monet, *La Maison du Jardinier*, 1888

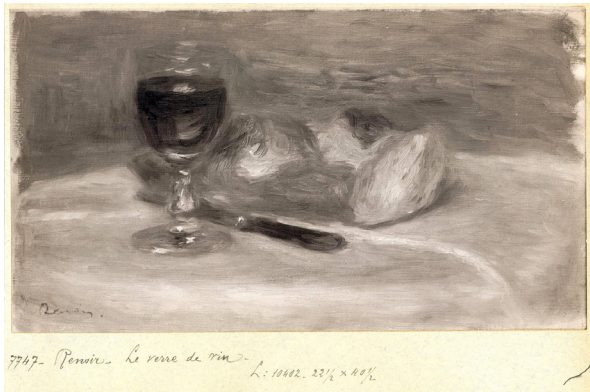


fig. 15 Œuvre présentée en 2006 au comité Renoir

fig. 14 Archive Durand-Ruel (circa 1908)

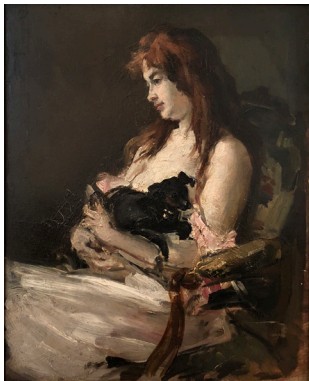


fig. 16 Anonyme, *La rousse au chien noir*, huile sur toile, 41 x 31 cm, inscription en haut à gauche : 'M'



fig. 17 L'œuvre reproduite en 1931 d'après les clichés effectués par Bernheim Jeune (circa 1919). L'œuvre ne porte pas de signature ni de cachet.



fig. 18 Archive de la Galerie Barbazanges : Cachet de l'atelier apposé en bas à gauche.

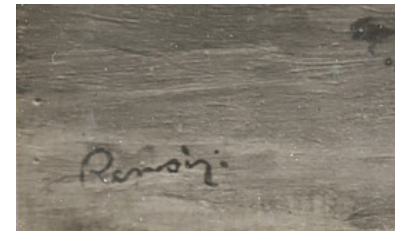


fig. 19 Cachet de l'atelier apposé en bas à gauche.

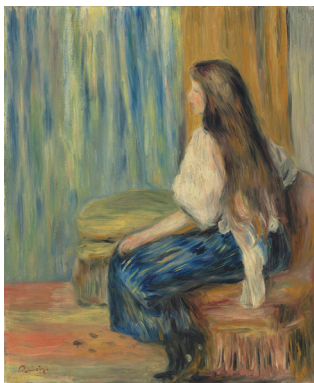


fig. 20 Œuvre présentée au comité Renoir en 2019.



fig. 21 Verso : œuvre présentée au comité Renoir en 2019.



fig. 22 Attestation d'inclusion délivrée à l'issue de comité.





fig. 23 Kees van Dongen, *Camélias*



fig. 24



fig. 25 verso

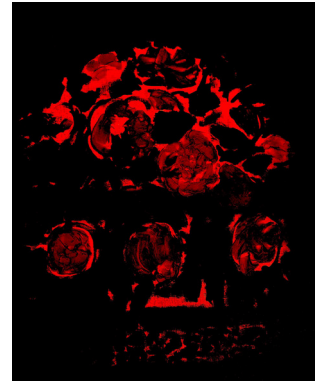


fig. 26 contre-jour



fig. 27 détails

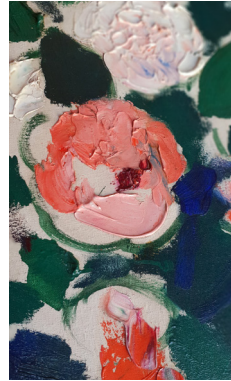


fig. 28 détails



fig. 29 détails

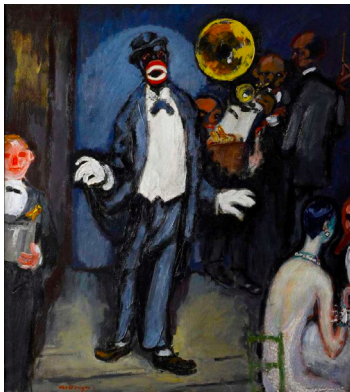


fig. 30 Kees van Dongen, *Johnny Hudgins, ouaaa!! Ouaaa!!!*, 1926.

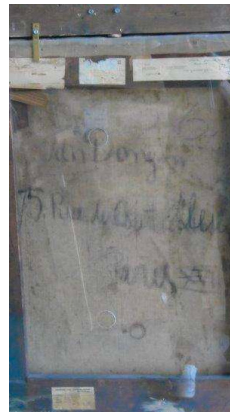


fig. 31 Dos de l'oeuvre.



fig. 32 Dos de l'oeuvre.



fig. 33 Archive Ambroise Volland montrant l'oeuvre dans son état d'origine (circa 1910)

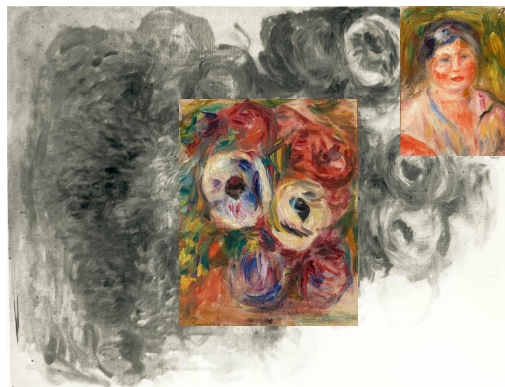


fig. 34 Intégration numérique des oeuvres dans leur 'contexte' d'origine. La superposition numérique permet de faire coïncider les fragments et l'oeuvre entière. Nous pouvons également remarquer quelques repeints qui seront mentionnées sur l'attestation.

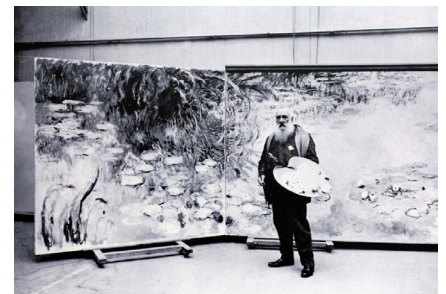


fig. 35 Claude Monet à Giverny au travail de ses « Grandes Décorations ».

**Pascal PERRIN**

*Head of Research, Wildenstein Plattner Institute*

## The Catalogue Raisonné in the Digital Era

What exactly is a catalogue raisonné? A work that collects, identifies and classifies the complete works of a painter or sculptor. It involves inventory and documentation and charts the evolution of the work as a whole and in detail. Each painting and/or sculpture is described, analyzed and placed in the artist's creative process. Every work is reproduced, each with a detailed notice: technical information, bibliographic and historical data, accompanied by commentary, and sometimes by related iconographic documents. Building a catalogue raisonné requires extremely meticulous work, involving diverse bills and statements, cross-checks, "fieldwork," data verification, information searches, often in places seemingly distant from Art History, but necessary to deepen and enrich research (National Meteorology, Hospitals, Port Administration).

Following the work of compilation and confrontation comes the drawing up of a plan, either chronological or thematic (or both), depending on whether the artist dated their work or not, also depending on the dominant subjects of the corpus.

The first catalogues raisonnés had a didactic aim and were in two distinct parts—biography and the catalogue itself. In more recent, critical catalogues, authors have adopted a more personal approach along with the same constant attention to rigor and method.

The establishment of a catalogue of an artist's entire work can take a number of years of research: thirty-five for Fragonard, forty for Monet, sixty for Vuillard. Approximately ten such reference works are now in preparation in the Wildenstein Plattner Institute, which has undertaken their realization on the scientific and material levels; however, research is not abandoned after publication—new information is gathered in view of new, reviewed, corrected and augmented editions.

## I. The dossier of a work

The establishment of a catalogue raisonné is based essentially on the constitution of a dossier of a work. This is an essential job, leading to the building up of a work's pedigree thanks to the documents, archives and information collected upstream. The researcher gathers the most information possible relating to the work in order to establish a precise résumé in view of the publication of the catalogue raisonné. This dossier also aids the committee members in their decision to include or reject a work or put it on hold. The study of the work itself and the analysis of its pedigree are the basis of the catalogue raisonné and of the taking of decisions.

## II. The committees

During the elaboration of a catalogue raisonné, the consulting committees play an essential role in the inclusion or rejection of a work. A committee is an association composed of art historians and/or descendants or beneficiaries of the painter in question, of author(s) of the catalogue or specialists: they meet periodically to deliberate on works presented physically. Researchers can thus take new photographs of the work and of the back of the canvas, where gallery labels and numbers giving historical information can be found. They check the dimensions and note the present state of conservation.

Unlike an expert who decides momentarily on the authenticity of a work, a committee composed of specialists and art historians renders a

collective opinion after the study of a work and its dossier.

After examination, and depending on the opinion of committee members, decisions are made as to whether the work will be included or not. As a third possibility, it can also be put on hold for continued study. In no case are these decisions considered certification of authenticity or expertise; they are never contested.

\* \* \*

## 1. The dossier of a work and the notice

Before a work is presented to the committee, the research team draws up the notice, a compilation of the sources and documents included in the dossier.

Once written (in English) it looks like this:

*Le Pêcheur à la ligne* [The Fisherman] (fig. 1)  
1874  
Oil on canvas  
54.3 x 65.3 cm  
Signed lower right: *Renoir*.

### Provenance

- Sale, consigned by the artist to Drouot, Paris, March 24, 1875, no. 48 (as "Pêcheur à la ligne") 1
- Georges Charpentier, Paris, purchased at the above sale
- Sale, consigned by above to Drouot, Paris, April 11, 1907, no. 22 (ill., as "Le Pêcheur à la ligne") 2
- Raymond Elois Tournon, Paris, purchased at the above sale
- Georgette Tournon-Charpentier, Paris, gift from above 3
- Robert Chambolle-Tournon, by descent from above (1945)
- Claude Chambolle-Tournon, Costa Rica, by descent from above (1971)
- The Tournon-Charpentier family collection, Paris
- Sale, consigned by above to Christie's, London, July 6, 1971, no. 30 (color ill.)
- Mr. & Mrs. Nigel Broackes, London, purchased at the above sale
- Sale, consigned by above to Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co, London, July 4, 1979, no. 78 (color ill.)
- Private collection, purchased at the above sale
- Private collection, Paris, by descent from unknown
- Sale, Christie's, New York, May 13, 2019, no. 38A (color ill.) 4

### Exhibitions

- Paris, Galerie Bernheim Jeune & Cie, Exposition A. Renoir, January 25–February 10, 1900, no. 18 (as "Le Pêcheur") (Lender: Georges Charpentier, Paris)
- Paris, Galeries L et P. Rosenberg, Exposition "Le Grand Siècle" organisée au profit de la Société des amis du Louvre, June 15–July 11, 1936, no. 46
- Paris, Galerie Dabert, Rétrospective des Maîtres du XIXe siècle, 1942
- Paris, Galerie Charpentier, La vie familiale. Scènes et Portraits, January 1, 1944, no. 120 (ill., as "Le Pêcheur à la ligne")
- London, The Diploma Galleries, Royal Academy of Art, Impressionism, its Masters, its Precursors, and its Influence in Britain, February 9–April 28, 1974, no. 98 (ill. pl. XVIIIa)

### Publications

- Julius Meier-Graefe, *Auguste Renoir* (Paris: Floury, 1912), p. 53
- Lucien Rebatet, "Une admirable galerie en vingt toiles des maîtres du XIXe siècle," *Le Petit parisien*, June 10, 1942 (ill.) 1
- Germain Bazin, Michel Drucker, *Renoir* (Paris: Editions Pierre Tisné, 1944) (color ill. p. 45 dated 1877)
- Michel Robida, *Le Salon Charpentier et les impressionnistes* (Paris: La Bibliothèque des Arts, 1958) (ill. pl. VIII)
- François Fosca, *Renoir. L'Homme et son oeuvre* (Paris: Éditions Aimery Somogy, 1961), p. 88
- Merete Bodelsen, "Early Impressionist Sales, 1874–94 in the Light of some unpublished Procès-Verbaux," *The Burlington Magazine* 110, no. 783 (June 1968), p. 335
- Monsieur François Daulte, Charles Durand-Ruel, Jean Renoir, *Auguste*



Renoir. *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint. I. Figures, 1860–1890* (Lausanne: Editions Durand-Ruel, 1971), no. 103 (ill., as “Le Pêcheur à la ligne” (dated 1874)

- Keith Wheldon, *Renoir, His Art* (New York: Galahad books, 1975), p. 68 (color ill. pl. 48)
- Elda Fezzi, Jacqueline Henry, *Tout l'oeuvre peint de Renoir, période impressionniste, 1869–1883*. Édition française mise à jour (Paris: Flammarion, 1985), no. 138 (color ill. pl. XIV)
- Gilles Néret, *Renoir, peintre du bonheur 1841–1919* (Cologne: Benedikt Taschen Verlag, 2001) (color ill. p. 81)
- Guy-Patrice Dauberville, Michel Dauberville, Camille Fremontier-Murphy, Renoir. *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, pastels, dessins et aquarelles, Vol. I: 1858–1881* (Paris: Bernheim-Jeune, 2007), no. 263 (ill. p. 313)

### Reproduction of the work—photographic documents

A single dossier can contain several photographs of a work, sometimes dozens, to be conserved and numbered so far as possible. Photographs from before the digital era were largely taken directly facing the work itself, which is not always the case today, when the image of a work can easily be copied from Internet. Thus the source of such a document must always be verified.

A black and white photograph has many advantages for the analysis of a document and even for a comparison with the work itself during a committee, since black and white brings out contrasts.

**Technical notice:** this is the work's identity card, indicating its physical characteristics. It comprises:

**The title of the work:** Whether given by the painter him/herself, his/her dealer, an auction house, author, or other sources, most of the time in the case of figurative works it enables the identification of the subject of the work. It can be simply descriptive, or indicate a place, person, subject or theme: *Le Pont-Neuf à Paris, Portrait de Madame Charpentier, Nymphéas, matin*. Furthermore, the title can vary from one period of time or one work to another and is only more or less definitively fixed in the catalogue raisonné, museum inventories and/or reference works. Postcards of an era confirm the location of the site, in which case also the title given to the work. (figs. 2, 3)

### *Le Portrait of Wilhelm Mühfeld, Pierre-August Renoir*

In the case of the *Portrait of Wilhelm Mühfeld*, attributed to Renoir, the portrait is indeed that of Wilhelm Mühfeld. In the former Matsukata collection, the work had been renamed *l'Homme à la cravate rouge* [Man with a Red Tie] and considered a forgery. Since then, the work has reclaimed its original title and been included in the catalogue raisonné. (figs. 4, 5)

**Dating of a work:** this indicates the presumed date of the work's execution, if it hasn't been clearly marked by the artist. It makes it possible to classify an artist's works chronologically as well as to follow their technical and esthetic evolution.

**Technique:** This essential information specifies the medium and support used by the artist in the creation of the work. These various elements will also be classified: colors and pigments generally used by an artist, canvases, frames, papers, all make for the best possible identification of suppliers and “work habits”.

**Dimensions:** In painting, two dimensions are taken in centimeters, on the painted surface of the work outside of its frame, from edge to edge.

These precise indications are also part of the identifying elements of the work.

In a publication, the mention of dimensions gives a scale and is extremely useful when comparing works, as will be seen in the case of Renoir fragments.

**Signature:** Signatures are indicated as read on the work (and even on the back of it), and where they are placed.

Works are not systematically signed after having been done. Sometimes the artist will sign later on, at the time of a sale or exhibition. Some listed works, unsigned during the artist's lifetime, may bear an apocryphal signature using the generally accepted attribution for the work and appended by a third party.

Other cases show that an original signature could have disappeared over time, following a too aggressive restoration or cleaning process.

For some artists, a signature stamp is affixed in the presence of a legal officer (huissier) and serves as a signature. It is affixed on all works present in the artist's atelier at the time of death.

\* \* \*

The notice is then divided into three large parts for the purpose of sequencing the life of the work:

**Provenance:** to whom the work has belonged, its owner or depositary.

**Exhibitions:** when and where the painting was exhibited or seen.

**Bibliography:** in what works or catalogues the work has been cited, described, or reproduced.

### Provenance

This contains the key elements of the life of the work, allowing us mainly to determine who were the various owners or acquirers, be they actual persons or various entities—galleries, associations, investment funds or institutions such as museums and foundations.

The main sources of provenance information are catalogues of public sales and archives of the dealers of the artists in question, such as Durand-Ruel, Vollard, Druet, and Bernheim-Jeune.

Provenance must reflect the different types of transactions, voluntary or not: Purchase, inheritance, gift, transfer, and even theft, loss, discovery.

The researcher strives to reconstitute the various protagonists of these events, avoiding to the extent possible any information gaps between two owners.

We can look at the work *Le pêcheur à la ligne* and the analysis of its provenance, which shows no gaps. (fig. 1)

### Provenance

- Sale, consigned by the artist at Drouot, Paris, 24 March 1875, no. 48 (“Le pêcheur à la ligne” 180 francs) (fig. 6)
- Georges Charpentier, Paris, purchased at the preceding sale
- Sale, consigned by the preceding at Drouot, Paris, 11 April 1907, no. 22 (ill., as “Le Pêcheur à la ligne” 14050 francs)
- Raymond Elois Tournon, Paris, purchased at the preceding sale.
- Georgette Tournon-Charpentier, Paris, gift of the preceding, her husband
- Robert Chambolle-Tournon, inherited from the preceding (1945)
- Claude Chambolle-Tournon, Costa Rica, inherited from the preceding (1971) (figs. 7–9)



- Collection Tournon-Charpentier, Paris
- Sale, consigned by the preceding at Christie's, London, 6 July 1971, no. 30 (color ill.) (fig. 10)
- Mr. & Mrs. Nigel Broackes, London, acquired at the preceding sale
- Sale consigned by the preceding at Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co, London, 4 July 1979, no. 78 (color ill.) (fig. 11)
- Private collection, acquired at the preceding sale
- Private collection, Paris, by descendent of the preceding
- Sale, Christie's, New York, 13 May 2019, no. 38A (color ill.)

#### Exhibitions

- Paris, Galerie Bernheim Jeune & Cie, *Exposition A. Renoir*, January 25–February 10, 1900, no. 18 (as “Le Pêcheur”) (Lender: Georges Charpentier, Paris)
- Paris, Galeries L et P. Rosenberg, *Exposition “Le Grand Siècle” organisée au profit de la Société des amis du Louvre*, June 15–July 11, 1936, no. 46
- Paris, Galerie Daber, *Rétrospective des Maîtres du XIXe siècle*, 1942
- Paris, Galerie Charpentier, *La vie familiale. Scènes et Portraits*, January 1, 1944, no. 120 (ill., as “Le Pêcheur à la ligne”)
- London, The Diploma Galleries, Royal Academy of Art, *Impressionism, its Masters, its Precursors, and its Influence in Britain*, February 9–April 28, 1974, no. 98 (ill. pl. XVIIIa)

A catalogue raisonné can choose to list the exhibitions where a work was shown over a shorter or longer period and sometimes in several successive places. Exhibitions make for catalogues, and whereas in the 19th and early 20th centuries they very often provided a simple list of works with very few and mainly black and white illustrations, today they are richly illustrated and documented. An exhibition also becomes the opportunity for curators and art historians to approach the work of an artist from a certain angle or context. We see this in the list of exhibitions of *Pêcheur à la ligne*: in 1900, a very general *Exposition A. Renoir*; in 1974 a precise theme, “Impressionism, its Precursors, and its Influence in Britain.”

Exhibitions are also the occasion to “move” works, to study and photograph them, but also to situate them in a particular context and create relationships with one another, esthetically and/or technically.

Thus the exhibition catalogue becomes a source of information for the catalogue raisonné. However, such information must be verified: some publications relay erroneous information.

#### Bibliography

Monographs, books, articles and periodicals are also treated for the purpose of gathering information and visuals, for confirming the presence of a work at an exhibition or in a collection, as with sales and exhibition catalogues. The same in-depth treatment is applied to the latter publications.

#### Publications

- Julius Meier-Graefe, *Auguste Renoir* (Paris: Floury, 1912), p. 53
- Lucien Rebatet, “Une admirable galerie en vingt toiles des maîtres du XIXe siècle,” *Le Petit parisien*, June 10, 1942 (ill.) 1
- Germain Bazin, Michel Drucker, *Renoir* (Paris: Editions Pierre Tisné, 1944) (color ill. p. 45 dated 1877)
- Michel Robida, *Le Salon Charpentier et les impressionnistes* (Paris: La Bibliothèque des Arts, 1958) (ill. pl. VIII)
- François Fosca, *Renoir. L'Homme et son oeuvre* (Paris: Éditions Aimery Somogy, 1961), p. 88
- Merete Bodelsen, “Early Impressionist Sales, 1874–94 in the Light of some unpublished Procès-Verbaux,” *The Burlington Magazine* 110, no. 783 (June 1968), p. 335
- Monsieur François Daulte, Charles Durand-Ruel, Jean Renoir, *Auguste Renoir. Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint. I. Figures, 1860–1890*

(Lausanne: Editions Durand-Ruel, 1971), no. 103 (ill., as “Le Pêcheur à la ligne” dated 1874)

- Keith Wheldon, *Renoir, His Art* (New York: Galahad books, 1975), p. 68 (color ill. pl. 48)
- Elda Fezzi, Jacqueline Henry, *Tout l'oeuvre peint de Renoir, période impressionniste, 1869–1883*. Edition française mise à jour (Paris: Flammarion, 1985), no. 138 (color ill. pl. XIV)
- Gilles Nérét, *Renoir, peintre du bonheur 1841–1919* (Cologne: Benedikt Taschen Verlag, 2001) (color ill. p. 81)
- Guy-Patrice Dauberville, Michel Dauberville, Camille Fremontier-Murphy, Renoir. *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, pastels, dessins et aquarelles, Vol. I: 1858–1881* (Paris: Bernheim-Jeune, 2007), no. 263 (ill. p. 313)

#### Colin Bailey and Elizabeth Gorayeb during the Renoir committee in New York, April 2019. (fig. 12)

The request made to a committee concerns different types of works:

Works listed in a previous catalogue raisonné or already examined, and are presented for confirmation: the committee then has to make sure, during a visual examination of the work, that it is in fact the “object” in question. Comparison can be made using old photographs or those already present in the dossier. Provenance will also be checked and the latest elements brought in by the requester will be added.

Example of the work listed in the Catalogue raisonné of Claude Monet, n° W 1166. The work was included, but reproduced in black and white. The committee examined the painting physically and confirmed that it was the listed work. (fig. 13: Claude Monet, *La Maison du jardinier*, 1888.)

Works considered as those of the artist in various publications, private or public archives. Requesters can also provide other information in their possession. A work might issue from an inheritance, a private collection or public sale, or more rarely, from a museum. It can have its own dossier constituted on the basis of the archives of each catalogue. Thus a work from the Durand-Ruel gallery, only known from a black and white photograph, was included in the corpus of the painter's work but had never been studied by the committee. It will be examined, its dossier completed and inclusion confirmed.

#### Durand-Ruel Archive (circa 1908) (fig. 14)

##### Work presented to the Renoir committee in 2006 (fig. 15)

The archive once again enabled us to confirm the provenance and assert that the work presented was in its original state.

An artist's supposed works. This category concerns unknown works, for the most part never photographed or listed, that are shown to the committee for possible inclusion in the catalogue raisonné. The committee proceeds, as above, and gives an opinion after a physical examination of the work.

Anonyme, *La rousse au chien noir [Woman with a Black Dog]* (fig. 16)  
Oil on canvas  
41 x 31 cm  
Inscription top left “M”

A work presented in 2019 by an auction house, attributed to Édouard Manet. According to its owners, the work was listed in the inventory drawn up by Manet's brother Eugène after the painter's death. Despite a seemingly perfect provenance, the work was not retained in the catalogue raisonné.

Since the inventory after Manet's death is on Internet and without illustrations, some owners believe they recognize their work under an imprecise title. Ex. *Portrait de femme assise*.

\* \* \*

Confrontation of the work with its dossier and archive photographs.

- fig. 17 The work reproduced in 1931 after photos taken by Bernheim Jeune (circa 1919). The work bears no signature or stamp.
- figs. 18, 19 Archive of the Galerie Barbazanges: stamp of the atelier on bottom left.
- figs. 20, 21 Work presented to the Renoir committee in 2019.

In this precise case, we know that the work coming from Renoir's atelier was photographed by the Galerie Bernheim-Jeune around 1919: we note that the stamp was not yet affixed. Photographed by the Barbazanges Gallery around 1920; we see clearly the signature stamp on the bottom left.

The work presented in April 2019 corresponds to the two archives, except for the important repaint on the left: the curtain was "completed" after the death of the painter by an unknown hand.

- fig. 22 Certificate of inclusion delivered after a committee.

### The work's support

The direct study of a work also allows a close study of the support, especially the back of the painting.

The chassis, the canvas and the frame can be a source of essential information for the completion of a notice—to validate certain provenances or exhibitions, to give a title precision, to state the overall condition of the work, various restorations, possible damage. Gallery or exhibition labels, numbers in chalk or pencil, suppliers' names can corroborate other sources present in the dossier.

In the Van Dongen committee we studied the following work:

*Camélias*  
Oil on canvas  
65 x 53.8 cm  
Signed top right: Van Dongen  
Titled on the back of the chassis: *Camélias*

On this work, we were able to see that the artist had painted the bouquet directly, with no preliminary drawing, on a canvas prepared in white. We see with backlight the blank canvas (in red on the photo, bottom right). (figs. 23–29: Kees van Dongen, *Camélias*, recto, verso, backlight, details)

Examining the canvas close up and from the side, thicknesses of paint can be seen, evidencing the great spontaneity of the painter's gestures. This work, done 'in one sitting' was in exceptional condition.

### The backs of works

In the case of this work, the chassis and the canvas itself contained numerous pieces of information, such as the title of the work, written by the artist himself, his signature and the address of his atelier at the time. A number of labels were also stuck to the chassis, confirming most of the exhibitions mentioned in the dossier.

Kees van Dongen, *Johnny Hudgins, ouaa!! Ouaaa!!!* (figs. 30–32)  
circa 1926  
Oil on canvas  
134 x 120 cm  
Signed lower left: Van Dongen. Titled on the reverse: *Johnny Hudgins / ouaa!! / ouaaa!!!* Signed on the reverse: \*Van Dongen / 75. Rue de Courcelles / Paris XVII

### The case of fragments.

The Renoir committee was notably concerned with fragments – parts of a larger painting that in some way were cut out to make economical use of study canvases.

This is the case of two fragments-of-works presented to the same committee and coming from the same original work. The photograph taken during the artist's lifetime and conserved in the Vollard collection allowed us to identify the works and their provenance.

In 2019, two works were simultaneously presented to the Renoir committee by two auction houses.

*Anémones dans un vase*—fragment  
Oil on canvas  
23.7 x 19 cm.  
Inscription bottom right

*Buste de femme*—fragment  
Oil on canvas  
15.5 x 12.3 cm  
Initial "R" top right

- fig. 33 Ambroise Vollard Archive showing the work in its original state (circa 1910)
- fig. 34 Digital integration of the works in their original "context". Digital superposition allows the fragments to coincide with the whole work. We also notice a few repaints, which will be mentioned in the certification.

An infinite number of examples could be given: every event, sale, publication, committee is an opportunity to update a work's notice, to gather documents, to refine a provenance or follow the evolution of a collection. In the end, this ongoing research leads above all to the pleasure of contemplating works of art and in some way, preserving them for the future.

Photographs, archives, catalogues, publications and committee reviews are now carefully integrated daily into the WPI Database, thus proposing an ongoing Digital Catalogue raisonné.

- fig. 35 Claude Monet in Giverny at work on his "Grandes Décorations".

(Translated by Judith Andreyev)





fig. 1 Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Le Pêcheur à la ligne*, 1874



fig. 2 Claude Monet, *Les Falaises des Petites-Dalles*, 1880. W621



fig. 3 Postcard clearly identifying the place painted by the artist.



fig. 4 *Homme à la cravate rouge* (former Matsukata collection). Wrongly declared a forgery – included in the Catalogue raisonné in 2008.



fig. 5 *Portrait de Wilhelm Mühfeld* (Southampton City Art Gallery)

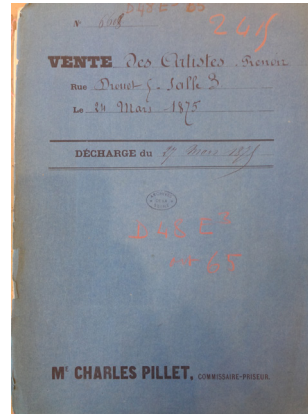


fig. 6 Sales catalogue of 24 March 1875. Lot 48 was sold to Mr Charpentier for 180 francs

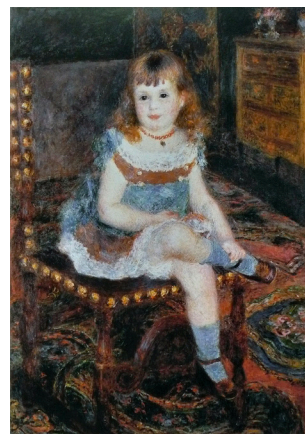
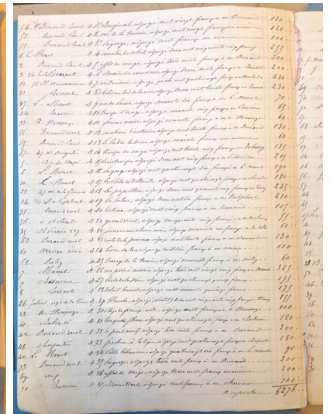


fig. 7 Photograph of the apartment of Claude Chambolle-Tournon in Costa-Rica, circa 1960 (archives Chambolle-Tournon), where we can see other Renoir, among them the famous portrait of Georgette Charpentier now in Japan.

fig. 8 Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Mademoiselle Georgette Charpentier assise*, 1876 (Kyobashi, Tokyo)



fig. 10 Sales catalogue of 6 July 1971

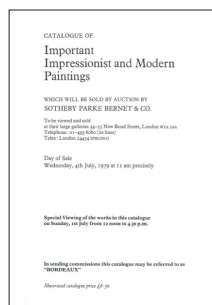
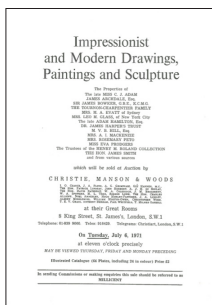


fig. 11 Sales catalogue 4 July 1979

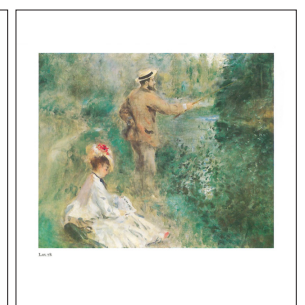
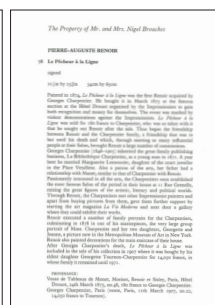






fig. 12 Colin Bailey and Elizabeth Gorayeb during the Renoir committee in New York, April 2019.

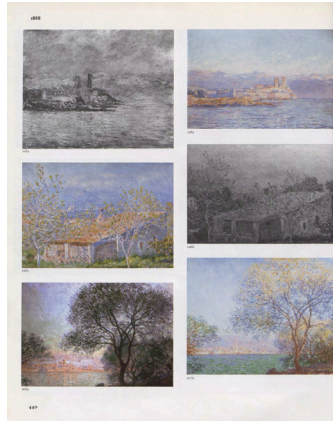


fig. 13 Claude Monet, *La Maison du jardinier*, 1888

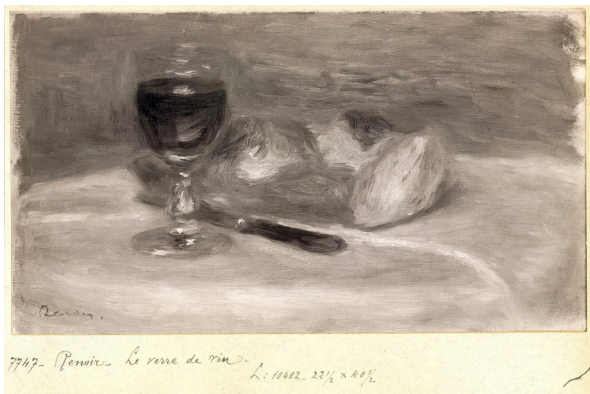


fig. 15 Work presented to the Renoir committee in 2006

fig. 14 Durand-Ruel Archive (circa 1908).

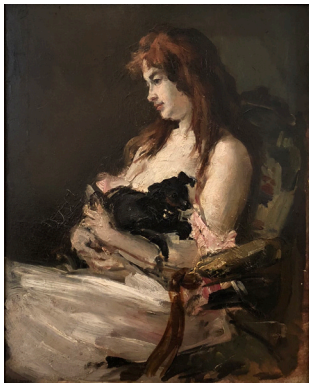


fig. 16 Anonyme, *La rousse au chien noir* [Woman with a Black Dog]



fig. 17 The work reproduced in 1931 after photos taken by Bernheim Jeune (circa 1919). The work bears no signature or stamp.



fig. 18 Archive of the Galerie Barbazanges: stamp of the atelier on bottom left.

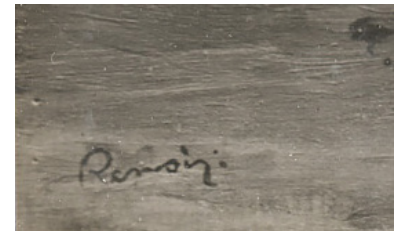


fig. 19 Stamp of the atelier on bottom left.

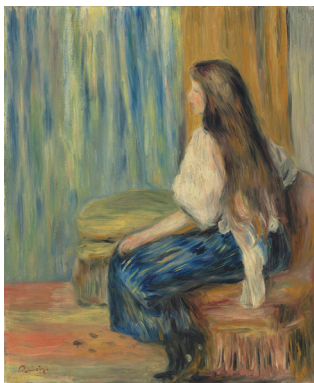


fig. 20 Work presented to the Renoir committee in 2019.



fig. 21 Verso: Work presented to the Renoir committee in 2019.



fig. 22 Certificate of inclusion delivered after a committee.





fig. 23 Kees van Dongen, *Camélias*



fig. 24



fig. 25 verso

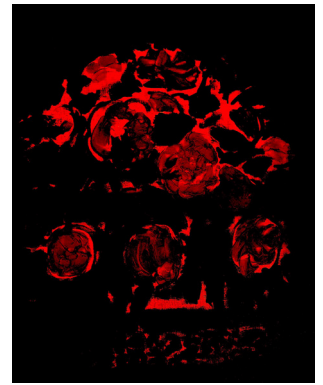


fig. 26 backlight



fig. 27 detail



fig. 28 detail



fig. 29 detail

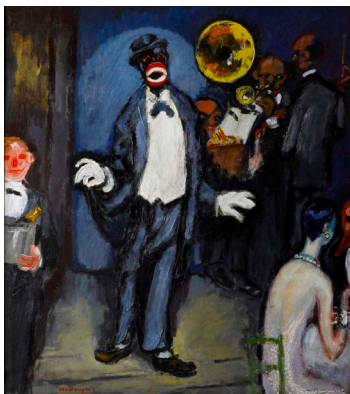


fig. 30 Kees van Dongen, *Johnny Hudgins, ouaa!! Ouaaa!!!*, 1926.

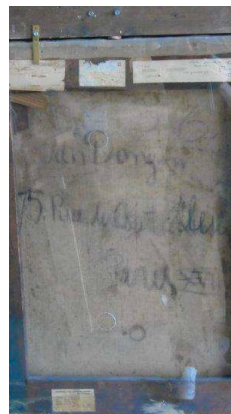


fig. 31 Back of the work



fig. 32 Back of the work

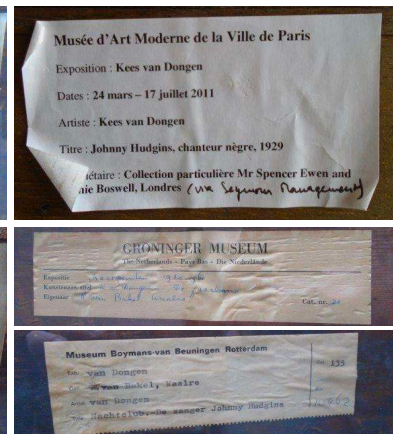


fig. 33 Ambroise Vollard Archive showing the work in its original state (circa 1910)



fig. 34 Digital integration of the works in their original "context". Digital superposition allows the fragments to coincide with the whole work. We also notice a few repaints, which will be mentioned in the certification.

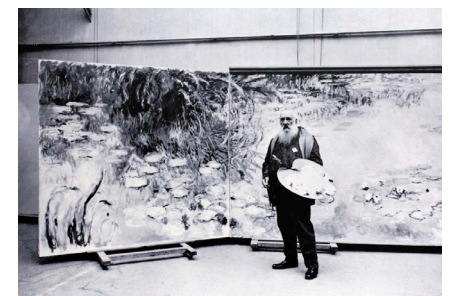
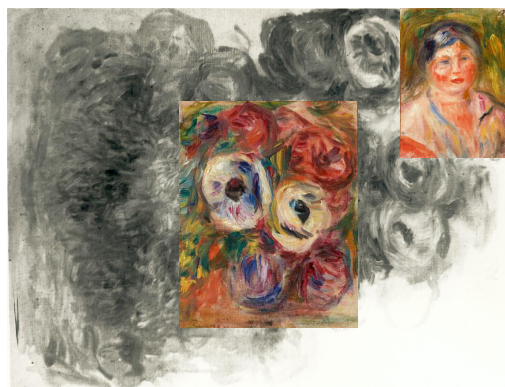


fig. 35 Claude Monet in Giverny at work on his "Grandes Décorations".

**Paul-Louis DURAND-RUEL**

*Archives Durand-Ruel*

La Galerie Durand-Ruel et ses archives

La galerie Durand-Ruel, à Paris et à New York, a joué un rôle essentiel dans la connaissance et la diffusion des principales écoles de peinture moderne au 19<sup>ème</sup> et au début du 20<sup>ème</sup> siècle : l'Ecole de Barbizon et l'Impressionnisme. Ceci est dû à la vision et au courage de Paul Durand-Ruel (né en 1831, mort en 1922 / fig. 1), et à la longue lutte qu'il a dû mener pour faire enfin triompher son goût.

Si la maison Durand-Ruel a cessé ses activités de galeriste en 1974, elle poursuit son travail de gestion de ses archives, tâche dont l'importance ne cesse d'augmenter. En effet, dans le monde de l'art, les attributions et la provenance des œuvres d'art sont essentielles ; et Durand-Ruel a accumulé pendant 150 ans des archives inestimables, qui sont aujourd'hui au service des multiples intervenants s'intéressant aux œuvres d'art.

Mais l'histoire commence avant Paul Durand-Ruel, à la génération précédente. Sa mère, Marie Ferdinande Ruel était la fille d'un notaire royal en Provence, qui lors de la Révolution Française de 1789 avait dû émigrer pour échapper à la guillotine. Revenu en France, il avait pu acheter pour à sa fille unique Marie Ferdinande, un fonds de commerce de papeterie et matériel pour l'écriture, rue Saint Jacques près du Panthéon à Paris, et dont le principal employé était un jeune homme dynamique nommé Jean Durand.

Les deux jeunes gens, Jean Durand et Marie Ferdinande Ruel, décidèrent de s'unir et le mariage eut lieu en 1825 (figs. 2, 3) ; à ce moment leurs deux noms se trouvèrent réunis sur l'enseigne de leur magasin : Durand-Ruel (fig. 4)

Jean décide d'étendre la sphère des objets vendus aux fournitures pour artistes ; ces derniers, n'ayant souvent que peu de moyens, sont heureux de trouver ce papetier qui accepte de leur fournir pinceaux, couleurs et toiles en échange de leurs œuvres. Jean expose sur les murs de sa boutique les tableaux ainsi obtenus, et se met à en acheter, et il commence à accumuler des tableaux de peintres contemporains généralement refusés au Salon.

Ceci est important : en effet, le contexte culturel de l'époque est très rigide. Le goût artistique est régi par le Salon annuel, où les tableaux exposés sont choisis par un Jury désigné par l'Académie des Beaux-Arts, qui se coopte elle-même parmi les artistes les plus traditionalistes. Seuls sont appréciés les tableaux très conventionnels et classiques, bien finis. Et les artistes refusés sont rejetés par le commerce.

La galerie Durand-Ruel acquiert ainsi la réputation de s'intéresser à la peinture d'avant-garde, témoin l'anecdote suivante : le Prince de Joinville, un des fils du roi Louis-Philippe 1<sup>er</sup>, raconte dans ses Mémoires qu'il s'est fait réprimander par son père pour avoir acheté chez Durand-Ruel un tableau d'un artiste refusé au Salon, en l'occurrence l'orientaliste Marilhat.

Paul Durand-Ruel, né en 1831, vit parmi les artistes qui passent très souvent à la galerie ou à la maison. Mais il ne tient pas à devenir marchand de tableaux : il est attiré par deux vocations, devenir missionnaire ou militaire, et il sera reçu à l'examen de la prestigieuse école militaire de Saint Cyr.

Mais le commerce des tableaux prend le pas sur l'activité de vente de fournitures, la galerie devient importante et Jean Durand-Ruel publie en

1845 un catalogue comportant 120 planches lithographiées. Une gravure de Charles-François Daubigny illustre l'ensemble du salon principal. (fig. 5) On peut alors découvrir les murs couverts de tableaux accrochés à la manière de l'époque. Sont présentés des œuvres de peintres déjà célèbres comme Delacroix, aux côtés de jeunes artistes de l'école de Barbizon alors peu connus tels que Théodore Rousseau, Corot, Millet, Diaz et d'autres.

Malheureusement, la révolution de 1848 vient interrompre l'ascension des affaires.

Jean Durand-Ruel, démoralisé par les difficultés financières et affaibli par la maladie, demande à son fils de l'assister et de lui succéder : et Paul, à contrecœur, démissionne de l'armée pour rejoindre la galerie. (fig. 6)

Il apprend le métier sans enthousiasme en fréquentant le musée du Louvre et les ventes publiques. Mais, lors de l'Exposition Universelle de 1855 à Paris, il ressent un choc admiratif dans la salle consacrée aux tableaux de Delacroix. Il écrira plus tard :

« C'était le triomphe de l'art vivant sur l'art académique. Ces œuvres m'ouvrirent définitivement les yeux et me fortifièrent la pensée que je pourrais peut-être rendre quelques services aux vrais artistes en m'employant à les faire mieux comprendre et aimer ».

C'est le véritable point de départ de sa carrière de marchand. Il sait, dès lors, qu'il va se dévouer aux artistes en qui il croit.

En 1862, il épouse Eva Lafon. Fille d'un modeste horloger de Périgueux, elle lui donnera 5 enfants, Joseph, mon grand-père, Charles, Georges, Marie et Jeanne. A cette occasion, les jeunes époux se font portraiturer par Hugues Merle, un ami de la famille. (figs. 7, 8)

Cette même année, à l'âge de 31 ans, Paul Durand-Ruel prend la suite de son père et dirige la galerie ; il va se concentrer sur les artistes de l'école de Barbizon représentés par Théodore Rousseau, Jean François Millet et Camille Corot.

Ces artistes sont les premiers à vraiment peindre sur le vif, dans la nature et non en studio. L'invention de la peinture en tubes permet maintenant aux paysagistes de peindre en plein air, directement sur le motif.

Paul Durand-Ruel aime et défend également le réaliste Courbet dont les femmes peintes choquent, n'étant pas des sujets issus de la mythologie ou de la littérature.

Les tableaux de l'école de Barbizon choquent par leur aspect vif et naturel. Ils sont donc généralement refusés par le jury du Salon. En 1863, un nombre tellement considérable de tableaux est refusé que les artistes manifestent et l'Empereur Napoléon III décide d'offrir un salon pour que les artistes refusés puissent exposer leurs œuvres et que le public juge par lui-même.

C'est lors de cet évènement que Manet expose son « Déjeuner sur l'herbe » qui fait scandale. Le tableau choque par la présence d'une femme nue parmi des hommes habillés. Ce tableau est incompréhensible pour le public de l'époque ; et un grand paradoxe est que Paul Durand-Ruel est un bourgeois classique dont les opinions et les mœurs sont très conservatrices : il est monarchiste, catholique fervent, et néanmoins il



va cependant s'évertuer à défendre cet art considéré comme tout à fait révolutionnaire.

En 1865, Jean Durand-Ruel s'éteint. Paul a 34 ans et va progressivement établir sa politique de marchand sur quelques principes clefs qui sont tous innovateurs.

**1<sup>er</sup> principe :** Paul souhaite l'exclusivité du travail des artistes : Lorsqu'il aime un artiste, Paul met tout en œuvre afin d'acquérir tous les tableaux qu'il pourra trouver, que ce soit auprès de l'artiste ou en vente aux enchères.

Plus tard, il soutiendra financièrement les artistes impressionnistes en échange de l'exclusivité de leur travail, il leur verse une somme mensuelle qui leur permet de créer sans crainte du lendemain. Paul règle aussi directement les notes des peintres auprès de leurs fournisseurs.

Cela dit, aucun contrat n'est signé. Tous les accords sont verbaux.

**2<sup>ème</sup> principe :** Paul organise des expositions individuelles, et non de groupe. Il pense qu'ainsi le public peut mieux découvrir le talent d'un artiste.

**3<sup>ème</sup> principe :** Paul veut diffuser les œuvres de ses artistes à l'étranger par le biais d'un réseau de galeries internationales.

Vous pouvez le voir sur cette publicité de Durand-Ruel sur laquelle sont mentionnées 3 galeries : celle de Paris, rue Laffitte et rue Le Peletier, celle de Londres New Bond Street (1870–1875), celle de Bruxelles que Durand-Ruel ouvre en 1871, 4 rue du Persil, (Ces deux dernières devront fermer en 1875 pour des raisons financières). (fig. 9)

**4<sup>ème</sup> principe :** Paul, qui ne dispose pas de fonds propres importants, doit, pour financer sa politique d'achats massifs, s'appuyer sur des commanditaires du milieu de la banque et de la finance

Paul Durand-Ruel jouit d'une excellente réputation de probité qui est essentielle dans ses négociations avec les financeurs.

**5<sup>ème</sup> principe :** Paul promeut les artistes par le biais de la presse. Il crée, à deux reprises, une revue artistique. La première, la « *Revue internationale de l'art et de la curiosité* » en 1869 et la seconde « *l'Art dans les deux Mondes* » en 1873. (fig. 10) Ces deux revues seront malheureusement trop coûteuses et ne paraîtront pas plus de deux ans chacune.

**6<sup>ème</sup> principe :** Durand-Ruel veut rendre le travail des artistes accessible au public et propose l'entrée gratuite de sa galerie ainsi que l'accès à son appartement où les tableaux de sa collection personnelle sont exposés.

Vous apercevez, sur la photographie, deux magnifiques danseuses de Degas qui entourent le miroir, ainsi qu'un superbe tableau de Renoir sur la gauche « La Danse à la Ville » aujourd'hui au Musée d'Orsay ; « Le Déjeuner des canotiers », chef d'œuvre de Renoir, orne sa salle à manger. (fig. 11)

**7<sup>ème</sup> et dernier principe :** Paul est monarchiste et catholique fervent, ce qui lui attire l'hostilité des milieux officiels, qui sont républicains et anticléricaux : mais ces opinions ne l'empêchent pas de défendre les artistes en toutes circonstances, quels que soient leurs opinions politiques ou

religieuses. C'est ainsi que lorsqu'en 1871 Courbet est arrêté pour avoir participé à la Commune de Paris, Paul cachera en toute illégalité les tableaux de l'artiste afin qu'ils ne soient pas réquisitionnés par l'Etat. De même, il défendra avec autant d'énergie et de conviction l'anarchiste juif Camille Pissarro, ou le républicain athée Claude Monet. Et il soutiendra Berthe Morisot ou Mary Cassatt alors que l'opinion publique n'est pas favorable aux artistes femmes. Pour lui, seul l'art compte.

En 1867, Paul a 36 ans et déménage sa galerie dans des locaux plus grands situés au 16 rue Laffitte, alors surnommée « la rue des artistes ». (fig. 12) La galerie y restera jusqu'en 1922, date à laquelle l'immeuble sera démoli pour élargir la rue.

En 1870, la guerre franco-prussienne éclate et Paris est assiégé par les prussiens. Paul Durand-Ruel se réfugie à Londres avec son stock de tableaux et loue une galerie (au 168) New Bond Street où il organisera 11 expositions en 5 ans afin de promouvoir les œuvres des artistes de l'école de Barbizon.

C'est alors qu'à 40 ans Paul fait à Londres deux des plus importantes rencontres de sa vie. Un matin de janvier 1871, le peintre Daubigny lui présente un artiste en lui précisant « *voilà un jeune homme qui sera plus fort que nous tous* » : c'était Claude Monet. Paul Durand-Ruel commence immédiatement ses achats.

Quelques jours après, par hasard, Camille Pissarro dépose une toile à la galerie alors que le marchand n'est pas présent. Paul découvre le tableau et écrit immédiatement à Pissarro : « *Mon cher Monsieur, vous m'avez apporté un charmant tableau.... Dites-moi donc le prix que vous en voulez et soyez assez aimable pour m'en envoyer d'autres dès que vous le pourrez* ».

C'est le début du soutien de Paul Durand-Ruel à ces deux artistes, et Monet s'en rappellera 50 ans plus tard : Paul Durand-Ruel « grâce auquel plusieurs de mes amis et moi ne sommes pas morts de faim, ce sont là des choses que je n'oublie pas ».

Car, si Paul Durand-Ruel achète les œuvres de Monet et de Pissarro, il est à peu près le seul, et il n'arrive pas à les vendre. Cela ne l'empêche pas de continuer à les soutenir.

Lorsque l'armistice est signé, Paul retourne en France avec toute sa famille. Il est alors touché par une terrible perte. Sa femme attrape une pneumonie et s'éteint en quelques jours. Elle a à peine 30 ans. Paul, qui n'a pas 40 ans, reste le seul parent de 5 enfants dont l'aînée n'a que 9 ans. Il ne se remariera jamais et va dès lors se dévouer plus encore à l'art et aux artistes.

Au début de l'année 1872, Paul découvre dans l'atelier de l'artiste Stevens deux tableaux de Manet dont le « Port de Boulogne au Clair de Lune » aujourd'hui au Musée d'Orsay. Durand-Ruel achète immédiatement les deux tableaux. Et, dès le lendemain, il va frapper à la porte de l'atelier de Manet. C'est alors le « coup de foudre ». Il achète tous les tableaux du studio au prix proposé par Manet, soit 23 œuvres.

Vous pouvez voir une partie de cet achat retranscrit dans le livre de stock de 1868–73. (fig. 13) Cette page me sert d'introduction pour parler des archives de la galerie Durand-Ruel, qui regroupent une collection de nombreux types de documents :

Livres de stock



Registres comptables  
Tableaux reçus ou remis en dépôt  
Photographies  
Catalogues d'expositions  
Catalogues de ventes publiques  
Correspondance  
Coupures de presse

La page du livre de stock que vous avez sous les yeux est divisée en un certain nombre de colonnes : numéro de stock, date, artiste, titre de l'œuvre, prix, nom du vendeur, nom de l'acheteur, prix de vente. Plus tard, figureront les dimensions de l'œuvre et le numéro de photo. La ligne est barrée lorsque le tableau est vendu. Les livres de stock que nous avons conservé commencent en 1867 et se succèdent jusqu'à la date actuelle, avec malheureusement quelques lacunes dans les années 1874–1880 au cours desquelles les graves difficultés financières auxquelles Paul Durand-Ruel a dû faire face ont entraîné un certain relâchement dans la tenue des registres.

Une autre série de registres très importante au point de vue historique consiste en ce que nous appelons les « brouillards » ; dans ces livres sont reportées quotidiennement toutes les opérations ce jour-là : achats et ventes de tableaux comme de fournitures, tableaux reçus ou remis en dépôt, salaires du personnel, avances aux artistes, loyers, frais généraux, etc. Nous avons ainsi un aperçu de la vie quotidienne de la galerie.

Manet et Monet présentent plusieurs de leurs amis à Paul Durand-Ruel : ce sont Puvis de Chavannes, Degas, Sisley et enfin Renoir.

En 1873, mon aïeul vient justement de gagner une grande bataille : les tableaux des artistes de l'école de Barbizon sont enfin reconnus et appréciés. C'est alors qu'il publie un somptueux catalogue de 300 eaux-fortes représentant des tableaux de sa galerie, dont 28 Corot, 28 Millet, 26 Delacroix, 21 Théodore Rousseau et 7 Courbet, et il n'hésite pas à y inclure 28 tableaux des jeunes artistes tels que 7 Manet, 6 Puvis de Chavannes, 5 Pissarro, 4 Monet, 3 Sisley, 2 Degas... (figs. 14 à 21) Comme le soulignera plus tard le critique Lionello Venturi : « *la date est là imprimée 1873. On s'attendrait plutôt à lire 1893. C'est qu'en effet il a fallu vingt ans pour que le public [...] soit réellement convaincu.* ». Durant les vingt années qui suivent, mon aïeul va devoir lutter farouchement pour promouvoir les artistes impressionnistes et il traversera deux crises financières.

En effet, la clientèle de Paul Durand-Ruel, ayant accepté les peintres de l'école de Barbizon, n'est pas suffisamment prête pour comprendre la nouvelle génération d'artistes, et Paul Durand-Ruel est maintenant considéré comme un fou. Il entre dans une période terriblement difficile à partir de l'année 1874, et est contraint de ralentir son soutien aux peintres impressionnistes.

C'est à ce moment-là que ceux-ci se regroupent en « Société Anonyme » et organisent leur première exposition dans l'atelier du photographe Nadar. Cet événement est très mal accueilli et reçoit mépris et moqueries.

Au cours de cette exposition, le critique Louis Leroy, choqué par le tableau de Monet « Impression, Soleil Levant », veut ridiculiser l'exposition en la qualifiant par dérision d'« impressionniste ». Et les peintres feront de ce nom un titre de gloire.

D'autres épreuves attendent Durand-Ruel. Lors d'une vente aux enchères de tableaux de Monet, Renoir, Morisot et Sisley, il se fait insulter et traiter de fou. Des hurlements retentissent dans la salle dès qu'une œuvre est présentée, certaines sont même montrées à l'envers. Les agents de police doivent intervenir afin de poursuivre la vente.

Paul organise en 1876 une deuxième exposition du groupe impressionniste. Celle-ci est excessivement mal accueillie et sa galerie est qualifiée de « maison de santé mentale ». Vous voyez une caricature où un agent de police (fig. 22) repousse une femme enceinte qui veut visiter l'exposition : « *Madame, il n'est pas raisonnable d'entrer !* ». Quant à un magnifique « Nu » de Renoir qui figure à l'exposition, les critiques en parlent en ces mots : c'est la « *putréfaction d'un cadavre* ».

Un article du *Figaro*, écrit par Albert Wolf, relate l'événement : « *La rue Le Peletier a du malheur. Voici un nouveau désastre qui s'abat sur le quartier. On vient d'ouvrir chez Durand-Ruel une exposition qu'on dit être de peinture. [...] Cinq ou six aliénés, dont une femme, s'y sont donné rendez-vous pour exposer leur œuvre. [...]* ». La femme en question est Berthe Morisot.

A cette époque, Paul Durand-Ruel frôle la ruine, mais il trouve une banque, l'Union Générale, qui consent à le financer, et, en 1880, il peut enfin reprendre sa politique d'achat et assurer à nouveau une aide financière mensuelle à ses peintres.

Mais ce répit n'est pas long : deux ans plus tard, l'Union Générale fait faillite. Paul doit restituer précipitamment les sommes empruntées se montant à 1 million de francs, somme énorme à l'époque. Heureusement, il arrive à conclure un moratoire avec ses créanciers.

Les affaires vont toujours mal et Paul est obligé de sous-louer une partie de sa galerie. Il ne trouve qu'une seule personne pour lui avancer des fonds, mais qui ne veut accepter comme garantie non pas les tableaux mais les cadres.

Ceci n'empêche pas Durand-Ruel de commander à Renoir les portraits de ses 5 enfants, et à Monet toute une série de natures mortes destinées à orner les panneaux des 6 double-portes du salon de son appartement. (figs. 23 à 26)

Paul se débat en multipliant les expositions particulières à Paris et à l'étranger. (figs. 27, 28) Mais le résultat financier n'arrive pas et les artistes s'inquiètent. Pissarro écrit à Monet au sujet de Durand-Ruel : « *J'entends bien les autres marchands qui disent : « Il en a pour huit jours », mais voilà plusieurs mois que ça dure.* ».

Dans cette tourmente, les relations avec les artistes restent très confiantes.

Aux moments les plus sombres, Renoir propose de casser ses prix et écrit au marchand « *Quant aux peintures, si vous êtes obligé de faire des sacrifices, ne regrettez rien, parce que je vous en ferai d'autres et des mieux* » (mai 1884).

Quant à Monet, éternel déprimé, Paul Durand-Ruel doit continuellement lui remonter le moral : par exemple, Monet lui écrit en septembre 1882 : « *...Je suis dans un complet découragement... J'en deviens fou ... : un grand tableau que je venais de faire, je l'ai détruit ainsi que trois ou quatre toiles..... Le doute s'empare de moi. Il me semble que je suis perdu,*

*que je ne pourrai plus rien faire... »* Paul Durand-Ruel lui répond : *« Si vous faisiez de mauvais tableaux, je concevrais votre découragement. Vous pourriez vous croire impuissant ou maladroit. Au contraire, jamais vous n'avez été en meilleure voie... »*.

La famille Durand-Ruel rend souvent visite aux familles des artistes comme par exemple chez Monet à Giverny ; sur cette photographie vous apercevez à droite Monet, à côté duquel se trouve Georges Durand-Ruel et Madame Joseph Durand-Ruel, ma grand-mère (Mlle Hoschedé et Lili Butler). (fig. 29)

Au Mesnil-Theribus, chez Mary Cassatt avec Mme Joseph Durand-Ruel. (fig. 30) Mary Cassatt fera le portrait au pastel de Marie, la fille de Paul, avec ses deux filles. (fig. 31)

Sur cette photographie, vous apercevez Renoir en train de peindre le portrait de ma grand-mère, Madame Joseph Durand-Ruel, en 1910. (figs. 32, 33)

Enfin une dernière épreuve attend Paul Durand-Ruel : il est accusé à tort par des confrères malveillants dans une affaire de faux tableaux. Il publie alors dans le journal « l'Évènement » (du 5 novembre 1885) un démenti dont voici un extrait :

« J'arrive à mon grand crime, celui qui domine tous les autres. J'achète, depuis longtemps, et j'estime au plus haut degré les œuvres de peintres très originaux et très savants, dont plusieurs sont des hommes de génie, et je prétends les imposer aux amateurs. J'estime que les œuvres de Degas, de Puvis de Chavannes, de Monet, de Renoir, de Pissarro et de Sisley sont dignes de figurer dans les plus belles collections. (...) »

Les artistes soutiennent Durand-Ruel. Renoir lui écrit : *« ...ils auront beau faire ; ils ne vous tueront pas votre vraie qualité : l'amour de l'art et la défense des artistes avant leur mort. Dans l'avenir ce sera votre gloire, car vous êtes le seul qui ayez pensé à cette chose naturelle... »* (fig. 34)

Durand-Ruel ne perd pas courage et répond à Renoir *« Il faut lutter encore un peu et nous arriverons à dominer nos adversaires »*.

Paul Durand-Ruel a 55 ans et a finalement raison, l'année 1886 marque un tournant pour les impressionnistes. Un marchand américain, James F. Sutton propose d'organiser une grande exposition à l'American Art Association à New York, en prenant à sa charge tous les frais de transport et d'assurance.

Pour Paul, ce voyage est sa dernière chance, et il part pour New York avec 43 caisses contenant 300 tableaux. (fig. 35)

L'exposition dure un mois et demi et a tellement de succès qu'elle est prolongée (dans les salons de la National Academy of Design). (figs. 36, 37) Voici quelques-unes des œuvres exposées : Renoir, Monet, Pissarro, Manet, Seurat, Manet, Caillebotte. Ces tableaux sont, dès le début, appréciés par les critiques qui écrivent d'excellents articles. C'est la première consécration officielle des Impressionnistes.

Encouragé par cet accueil, Paul Durand-Ruel ouvre une galerie à New York, deux ans plus tard, sur la 5ème avenue, et les clients américains

affluent. (fig. 38)

A partir de 1890, c'est la reprise de l'activité de la galerie parisienne, la consécration de Renoir et de Pissarro et la confirmation du succès de Monet, qui produira ses fameuses Séries qui seront exposées chez Durand-Ruel : les Meules, les Peupliers, les Cathédrales, les Nymphéas, les vues de la Tamise. Pour la première fois, un musée français (celui de Lyon) achète une toile de Renoir en 1901, et en 1895 un premier tableau de Cézanne est acheté par un musée, Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen à Berlin.

En Allemagne, Paul Durand-Ruel expose dans plus de 10 villes, et est ainsi à l'origine de l'impressionnisme dans ce pays.

Durand-Ruel expose également Paul Gauguin en 1893, Odilon Redon en 1894, Henri de Toulouse Lautrec en 1902. Mais, la reconnaissance des artistes impressionnistes enfin gagnée, Paul préfère continuer à les soutenir plutôt que de courir vers de nouvelles aventures.

Et, en 1894, pour la première fois de son existence, Paul Durand-Ruel n'a plus de dettes. Tous ces succès ne signifient pas que la partie est définitivement gagnée par la peinture impressionniste. Je tiens à signaler l'anecdote suivante : lors de l'inauguration de l'Exposition Universelle de 1900 à Paris, le peintre Gérôme, chef de file de la peinture traditionnelle, a voulu barrer au Président de la République Emile Loubet l'accès à la salle impressionniste en disant : *« N'entrez pas, c'est la honte de l'art français ! »*.

Pour défendre ses peintres, Paul Durand-Ruel devait systématiquement soutenir le cours de leurs tableaux lorsqu'ils passaient en vente publique. Nos archives conservent une magnifique collection de catalogues de ces ventes depuis le milieu du 19<sup>ème</sup> siècle, et nombre d'entre eux portent des annotations intéressantes.

Durand-Ruel organise alors des expositions dans le monde entier, la plus importante étant celle de Londres à la Grafton Galleries en 1905 avec 278 tableaux de Boudin, Cézanne, Degas, Manet, Monet, Morisot, Pissarro, Renoir et Sisley. (fig. 39)

C'est la plus importante exposition impressionniste qui a jamais eu lieu, avec 315 œuvres, dont la majorité sont des chefs-d'œuvre.

Vous apercevez le « Déjeuner des Canotiers ».

Après l'Europe et les Etats-Unis, je dois maintenant mentionner le Japon.

L'art japonais a fasciné les peintres impressionnistes. Monet a peint un portrait de sa femme Camille dans un costume aux motifs japonais, et tout le monde connaît le pont japonais que Monet a fait construire sur son bassin aux nymphéas. Les peintres impressionnistes ont collectionné les estampes japonaises : d'ailleurs on peut toujours voir sur les murs de la maison de Claude Monet à Giverny sa magnifique collection de plus de 200 pièces.

Je mentionne d'abord l'éminent marchand et critique Hayashi Tadamasa (1853–1906), qui a joué un rôle essentiel pour faire connaître l'art japonais en Europe. Entre 1891 et 1895, Paul Durand-Ruel a vendu à Hayashi un tableau de Renoir, 7 pastels de Degas, et un dessin de Puvis de Chavannes ; et, à la vente de la collection Hayashi qui a eu lieu à New York en 1913, Durand-Ruel a acheté 23 œuvres.

Il faut noter ensuite l'importante exposition Outamaro et Hiroshige

(figs. 40 à 42) organisée chez Durand-Ruel en 1893 où ont été montrés 353 estampes de ces grands maîtres. On peut voir qu'à l'occasion, la galerie a été décorée avec des motifs japonais (fig. 43).

Enfin, rappelons que Durand-Ruel a aidé Matsukata Kōjirō (1865–1950) à constituer la magnifique collection qui est à l'origine de ce musée ; en plus des conseils qu'il lui a prodigués, Durand-Ruel lui a vendu 14 tableaux, dont 13 sont ici dans les collections du musée : parmi eux, deux splendides Renoir (figs. 44, 45), « Le printemps » de Jean-François Millet (fig. 46) et « Le pauvre pêcheur » de Puvis de Chavannes (fig. 47).

A partir de 1894, Durand-Ruel fera photographier les tableaux de son stock ainsi que ceux remis en dépôt par des collectionneurs : nos archives comprennent plus de 20 000 photos, dont plus de 1700 Renoir, 800 Monet, 700 Degas, etc.

Enfin, à ses 80 ans, Paul Durand-Ruel se retire et confie ses affaires à ses fils.

Renoir immortalise alors la réussite de son ami et marchand, Paul Durand-Ruel, en faisant son portrait, en 1910. (fig. 48)

Paul Durand-Ruel rédige alors ses Mémoires (fig. 49), dans lesquelles il déclare :

*« Enfin les maîtres impressionnistes triomphaient comme avaient triomphé ceux de 1830. Ma folie avait été sagesse. Dire que si j'étais mort à soixante ans, je mourais criblé de dettes et insolvable, parmi des trésors méconnus... »*

Paul Durand-Ruel décède en 1922 ; lors des années les plus fructueuses, entre 1891 et 1922, il aura acheté plus de 10.000 tableaux, dont environ le tiers de la production impressionniste.

Ses deux fils Joseph (1862–1928) et Georges (1866–1931) lui succèdent, suivis par les deux fils de Joseph, Pierre (1899–1962) et Charles (1905–1985). Charles fermera la galerie en 1974, mais continuera son activité d'expert jusqu'à son décès en 1985. Toutefois la société Durand-Ruel & Cie poursuit ses activités dans la gestion de ses archives, s'efforçant de répondre aux questions qui lui sont posées par les historiens de l'art, les conservateurs de musées, les marchands d'art, les maisons de vente, les chercheurs et les étudiants, continuant ainsi la défense de l'école impressionniste à laquelle elle est intimement liée depuis l'origine.

Enfin, le parcours de Paul Durand-Ruel et l'héritage qu'il a laissé à l'histoire de l'art ont été mis à l'honneur en 2014–2015 dans l'exposition qui lui a été dédiée à Paris, Londres et Philadelphie. (figs. 50, 51)





fig. 1 Paul Durand-Ruel dans sa galerie parisienne, vers 1910  
Photo Dornac © Durand-Ruel & Cie



figs. 2, 3 Jean Durand et son épouse Marie Ruel  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie

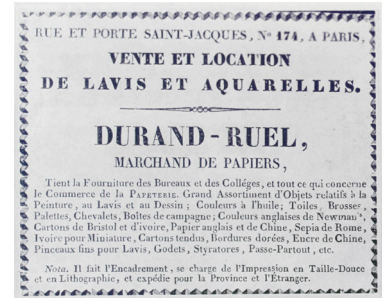


fig. 4 Etiquette Durand-Ruel vers 1830-1840  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 5 La galerie Durand-Ruel en 1845, gravure de Charles-François Daubigny  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 6 Paul Durand-Ruel, daguerotype, vers 1850  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie



figs. 7, 8 Paul Durand-Ruel, 1866, et son épouse Eva Durand-Ruel, 1865 par Hugues Merle  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie

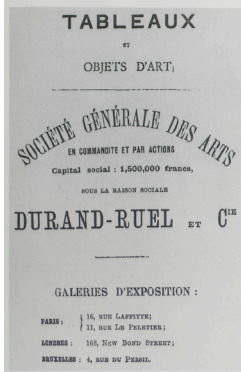


fig. 9 Publicité Durand-Ruel, vers 1873  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 10 Couverture de L'Art dans les Deux Mondes n°2 du 29 nov. 1890  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 11 Grand salon de Paul Durand-Ruel, 35 rue de Rome to Paris, vers 1885  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 12 La Rue Laffitte à Paris

N°	Description	Quantité	Prix	Total
1	Tableaux	1	1000	1000
2	Objets d'art	1	500	500
3	Tableaux	2	1500	3000
4	Objets d'art	1	750	750
5	Tableaux	3	2000	6000
6	Objets d'art	2	1000	2000
7	Tableaux	1	1200	1200
8	Objets d'art	1	800	800
9	Tableaux	4	1800	7200
10	Objets d'art	3	900	2700
11	Tableaux	2	1400	2800
12	Objets d'art	1	600	600
13	Tableaux	5	2200	11000
14	Objets d'art	2	1100	2200
15	Tableaux	1	1600	1600
16	Objets d'art	1	700	700
17	Tableaux	3	1900	5700
18	Objets d'art	2	1000	2000
19	Tableaux	1	1300	1300
20	Objets d'art	1	850	850
21	Tableaux	4	2100	8400
22	Objets d'art	3	950	2850
23	Tableaux	2	1500	3000
24	Objets d'art	1	650	650
25	Tableaux	5	2300	11500
26	Objets d'art	2	1150	2300
27	Tableaux	1	1700	1700
28	Objets d'art	1	750	750
29	Tableaux	3	2000	6000
30	Objets d'art	2	1050	2100
31	Tableaux	1	1400	1400
32	Objets d'art	1	800	800
33	Tableaux	4	2100	8400
34	Objets d'art	3	950	2850
35	Tableaux	2	1500	3000
36	Objets d'art	1	650	650
37	Tableaux	5	2300	11500
38	Objets d'art	2	1150	2300
39	Tableaux	1	1700	1700
40	Objets d'art	1	750	750
41	Tableaux	3	2000	6000
42	Objets d'art	2	1050	2100
43	Tableaux	1	1400	1400
44	Objets d'art	1	800	800
45	Tableaux	4	2100	8400
46	Objets d'art	3	950	2850
47	Tableaux	2	1500	3000
48	Objets d'art	1	650	650
49	Tableaux	5	2300	11500
50	Objets d'art	2	1150	2300

fig. 13 Extrait du Livre de Stock Durand-Ruel, janvier 1872  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie





fig. 14 Camille Corot « Le Pont de Mantes »



fig. 15 J.-F. Millet « L'Angélus »



fig. 16 Théodore Rousseau « La Grande forêt d'hiver »



fig. 17 G. Courbet « Le Chêne de Flagey »



fig. 18 Claude Monet « Habitations et Canal à Zaandam »



fig. 19 Edgar Degas « Le Foyer de la danse à l'Opéra »



fig. 20 Alfred Sisley « Le Pont de Villeneuve-La-Garenne »



fig. 21 Camille Pissarro « Une Route près de Voisins »



fig. 22 Illustration du *Charivari* lors de l'exposition impressionniste de 1876, avec la légende: « Madame, il n'est pas raisonnable d'entrer ! ».

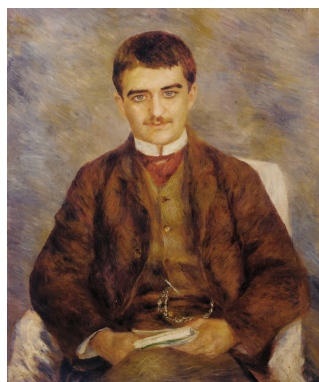


fig. 23



fig. 25



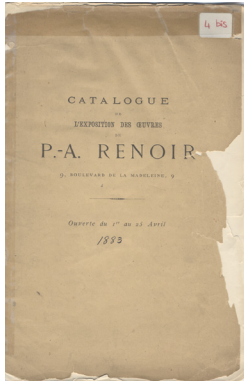
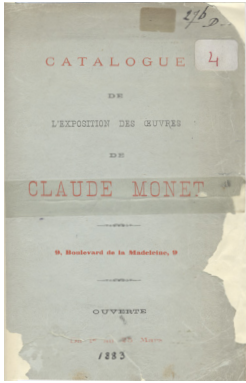
fig. 24

fig. 23 Renoir « Portrait de Joseph Durand-Ruel »  
Photos Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie  
fig. 25 Renoir « Portrait de Marie et Jeanne Durand-Ruel »  
Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Virginia, USA  
Photos Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie  
fig. 24 Renoir « Portrait de Charles et Georges Durand-Ruel »  
Photos Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 26 L'une des doubles-portes du Salon de Paul Durand-Ruel, peinte par Monet, 1882–1885, dans son appartement parisien, 35 rue de Rome  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel  
© Durand-Ruel & Cie





figs. 27, 28 En 1883, Durand-Ruel organise dans ses galeries des expositions monographiques: Monet en mars, Renoir en avril, couvertures de ce deux catalogues  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel  
© Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 29 Photo (de droite à gauche) Claude Monet, M. Georges Durand-Ruel, Mme Joseph Durand-Ruel, Lili Butler, Mme Hoschedé, prise en 1900 par Joseph Durand-Ruel à Giverny, chez Monet  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel  
© Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 30 Photo (de gauche à droite) Mme Joseph Durand-Ruel, Mary Cassatt, une inconnue, Marie-Louise Durand-Ruel, prise en 1909 par Joseph Durand-Ruel au Mesnil-Théribus, chez Mary Cassatt  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 31 Mary Cassatt « Marie Durand-Ruel (Madame Aude) et ses deux filles Madeleine et Thérèse », 1899  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 32 Pierre-Auguste Renoir et Madame Joseph Durand-Ruel, photographie prise par Joseph Durand-Ruel à Saint Cloud, en 1911  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel  
© Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 33 Renoir « Portrait de Madame Joseph Durand-Ruel », 1911  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel  
© Durand-Ruel & Cie.

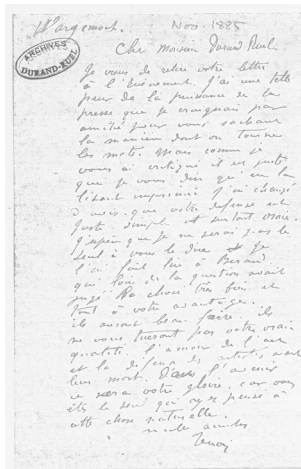
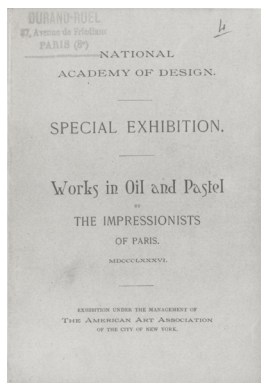
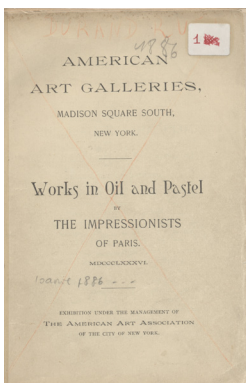


fig. 34 Lettre de Pierre-Auguste Renoir à Paul Durand-Ruel, 1885  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie.



fig. 35 Photographie e New York



figs. 36, 37 Catalogues des expositions organisées par Durand-Ruel à New York en 1886 Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 38 Deuxième galerie Durand-Ruel à New York, 1889-1894, 315 Fifth Avenue  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie.

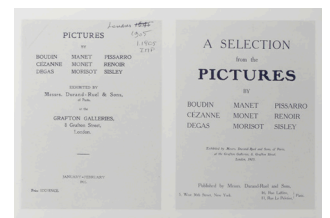
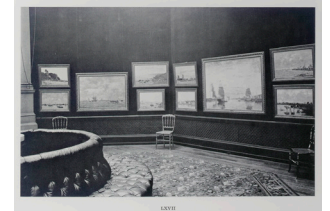
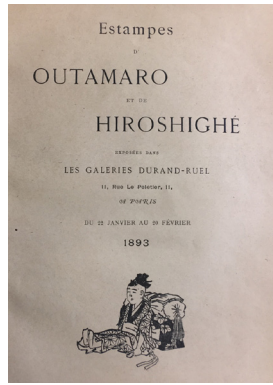
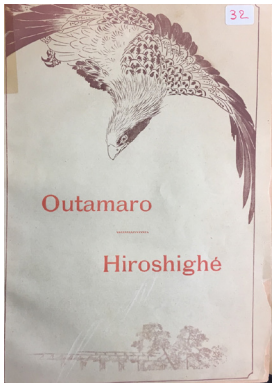


fig. 39 Catalogue de l'exposition organisée par Durand-Ruel à Londres, à la Grafton Gallery en 1905  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie.

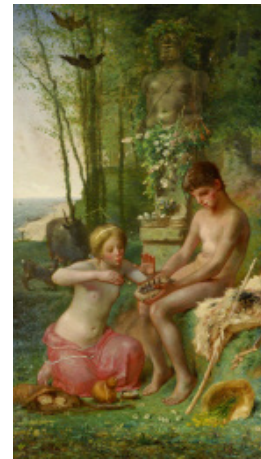






figs. 40–42 L'exposition organisée par Durand-Ruel à Londres, à la Grafton Gallery en 1905  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie.

fig. 43 La Galerie Durand-Ruel décorée avec des motifs japonais



figs. 44, 45 Tableaux de Renoir vendus à Matsukata par Durand-Ruel

figs. 46, 47 Tableaux de Millet et Puvis de Chavannes vendus à Matsukata par Durand-Ruel

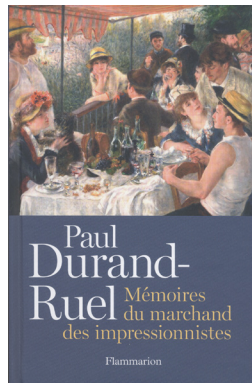


fig. 48 Renoir « *Portrait de Paul Durand-Ruel* », 1910  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel  
© Durand-Ruel & Cie

fig. 49 *Mémoires*

figs. 50, 51 L'exposition *Paul Durand-Ruel*, à Paris, Londres et Philadelphie, 2014–2015

**Paul-Louis DURAND-RUEL**

*Archives Durand-Ruel*

The Durand-Ruel Gallery and its Archives



The Durand-Ruel Gallery, in Paris and in New York, played an essential role in the diffusion and renown of the main schools of modern painting in the 19th and early 20th centuries: the Barbizon School and Impressionism. This was thanks to the courage and vision of Paul Durand-Ruel (1831–1922 / fig. 1) and his long struggle to impose his artistic tastes.

Although the Maison Durand-Ruel ceased its activities as a gallery in 1976, it has continued to manage its archives, an increasingly important task, since the provenance of art works is essential in the art world, and over 150 years Durand-Ruel accumulated invaluable archives, today at the service of art historians and researchers.

The story of the Maison Durand-Ruel began the generation before Paul Durand-Ruel with Paul's mother, Marie Ferdinande Ruel, the only daughter of a notary in Provence who, during the 1789 French Revolution, was forced to emigrate to escape the guillotine. On his return to France, he was able to purchase for Marie Ferdinande a business, located near the Panthéon in Paris, rue Saint Jacques. It dealt in paper and writing materials, and its main employee was a dynamic young man by the name of Jean Durand.

The two young people, Jean Durand and Marie Ferdinande Ruel, decided to unite, and their marriage took place in 1825. (figs. 2, 3) It was then that the two names were joined on the shop sign, which read: Durand-Ruel (fig. 4).

Jean decided to broaden the range of objects sold as supplies for painters – often low on funds and happy to find this young man who accepted to supply them with brushes, colors and canvases in exchange for their work. Jean exposed the paintings thus obtained on his shop walls and began to buy others, slowly accumulating the paintings of contemporary painters generally refused in the Salon.

It should be remembered that at the time, the cultural context was very rigid. Artistic taste was governed by the annual Salon, where the paintings exposed were chosen by a jury designated by the Academy of Beaux-Arts, who co-opted themselves among the most traditionalist artists. Only the most conventional or classical, well finished works were appreciated, and artists who were refused were rejected by dealers.

Thus the Durand-Ruel gallery acquired the reputation of being interested in avant-garde painting, as the following anecdote attests: the Prince de Joinville, a son of King Louis-Philippe I, tells in his *Mémoires* how his father reprimanded him for having bought at Durand-Ruel's a painting by the orientalist Marilhat, an artist who had been refused at the Salon.

Paul Durand-Ruel was born in 1831, lived among artists who both passed by the gallery and visited his home; however, his aim in life was not to become an art dealer, but to serve either as a missionary or in the army and was accepted at Saint Cyr, the prestigious military training school.

Business in art soon overtook that of supplies, the gallery grew in size and importance, and in 1845 Jean Durand-Ruel published a catalogue with 120 lithographed plates and an engraving by Charles-François Daubigny illustrating the whole of the main salon, where we see the walls covered with paintings hung as they were at the time. (fig. 5) Those

of already famous painters such as Delacroix, side by side with young artists of the Barbizon School little known at the time, such as Théodore Rousseau, Corot, Millet, Diaz and others.

Unfortunately the revolution of 1848 interrupted the increase in business.

Demoralized by financial difficulties and weakened by illness, Jean Durand-Ruel asked his son to help out and eventually succeed him. Paul reluctantly resigned from the army to work in the gallery. (fig. 6)

It was with little enthusiasm that he learned the trade, spending his time at the Louvre and public sales. But at the 1855 Universal Exhibition in Paris, he was shocked with admiration in the room devoted to paintings by Delacroix. Later, he wrote:

*"It was the triumph of living art over academic art. Those works definitively opened my eyes and strengthened the idea that I could perhaps be of some service to real artists, by working to make them understood and loved."*

This was the true starting point in his career as an art dealer. From then on he knew he would devote himself to the artists he believed in.

In 1862, Paul Durand-Ruel married Eva Lafon, daughter of a Périgueux watchmaker. A portrait of the newlyweds was painted by Hugues Merle, a friend of the family. Paul and Eva had five children: Joseph, my grandfather, Charles, Georges, Marie and Jeanne. (figs. 7, 8)

That same year, at the age of 31, Paul Durand-Ruel succeeded his father and became director of the gallery, concentrating on artists of the Barbizon School represented by Théodore Rousseau, Jean François Millet and Camille Corot.

These artists were the first to paint live, in nature and not in a studio. The invention of paint in tubes allowed landscape artists to work directly on an outdoor scene.

Paul Durand-Ruel appreciated and supported the realist painter Corot, despite the fact that the public were shocked by his paintings of women, their subjects taken neither from mythology nor from literature.

The paintings of the Barbizon School shocked the public because of their live and natural aspect, and as a rule, they were refused by the Jury of the Salon. In 1863, so many paintings were refused that the artists protested and Emperor Napoleon III decided to propose a salon where the refused artists could exhibit their works and allow the public to judge for itself.

It was at that event that Manet exhibited his *Luncheon on the Grass* that created a scandal. What shocked was the presence of a nude woman in the presence of clothed men, incomprehensible for the public of the time. It was a great paradox in the sense that Paul Durand-Ruel was a classical bourgeois with conservative morals and opinions. Yet, a monarchist and fervent Catholic, he nonetheless strove to defend an art considered totally revolutionary.

In 1865 Jean Durand-Ruel died. Paul, at 34, would gradually establish his policy as a dealer on the basis of several key principles, all innovative at the time.

His first principle was to seek exclusivity on an artist's work: When

he liked an artist, he did his utmost to acquire all the paintings he could find, both from the artist and at auctions.

Later on, he aided Impressionist artists financially in exchange for the exclusivity of their work. He paid them a monthly sum, which allowed them to create freely without worrying about the future. He also paid directly the bills for his artists' painting supplies.

This took place without any contract. All agreements were verbal.

As a second principle, Paul organized individual, rather than group exhibits, thinking it a way for the public to better appreciate the talent of an artist.

Thirdly, Paul intended to make his artists known abroad through a network of international galleries. Durand-Ruel's advertisements show three galleries: in Paris, rue Lafitte and rue Le Peletier, the London gallery, New Bond Street (1870–1875), and in Brussels, opened by Durand-Ruel in 1871, 4 rue du Persil. (fig. 9) The latter two closed in 1875 for financial reasons.

His fourth principle was the consequence of Paul's having no significant funds of his own. In order to finance his policy of mass purchases, he had to depend on support from the banking and financial milieu. His reputation for probity played an essential role in his negotiations for financial backing.

His fifth principle was to promote artists through the press. Twice, he created an artistic journal. The first, *Revue internationale de l'art et de la curiosité* in 1869 and the second, *l'Art dans les deux Mondes* in 1873. (fig. 10) Both journals were unfortunately too costly, and neither was published more than two years.

As sixth principle, Durand-Ruel wanted the work of artists to be accessible to the public and offered free entry to both his gallery and his home, where paintings from his personal collection were exposed.

In the photograph, you see two magnificent Degas dancers on either side of the mirror, as well as a superb painting by Renoir on the left, *Dance in the City*. (fig. 11) Renoir's masterpiece, *The Boatmen's Lunch* hangs in the dining room.

Seventh and last principle: As a monarchist and fervent Catholic, Paul provoked the hostility of the authorities, which were republican and anticlerical, but his opinions didn't prevent him from defending artists whatever the circumstances and whatever their political or religious opinions. In 1871, when Courbet was arrested for having participated in the Paris Commune, Paul illegally hid the artist's paintings to prevent their being requisitioned by the State. With the same energy and conviction he defended the Jewish and anarchist painter Camille Pissarro and the atheist republican Claude Monet, and supported Berthe Morisot and Mary Cassatt when public opinion was not favorable to women. For Paul, only art counted.

In 1867, Paul was 36 and moved his gallery to larger premises at 16 rue Lafitte, then called "the artists' street," where the gallery remained until 1922, when the building was torn down to widen the street. (fig. 12)

In 1870, the Franco-Prussian war broke out and Paris was besieged

by the Prussians. Paul Durand-Ruel fled to London with his stock of paintings and rented a gallery at 168 New Bond Street, where he organized eleven exhibits in five years, in order to promote the works of artists of the Barbizon School.

It was at age 40 in London, that Paul made two of the most important encounters of his life. On a January morning in 1871 the painter Daubigny introduced him to an artist, saying, "This young man will be greater than all of us." It was Claude Monet. Paul Durand-Ruel immediately began buying his paintings.

A few days later, Camille Pissarro deposited a canvas in the gallery while the owner was out. On finding the painting, Paul immediately wrote to Pissarro: "*My dear Sir, you have brought me a charming painting... Tell me the price and have the kindness to send me others as soon as you can.*"

This was the beginning of Paul Durand-Ruel's support of these two artists, and 50 years later, Monet remembered: "It was thanks to Paul Durand-Ruel that several of my friends and myself didn't die of hunger, those are things one doesn't forget."

Yet although Paul Durand-Ruel bought the works of Monet and Pissarro, he was practically alone in doing so, and was unable to sell them—which didn't prevent him from continuing to support them.

When the armistice was signed, Paul returned to France with his whole family. It was then he suffered a terrible loss. His wife, hardly 30 years old, caught pneumonia and died within a few days. Paul, not yet 40, was left with five children, the oldest only 9. He never remarried and from then on devoted himself even more to art and artists.

Early in 1872 in the atelier of the artist Stevens, Paul discovered two paintings by Manet. One was *The Port of Boulogne by Moonlight*, now in the Musée d'Orsay. Durand-Ruel immediately bought both paintings and a day later, knocked at Manet's door. It was like a thunderbolt. He bought all the paintings in the studio at Manet's price—23 works.

Part of this purchase can be seen re-transcribed in the 1868–73 stocks book. (fig. 13) This page can serve as an introduction to the subject of the Durand-Ruel gallery archives, which group together a collection of numerous kinds of documents:

- Stock books,
- Bookkeeping records
- Paintings received or consigned
- Photographs
- Exhibition catalogs
- Public auction catalogs
- Correspondence
- Press articles

The page from the stocks book is divided into several columns: stock number, date, artist, title of work, price, seller's name, buyer's name, sale price. Later on, there will also be the work's dimensions and photograph number. The line is crossed out when the painting has been sold. The stock books we have kept begin in 1867 and continue to the present, with unfortunately a few gaps between 1874–1880, due to the serious financial difficulties faced by Paul Durand-Ruel causing him to partially neglect the keeping of records.

Another series of records very important from the historical point

of view is what we call *brouillards* (daybooks): these are daily books containing all the day's operations—purchases and sales of paintings, supplies, paintings received or held in trust, employee salaries, advances to artists, rents, overhead, etc. This gives an idea of the daily life of the gallery.

Manet and Monet introduced several of their friends to Paul Durand-Ruel: Puvis de Chavannes, Degas, Sisley and Renoir.

In 1873, Paul had just won a long battle: the painters of the Barbizon School were finally recognized and appreciated. It was then that he published a beautiful catalog of 300 etchings representing paintings from his gallery, among which 28 Corot, 28 Millet, 26 Delacroix, 21 Théodore Rousseau and 7 Courbet, and including 28 paintings of young artists—7 Manet, 6 Puvis de Chavannes, 5 Pissarro, 4 Monet, 3 Sisley, 2 Degas, and others. (figs. 14–21) As the critic Lionello Venturi later underscored: “*The date is there, in print, 1873. We would rather expect to read 1893. Because in fact, it took twenty years for the public [...] to be really convinced.*” In the twenty following years, my grandfather had to struggle hard to promote the impressionist painters, and he underwent two financial crises.

Unfortunately, Durand-Ruel's clientele, while accepting painters of the Barbizon School, were not yet ready to understand the new generation of artists and began to consider Paul Durand-Ruel mad. Beginning in 1874, he entered an extremely difficult period and was obliged to limit his support of the impressionist painters. It was then that they grouped together as an entity and organized their first exhibit in the atelier of the photographer Nadar, but the show was poorly received and earned them only mockery and disdain.

During that exhibit, the critic Louis Leroy, shocked by Monet's *Impression Rising Sun*, sought to ridicule the exhibit by describing it as “impressionist,” a term which would soon be to the painters' glory.

But Durand-Ruel's ordeals were not over. During an auction sale of paintings by Manet, Renoir, Morisot and Sisley, he was insulted and treated as a madman. There was shouting and yelling whenever a painting was shown, some were even presented back to the audience, and in order for the sale to continue, the police had to intervene.

In 1876, Paul organized a second exhibition of the group of impressionists. This one was even more badly received and his gallery was qualified as a “mental health house”. The caricature shows a police agent (fig. 22) pushing away a pregnant woman who wants to visit the exhibit, saying, “Madame, it's not reasonable to go inside!” As for Renoir's magnificent *Nude* in the exhibit, the critics spoke of it as the “putrefaction of a cadaver.”

An article in the *Figaro*, written by Albert Wolf, relates the event: “Alas for rue Le Peletier. A new disaster has hit the neighborhood. An exhibition, supposedly of painting [...] has just opened at Durand-Ruel. Five or six madmen, of whom one woman, have got together to exhibit their work [...]” The woman in question was Berthe Morisot.

At the time, Paul Durand-Ruel was on the verge of ruin, but he found a bank, l'Union Générale, willing to finance him, and in 1880, he was finally able to resume his purchasing policy and once again ensure his painters monthly financial support.

But this respite would not last. Two years later, l'Union Générale went bankrupt and Paul was obliged to immediately reimburse the amount of the loan, one million francs, an enormous sum at the time. Fortunately, he managed to conclude a moratorium with his creditors.

Affairs were still going badly and Paul was forced to sublet part of his gallery. He only found one person willing to advance funds—who accepted as a guarantee not paintings, but frames.

This did not prevent Durand-Ruel from commissioning from Renoir portraits of his five children, and from Monet a whole series of still lifes to decorate the panels and six double doors of his living room. (figs. 23–26)

Paul struggled for survival by increasing the number of private exhibitions in Paris and abroad. (figs. 27, 28) However, the financial result was not forthcoming and the artists worried. Pissarro wrote to Monet about Durand-Ruel: “I can understand the other dealers who say, ‘He'll be finished in a week,’ but it's already been several months.”

Despite this turmoil, relations with artists remained confident. At the darkest moments, Renoir offered to lower his prices, writing to Paul: “As for the paintings, if you have to make sacrifices, do so without regret, because I'll paint other even better ones.” (May, 1884)

The eternally depressed Monet was constantly in need of being cheered up. In September 1882 he wrote to Durand-Ruel, “...I'm totally discouraged... I'm going mad... I destroyed a large painting I had just done, and three or four canvases... I'm tortured by doubt. I feel like I'm lost, that I'll never be able to do anything any more...” To which Durand-Ruel answered: “If you painted bad paintings, I could understand your discouragement. You could think of yourself as impotent or awkward. On the contrary, you've never been on a better track...”

The Durand-Ruel family often visited the artists' families, at Monet's home in Giverny, for example. On the photograph you see Monet on the right, next to Georges Durand-Ruel and Madame Joseph Durand-Ruel, my grandmother (Mlle Hoschedé and Lili Butler). (fig. 29)

In Mesnil-Theribus, at the home of Mary Cassatt with Mrs. Joseph Durand-Ruel. (fig. 30) Mary Cassatt did a pastel portrait of Marie, Paul's daughter, with her two daughters. (fig. 31)

In this photograph, taken in 1910, Renoir is painting the portrait of my grandmother, Madame Joseph Durand-Ruel. (figs. 32, 33)

A further ordeal awaited Paul Durand-Ruel, wrongfully accused by ill-inclined colleagues in an affair of fake paintings. In *l'Événement* of 5 November 1885, he published a denial, of which the following is an extract:

*“I'm coming to my great crime, the one that dominates all the others. For a long time, I've been buying—and I have the highest esteem for the works of very original and knowledgeable painters, several of whom are men of genius, and I intend to impose them on art lovers. I believe the works of Degas, Puvis de Chavannes, Monet, Renoir, Pissarro and Sisley are worthy of their place in the most beautiful collections. [...]”*

The artists supported Durand-Ruel. Renoir wrote: “[...] let them do as



*they will; they won't kill you for your real quality: the love of art and the defence of artists before their death. In the future it will be to your glory, because you are the only person to have thought of this natural thing...*" (fig. 34)

Durand-Ruel didn't lose courage and wrote to Renoir "*We'll have to struggle a little more, and we'll be stronger than our adversaries.*"

Paul Durand-Ruel was 55 when his instinct finally proved correct. The year 1886 marked a turning point for the Impressionists. An American dealer, James F. Sutton, offered to organize a large exhibition at the American Art Association in New York, taking charge of all transport and insurance expenses.

For Paul, the voyage was his last chance, and he left for New York with 43 crates containing 300 paintings. (fig. 35)

The exhibition lasted a month and a half and was so successful that it was extended in the salons of the National Academy of Design. (figs. 36, 37) The following are some of the works exposed: Renoir, Monet, Pissarro, Manet, Seurat, Caillebotte. From the outset, the paintings were appreciated by critics, and reviews were excellent. It was the impressionists' first consecration.

Encouraged by this welcome, Paul Durand-Ruel opened a gallery two years later on Fifth Avenue in New York and soon established an American clientele. (fig. 38)

As for his Parisian gallery, activity finally picked up beginning in 1890, with the consecration of Renoir and Pissarro and the confirmation of the success of Monet, who would then paint his famous Series exhibited at the Durand-Ruel gallery: *Millstones, late summer, Poplar Trees, the Cathedrals, Water Lilies, Views of the Thames*. For the first time, in 1901, a French museum bought a Renoir painting, and in 1895 the first painting of Cézanne was bought by Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

In Germany, Paul Durand-Ruel exposed in more than ten cities, and thus became the source of Impressionism in the country.

He also exhibited the work of Paul Gauguin in 1893, of Odilon Redon in 1894, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec in 1902. Having finally won recognition for impressionist artists, he preferred to continue to support them rather than seek new adventures.

And for the first time in his life, in 1894, Durand-Ruel was no longer in debt. Yet all these successes did not mean the battle was won for the impressionists, as we see from the following anecdote: During the inauguration of the World Exposition of 1900 in Paris, the painter Gérôme, leader of traditional painting, tried to present the President of the Republic, Emile Loubet, from entering the impressionist room, saying "Don't go in, it's the shame of French art!"

To defend his painters, Paul Durand-Ruel had to systematically support the sale price of their paintings during public sales. Our archives contain a magnificent collection of catalogues of these sales since the mid-19th century, and many show interesting notations.

Durand-Ruel was then organizing exhibitions world over, the most important one in London at the Grafton Galleries in 1905 with paintings

by Boudin, Cézanne, Degas, Manet, Monet, Morisot, Pissarro, Renoir and Sisley. (figs. 39, 40)

It was the biggest impressionist exhibit that had ever taken place, with 315 works and a majority of masterpieces. You can see *Luncheon of the Boating Party*.

After Europe and the United States, let us now turn to Japan.

Japanese art fascinated the impressionist painters. Monet painted a portrait of his wife, *Portrait of Camille in Japanese Costume*, and everyone knows the *Japanese Bridge* that Monet had built over his water lily pond. Impressionist painters collected Japanese engravings, Monet himself had a collection of 200 pieces, many of them still hanging on the walls of his home in Giverny.

We can mention, first of all, the eminent dealer and critic Hayashi Tadamasa (1853–1906), who played an essential role in making Japanese art known in Europe. Between 1891–1895, Paul Durand-Ruel sold to Hayashi one Renoir painting, 7 Degas pastels, and one drawing by Puvis de Chavannes; and at the 1913 sale of the Hayashi collection in New York, Durand-Ruel bought 23 works.

There was also the important Outamaro and Hiroshige exhibition (figs. 41, 42) showing 353 engravings by the two masters, organized in 1893 at the Galerie Durand-Ruel, decorated with Japanese motifs (fig. 43).

Durand-Ruel also aided Matsukata Kōjirō (1865–1950) in constituting the magnificent collection at the origin of this museum. In addition to advice, he sold Matsukata 14 paintings, 13 of which are in the museum's collection: among them two splendid Renoir (figs. 44, 45), Jean-François Millet's *Spring* (fig. 46), and *The Poor Fisherman*, by Puvis de Chvannes (fig. 47).

Beginning in 1894, Durand-Ruel had his stock of paintings photographed, as well as works consigned by collectors: our archives hold over 20,000 photos, of which more than 1700 Renoir, 800 Monet, 700 Degas, and others.

Finally, at the age of 80, Paul Durand-Ruel retired and gave his business over to his sons.

Thus in 1910, Renoir immortalized the success of his friend and dealer, Paul Durand-Ruel, by painting his portrait. (fig. 48)

Paul Durand-Ruel then began writing his *Mémoires* (fig. 49), in which he declared:

Finally, the impressionist masters triumphed like those of 1830. My madness had been wisdom. When I think that had I died at sixty, I would have been ruined and debt ridden, among unrecognized treasures...

Paul Durand-Ruel died in 1922. In his most fruitful years, between 1891 and 1922, he bought more than 10,000 paintings, over a third by impressionists.

His two sons, Joseph (1862–1928) and Georges (1866–1931) succeeded him, followed by Joseph's two sons, Pierre (1899–1962) and Charles (1905–1985). Charles closed the gallery in 1974, but continued his activity as an expert until his death in 1985. However, the company Durand-Ruel & Co. continues its work in the management of its archives, helping to answer the questions of art historians, museum curators, art dealers, auction houses, researchers and students, thus continuing the support for the Impressionist School, to which it has been intimately

linked since the beginning.

Finally, Paul Durand-Ruel's career and the legacy he left to the history of art were honored in the 2014–2015 exhibit dedicated to him in Paris, London, and Philadelphia. (figs. 50, 51)

(Translated by Judith Andreyev)



fig. 1 Paul Durand-Ruel in his Parisien Gallery, ca. 1910  
Photo Dornac © Durand-Ruel & Cie



figs. 2, 3 Photograph of Jean Durand and portrait of Marie Ferdinande Ruel Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 4 Durand-Ruel label, 1830-1840  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 5 Engraving by Daubigny of the gallery in 1845, 103 rue des Petits Champs  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 6 Daguerreotype of Paul Durand-Ruel, ca. 1850  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie



figs. 7, 8 Hugues Merle, *Portraits of Paul Durand-Ruel* (1866) and *Portrait of Eva Durand-Ruel* (1865)  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie

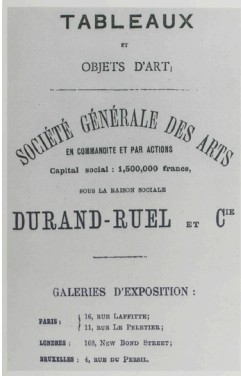


fig. 9 Photograph of an advert, showing three addresses, ca. 1873  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 10 *L'Art dans les deux mondes*, no. 2, 29th November 1890  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 11 Photograph of Durand-Ruel's apartment, 35 rue de Rome, Paris, ca. 1885  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 12 Photograph of rue Laffitte in Paris

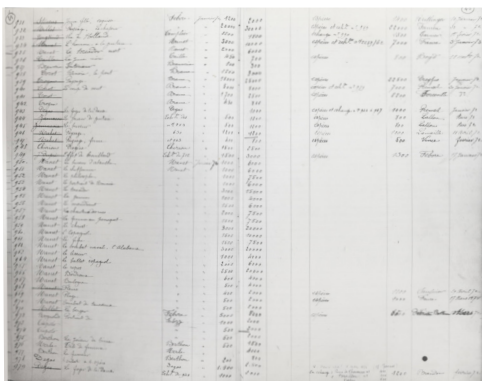


fig. 13 Stocks book of Durand-Ruel, November 1872  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie





fig. 14 Camille Corot, *The Bridge at Mantes*



fig. 15 J.F. Millet, *L'Angelus (The Evening Prayer)*



fig. 16 Théodore Rousseau, *The Forest in Winter at Sunset*



fig. 17 G. Courbet, *The Oak at Flagey*



fig. 18 Claude Monet, *Houses and Canal at Zaandam, Netherlands*



fig. 19 Edgar Degas, *The Dancing Class at the Opera*



fig. 20 Alfred Sisley, *The Bridge at Villeneuve-la-Garenne*



fig. 21 Camille Pissarro, *A Road at Voisins*



fig. 22 From the satirical magazine *Charivari*, about the Impressionist Exhibition in 1876: Policeman: "Lady, it is not prudent to enter!"

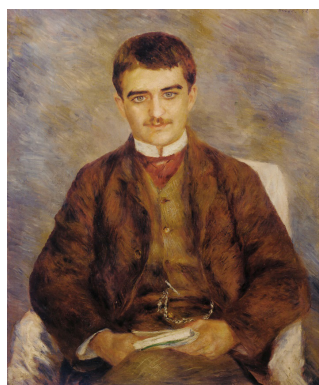


fig. 23



fig. 25



fig. 24

fig. 23 Renoir, *Portrait of Joseph Durand-Ruel*, 1882  
Photos Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie  
fig. 24 Renoir, *Portrait of Charles and Georges Durand-Ruel*  
Photos Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie  
fig. 25 Renoir, *Portrait of Marie and Jeanne Durand-Ruel*, Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Virginia  
Photos Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie

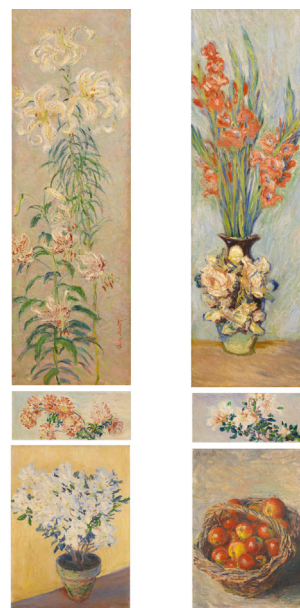
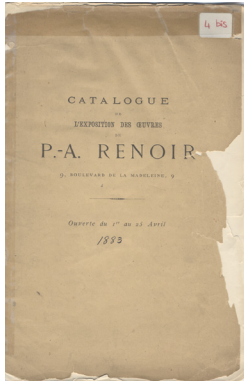
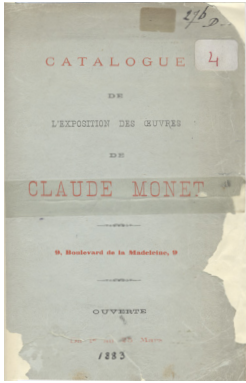


fig. 26 One of the 6 doors painted by Claude Monet for the drawing room of Paul Durand-Ruel's apartment at 35 rue de Rome, Paris  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie





figs. 27, 28 Two 1883 monographic exhibition catalogues: Monet and Renoir  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel  
© Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 29 Photograph (right to left) Claude Monet, Mr. Georges Durand-Ruel, Mrs. Georges Durand-Ruel, Lili Butler and Mrs. Hoschedé, taken by Joseph Durand-Ruel in 1900 in Monet's Garden, Giverny  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel  
© Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 30 Photograph (left to right) Mrs. Joseph Durand-Ruel, Mary Cassatt, unknown woman and Marie-Louise Durand-Ruel, taken in 1909 by Joseph Durand-Ruel in M. Cassatt's house, Mesnil-Théribus  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 31 Mary Cassatt, *Portrait of Marie, Paul Durand-Ruel's daughter, with her two daughters*, 1899  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 32 Photograph of Mrs. Joseph Durand-Ruel and Renoir taken in 1911 by Joseph Durand-Ruel, Saint Cloud  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel  
© Durand-Ruel & Cie



fig. 33 Renoir, *Portrait of Madame Joseph Durand-Ruel*  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel  
© Durand-Ruel & Cie.

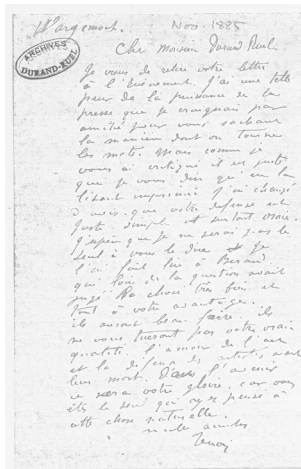
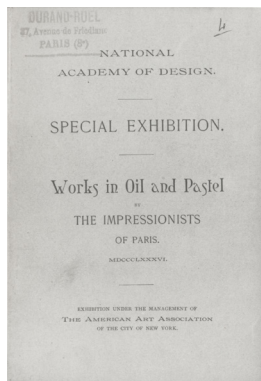
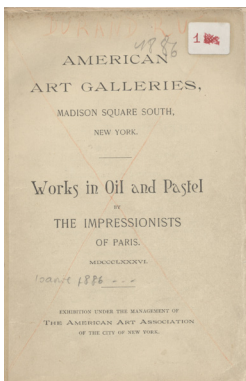


fig. 34 Letter from Renoir to Paul Durand-Ruel, 1885  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie.



fig. 35 Photograph of New York



figs. 36, 37 The two catalogues of the 1886 New York exhibitions organized by Durand-Ruel  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie

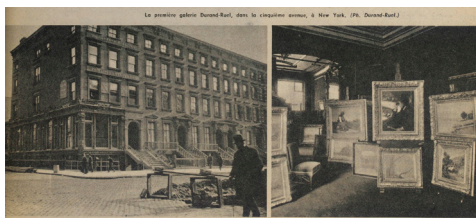


fig. 38 Second Gallery of Durand-Ruel in New York, 1889-1894, 315 Fifth Avenue  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie.

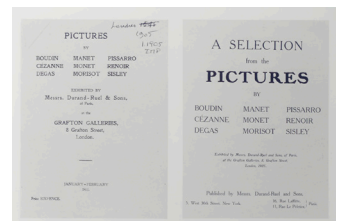
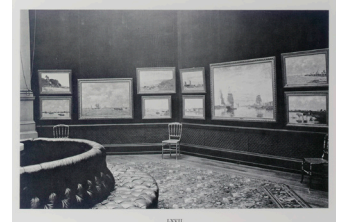
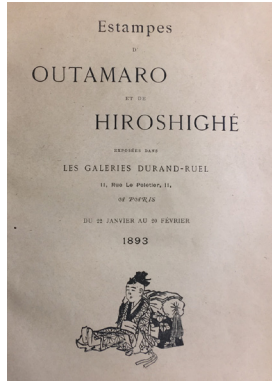
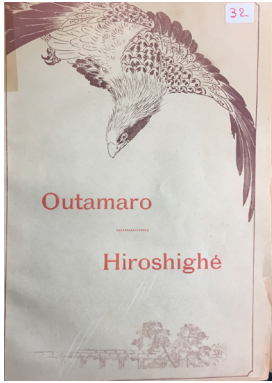


fig. 39 Catalogue of the exhibition organized by Durand-Ruel at the Grafton Galleries in 1905  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie.

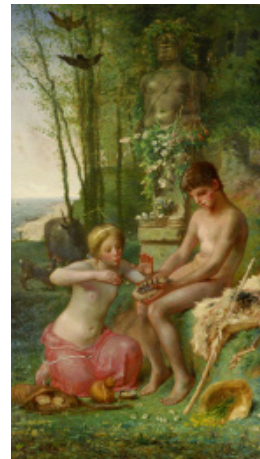






figs. 40–42 Outamaro and Hiroshige Exhibition organized by Durand-Ruel in Paris in 1883  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel © Durand-Ruel & Cie.

fig. 43 The Galerie Durand-Ruel, decorated with Japanese motifs.



figs. 44, 45 Paintings by Renoir purchased from Durand-Ruel by Matsukata Kōjirō

figs. 46, 47 Paintings by J.F. Millet and Puvis de Chavannes purchased from Durand-Ruel by Matsukata Kōjirō

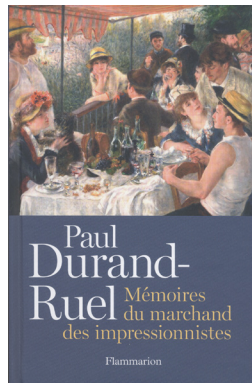


fig. 48 Renoir, *Portrait of Paul Durand-Ruel*  
Photo Archives Durand-Ruel  
© Durand-Ruel & Cie

fig. 49 *Mémoires*

figs. 50, 51 Paul Durand-Ruel Exhibition in Paris, London and Philadelphia, 2014–2015



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ミュージアム・ドキュメンテーションと  
『松方コレクション 西洋美術全作品』<sup>1)</sup> 編纂

## I. 松方コレクションのカタログ・レゾネと資料との関係

国立西洋美術館は1959年6月、松方コレクションを収蔵・展示する施設として、この上野の地に開館した（fig. 1）。川崎造船所の初代社長であった松方幸次郎（1866–1950）は1910–1920年代、ビジネスのために滞在したヨーロッパで、デュラン＝リュエル画廊をはじめとする画商、あるいは直接にクロード・モネらアーティストから美術品を手に入れた。それらは第一次大戦後、極東の日本へ船で運ばれたが、事情により現地のロンドンとパリに残されたものも少なくなかった。そのうちフランスに残された作品群が当館設立につながっていく。400点くらいの絵画、彫刻、素描作品である。

パリ残留作品は、第二次世界大戦末期にフランス政府に接収され、戦後、サンフランシスコ講和条約によって正式にフランス政府の国有財産となった。しかし日本とフランスの両政府間で返還交渉が行われ、その過程で松方コレクションを日本へ引き渡す条件として、フランスが日本に提示したのが新美術館の設置である（figs. 2, 3）。当館が開館60周年を記念し松方コレクション展を開催した背景にはこのような経緯がある。

また昨年从今年にかけて、当館は松方コレクションのカタログ・レゾネ全2巻を編纂・発行した。この編纂と、これまでの発表で示されたような資料との関連性をご紹介するのが本発表のテーマである。

日本においても近年、アーカイヴへの関心が高まっているが、ここでは、厳密な意味でのアーカイヴズに加えて、売立目録や展覧会カタログといった、ある作品についてのドキュメンテーション資料、あるいは絵画の木枠に貼られたラベルなどの特殊な資料も視野に入れて、それらがカタログ編纂にどのように使われているのかをみていきたい。まず、このカタログが対象とする松方コレクションの全体像をあらためて確認しよう。

松方コレクションは大きく分けると3つの系統に分けられる。（1）フランスに残され、その後国立西洋美術館の基礎となった系統。（2）日本に到着した系統は、川崎造船所の経営が破綻したことで、松方が経営責任を取る形でコレクションを差し出すことになり、その後、売立によってコレクションは散逸する。例外的に浮世絵は散逸することなく、まとまって宮内省に献上され、そのまま東京国立博物館に受け継がれた。（3）このほか、イギリスに残留した作品。これは倉庫の火災により失われた。

当館と東京国立博物館の作品を除くと、コレクションは散逸しており、総合的な財産目録＝インベントリーが存在も知られていない。今回私たちは浮世絵を除く西洋美術作品の目録編纂に取り組んだが、それは取りも直さず松方コレクションの全容解明に対する挑戦でもあった。なお本プロジェクトは、一人の作家のカタログ・レゾネではなく、一人のコレクターが集めたコレクションのカタログ・レゾネであり、作者の同定や作品の技法・制作年という問題よりも、作品の来歴や所在を重視するものであったことを申し添えておきたい。

松方コレクション全容解明の先行研究としては、1990年に神戸市立博物館が編纂したカタログがある（以下、「神戸版目録」）。これは長い間、定本として活用されてきた。しかし数年前、ある個人の篤志家が現れて、この神戸版目録は発行部数が少なく入手困難で、内容も古くなってきたということで、新しいカタログ制作のための資金援助を申し出てくださった。そのご意向にしたがって、データベースのような電子媒体ではなく、冊子体の目録の制作

に取り組むこととなった。2014年頃のことである。

神戸版目録では、おもに日本で散逸した作品に関わる売立目録、そして当館所蔵品の目録が情報源とされた。どちらかと言えば、日本で手に入るコレクション散逸期以降の資料が中心だったと言える。しかしそれから四半世紀を経て、資料へのアクセス環境は様変わりしている。今回我々がどのような資料を使用したか、順を追ってみていきたい。

当館が、松方コレクションの引き渡しをめぐり、日仏の外交交渉により創設されたことは先述の通りである。この国家間の交渉に関し、両国にさまざまな記録が残された。とくにフランスにおいては、松方の作品購入の指南役だった人物、レオンス・ベネディットがフランスの国立美術館の館長職についていたことから、国の美術史研究所にベネディットの同出所資料群（Fonds Léonce Bénédite<sup>2)</sup>）が受け継がれ、そこに松方の作品収集の記録が豊富に残された。こうしてフランスの美術史研究所（INHA）、国立公文書館ほか、当館を含む複数の機関に残されるアーカイヴ資料を調査した。そして、各機関に伝わる作品リストが作成時期や作成者によって微妙に異なるという事実に突き当たった。

とはいえ、厳密に言えば、さまざまなバージョンのリストが存在すること自体はすでに知られており、従来その問題は「今後さらなる調査を要する」として先送りされてきた、と言った方が正確かもしれない。いずれにせよ、いよいよ避けては通れない課題として我々の前にリストの突合せという重い課題が立ちのび、勇気を奮って立ち向かうことになった。作品数にすればたかだか400点程度だが、リストは構成から収録点数、作品名、番号体系にいたるまでバラエティに富んでおり、作業は難航した。

その過程で、日本側への引き渡しリストに含まれず、かといってフランス側で収蔵または売却処分した形跡も見当たらない、途中から足取りが不明になる作品が幾つか浮上した。そうした作品が、神戸版目録に収録されている既出の作品と一致するのか、それとも新出なのか、その判断が重要になってくるのだが、そのあたりについて詳しくは後述することとし、ここでは、その判断材料の一つとして、作家のカタログ・レゾネが重要な役割を果たしたことを指摘しておく。スライドに掲げたモネとドガの作品については、いずれも、松方の所有あるいは旧蔵として、それぞれの作家のカタログ・レゾネに収録されている。西洋美術研究者にとってカタログ・レゾネの有用性は強調するまでもないが、日本では、竹内順一先生からお話いただく茶道具の名物記のような伝統はあるものの、今日的な意味でカタログ・レゾネというものの役割は十分には浸透してないのではないと思われる。

当館は、守備範囲とする20世紀前半までの西洋の作家については、ある程度カタログ・レゾネを備えている。そのため確認の必要が生じたとき、すぐ書庫に入って参照できたことは大きな助けとなった。謎解きのような複雑な疑問に突き当たったとき、やはりすぐその場で確認できないと調査も思うように進まない。今回のような事業には、カタログ・レゾネなどの重要文献は欠かせないし、それを一堂に集めた研究環境の整備も必須の条件となると思う。

近年日本では、美術分野の資料をめぐってアーカイヴズが注目されているが、本来はアーカイヴ資料に限らず、このような専門書からデジタル・リソースまでも含めた広い視野で、総合的な研究基盤の形成を問題にすることが必要だろうと思われる。その意味で、次の山梨絵美子氏の東京文化財研究所

1) 川口雅子・陳岡めぐみ編著『松方コレクション 西洋美術全作品』全2巻、国立西洋美術館、平凡社（発売）、2018–2019年。

2) <https://www.inha.fr/fr/ressources/publications/publications-numeriques/dictionnaire-critique-des-historiens-de-l-art/benedite-leonce.html>

のような機関が果たすべき役割は今後ますます期待されると言える。

さて、先に神戸版目録の参照源が主にコレクション散逸期以降の資料だったことを述べたが、今回我々は、コレクション形成期の記録にあたることができた。具体的には、先に挙げたフランスの研究機関のほか、ロンドンのテート、ドイツの美術市場アーカイヴ（ZADIK）、ロサンゼルス・ゲティ研究所、あるいはデュラン・リュエル画廊など今に続く画商などに保存公開されているアーカイヴ資料である。

このようなアプローチが可能になったのは、近年、欧米諸国で来歴研究のニーズが高まり、これを受けてアーカイヴの公開が進んでいるという環境の変化があるからと言える。このおかげで、かつて松方が作品を購入したときの記録に直接接することができた。

また、こうした他機関での資料調査と並行して、当館内部で蓄積してきた資料も参照した。たとえば当館の所蔵作品に関するファイルである（fig. 4）。当館は草創期からの松方コレクションに加えて、60年の歴史の中で、散逸した松方コレクションを収蔵・展示しており、それらの作品の記録も蓄積している。こうした美術館でのドキュメンテーション活動の成果を活用したことは、美術品を収蔵する美術館ならではのプロジェクトの特色といえるかもしれない。作品毎に整理されたファイルボックスには、文献コピーや他機関所蔵資料のコピーなどがファイリングされている。作品裏面の写真などもあり、そこには、画商ラベルや展覧会ラベルなどが記録されている。

一方、作品購入に関わる業務の記録で、アーカイヴ的な資料群もあり（fig. 5）、作品ファイルとは別の体系で保管されている。また作品によっては、当館に所有権は移らず、寄託の形をとるケースもあり、本編纂プロジェクトにおいてはそのような寄託作品の記録も参照した。さらに、こうした資料調査と並行して、作品自体の調査も館の内外で実施した。スライドは、個人宅や企業を訪問したときの様子である。

このように館の内外で資料調査と作品調査を進めてきたが、次に、収集した資料や画像の整理についてみておきたい。資料類は作品ごとにファイリングしたが、新しく作品を発見すれば新たなフォルダを追加したり、あるいは2つのフォルダに分かれていた情報が実は同一作品のものとなれば一つのフォルダに統合したりといったことを繰り返したため、フォルダは常に増減した（fig. 6）。カタログ編纂の過程では常にこのファイルに立ち還って作業を進めてきたが、今後はこれを外部研究者の閲覧にも供することが出来るよう、準備を整えていきたいと考えている。そのように考える理由として、一つ事例を取り上げたい。

スライドは、日仏間の返還交渉時の作品リストとして参照したものである。ご覧のとおりオリジナルの文書ではなく、ある刊行物に収録された書き起こしである。リストはきわめて重要であるにもかかわらず、原本の所在は長い間不明であった（現在所在は明らかになっている）。やむを得ずこの書き起こしで代用していたが、他リストとの突合のなかで説明のつかない情報があった。これが単純な転記ミスなのか、元からの記載なのかで若干意味は違ってくる。このようなケースが幾つかあった。本来、エビデンス、裏付けという意味では、書き起こしとは別に、原本へのアクセスも保証されるべきである。同じことは、今回の私たちのカタログにも当てはまることだと考える。私たちは今回、一定の結論、あるいは仮説を提示したが、その妥当性の検証ができるよ

う、第三者に対し、裏付けとなった材料へのアクセスを保証しておくことは重要だと思う。新しい資料がみつかり、研究が進めば、いずれ我々の目録も書き換える必要が生じてくるだろう。その意味でカタログ編纂時に使用した生の素材を第三者が参照できるようにすることは我々の責務とも考える。今後準備を進めて、何らかの形で研究者と共有できればと考えている。

一方、新たに作品を調査し、撮影した写真等については、紙媒体資料のファイリングではなく、デジタル・データとして保存・蓄積した。これは保管先としたデータベースの画面である。額裏のラベルの画像が複数登録されている。今回のプロジェクトで私たちはこのような専用のデータベース・システムを使用した。美術作品管理のためのシステムをカタログ編纂用にカスタマイズしたものである（fig. 7）。調査写真を複数登録できたので、大変重宝した。この作品の場合は額裏の書込みの写真が多数登録されている。どのように調査に役立つかは後述する。

それでは最後に、デジタル時代のカタログ・レゾネという視点への対応として、私たちのささやかな工夫をご紹介します。今回のカタログでは、ヨーロッパの伝統的なカタログ・レゾネの事例に学んで、巻末にいくつかの索引を備えた。この索引の作成については、従来の一般的な出版物のように、完全に原稿を作成し、編集段階であとから索引を作るということではなく、カタログ・データの記述と並行してシステム上でインデックス・データも作成するという方法を取った。プロジェクトの初期段階から、最終的な原稿の出力と印刷プロセスを設計し、それに合わせてシステムをカスタマイズしたことで可能になったことと思う。今回は冊子体のカタログの制作が最終目標だったが、いずれはこのデジタル資産を最大限に活用して、デジタルでの公開も検討できればと考えている。本日うかがったウィルデンスタイン・プラットナー研究所のような最先端の事例に学びつつ、デジタル時代に相応しいカタログ・レゾネの公開を模索していきたい。（川口雅子）

## II. 調査事例の紹介

次に、カタログの収録作品にもとづいて具体的な調査の事例を紹介していく。今日の報告はミュージアム・ドキュメンテーションを一つの柱としているため、当館の所蔵品を中心に論じることとする。

今回の松方コレクション調査は、公文書、手紙、作品リスト、画商のアーカイヴ、各種出版物など作品外部から得た情報と、ラベルや書き込みなど作品そのものに残る情報を相互に参照し、情報を補い合わせながら進めた。もちろん、額や木枠などに残る情報は必ずしもその作品の絶対的な記録というわけではない。額はしばしば交換されるし、木枠もカンヴァスを張りなおす際に付け替えられることがある。あるいは記録のねつ造を意図して他から張り替えられることすら起こりうる。とはいえ、そうしたリスクは文書資料にもいえることであり、それゆえに相互に参照して裏付けていく必要がある。また、できるだけ情報を拾い上げておくことで、それらが新たな調査研究へ展開するための足がかりとなる可能性もあるだろう。

### ルノワール《帽子の女》（M916）

最初に、ルノワール《帽子の女》の作品裏に残されたラベルを見てみる（figs. 8–10）。そのうちの一枚には「1081 Renoir Femme au chapeau 1891」



と記されている。今回の調査では、パリのデュラン＝リュエル画廊のアーカイヴ<sup>3)</sup>に松方の作品購入記録を照会しつつ、写真アーカイヴなどを見せてもらった。照らし合わせたところ、上記のラベルに記された番号は松方が購入したルノワール作品のデュラン＝リュエル画廊のストックナンバーと一致する。1921年末に松方はデュラン＝リュエル画廊からこのルノワールとともに6点のアルベール・アンドレの作品を購入しているが、いずれの作品にも同様のラベルが木枠に残っている。松方のパリにおける作品購入の重要な協力者であったレオンス・ベネディットが作品管理のために記したものなのか。それらはいわゆる画廊ラベルではなく、どの段階で誰が付けたものかは不明だが、作品と同画廊からの購入を結びつける何らかの記録であり、来歴情報が欠ける場合には、調査の手がかりともなる。なお、《花》にだけは他と異なり、「デュラン＝リュエル」の名前と「5」という数字が入ったラベルも貼られていた (fig. 11)。

また、この《帽子の女》の木枠の裏には「306」という番号もステンシルで大きく記されている。こうした数字は1959年にフランスから日本へ返還された松方コレクション、すなわち現在は国立西洋美術館に収蔵されている多くの作品に見られるものだが、これまでは具体的な意味が不明であった。今回、初期のものから戦後の日仏政府間の返還交渉で用いられたものにいたるまで松方コレクションの複数の作品リストの内容を検討したことで、これらの番号は、1920年代から1930年代にかけてロダン美術館に保管されていた時期に松方コレクションに付与された管理番号のようなものであることが判明した。さらに、近年、フランスの建築文化財メディアテークで見つかった松方コレクションを撮影したガラス乾板に付けられていた番号とも一致するものであった。すなわち、この番号はパリ保管分から散逸した松方旧蔵品の特定において一つの目安となる。

#### セザンヌの《舟にて》(M1487)

今回の調査では、ベネディットと松方が交わした作品購入をめぐる手紙や書類からも多くの情報を得た。現在はパリの国立美術史研究所 (INHA) が保管するこれらの資料群<sup>4)</sup>はこれまでに松方コレクション研究において部分的に参照されてきたものだが、特に画商からの請求書類も含めて包括的に見直して新データの抽出に努めた。

一例を挙げる。1921年9月7日付のベルネーム＝ジュヌ画廊の売買記録によれば、松方は6点のセザンヌ、1点のマティス、4点のヴァン・ドンゲン作品を購入し、総額は73,000フランに及んでいる。このうち、現在、当館ではセザンヌの水彩4点を所蔵するが、いずれも当館に収蔵された後、保存状の理由でオリジナルのマットや額は解除されている。一方、外された古いマットや額は作品とは別に保管されてきており、今回はこれらの調査も駆け足ながらおこなった。

たとえば、《舟にて》の旧裏板にはベルネーム＝ジュヌ画廊のラベルが残っていたが、インクや紙が劣化して読みにくい (figs. 12, 13)。だが、早い段階で当館の研究員が書きとった記録が残っていたため、あわせて参照することができた (fig. 14)。なお、ここには「ロダン美術館」とも記されているが、パリで松方のために購入された作品はベネディットを窓口としてロダン美術館に送られて、第二次世界大戦勃発まで保管されていたことを示してい

る。また、おそらく額装解除時に剥がされて保管されていたラベルに記された「21686」という番号はベルネーム＝ジュヌ画廊のストックナンバーである (fig. 15)。

#### ロセッティ《夜明けの目覚め》(M940)

松方コレクションの第一回売立に出されていたこのロセッティ作品は、国内の売立や展覧会では、《少女》あるいは《女》というタイトルで紹介されてきたものである (fig. 16)。だが、幸い、作品裏にレスター画廊のラベル (fig. 17) が残っていたことから、これを出発点として、現在、同画廊のアーカイヴ (非公開) を保管するアーネスト・ブラウン＆フィリップス<sup>5)</sup>に調査を依頼した。レスター画廊の売買記録から、1920年に松方は同画廊からロセッティ《グレートヒェン (夜明けの目覚め)》を購入していたことが判明した。

《夜明けの目覚め》はサーティーによるロセッティのカatalog・レブネの253番にあたる。これは1883年のロセッティの死後のアトリエ・セールに出ていた作品で (105番)、ロセッティの重要なパトロンの一であったヴァルビーのために1878年に制作された作品の一つであった。売立目録における作品描写は、「若い女性の半身像、最後のグレーズング以外は完全に仕上がっている。背景なし。1880年頃」というものであり、本作の構図との間に齟齬はない。また、ロセッティがヴァルビーに宛てた手紙 (1878年11月28日)<sup>6)</sup>によれば、作品サイズは「42×21インチ」=約106.7 x 53.3 cmであり、本作のサイズとほぼ一致する。なお、木枠に焼き印が残る画材屋もロセッティの出入りの業者の一つであった (fig. 18)。こうして、本作はより正確な文脈に置き直され、詳しい情報とともに我々のカatalogに収録することができた。

#### モネ《陽を浴びるボブラ並木》(M777)

モネ《陽を浴びるボブラ並木》(fig. 19)には、現在、ラベルなどは残っていないが、ノードラー画廊からベネディットに送られた購入に関わる書類を当館が保管している (fig. 20)。1921年の秋から冬にかけて松方は同画廊で作品購入をおこなった。パリを中心に購入された作品はベネディットが勤めるロダン美術館で保管されることになっていたことから、これらの作品もロダン美術館へ運び込まれた。この書類はその際に購入の証書として作品とともに届けられたものと考えられる。

ノードラー画廊については、ロサンゼルス Getty・リサーチ・インスティテュートが重要なアーカイヴを所有し、研究者に公開するとともに、デジタル化とウェブ公開を進めている。松方が1921年に同画廊から購入した作品群についても、作品在庫帳のオンライン・データベース<sup>7)</sup>上で検索することができる。だが、個々の作品の画像はないため、作家名とタイトルだけでは作品の特定が難しい場合もある。

たとえば、松方の購入作品として2点の《ボブラ並木》が記載されている。しかし我々の知る限り、松方コレクションにかつて含まれていたモネのボブラ並木を主題とする作品は当館所蔵作品しか知られていない。もう1点はどの作品を指すのか。同じくGettyが保管する同画廊の写真アーカイヴ<sup>8)</sup>を確認したところ、主要モチーフの柳とボブラが取り違えられたらしく、本来は《陽を浴びる柳》とすべき作品 (M769) に誤って、《陽を浴びるボブラ並木》というタイトルが付けられていたことが判明した。一方、現在当館が所蔵す

3) Durand-Ruel & Cie, Paris.

4) Bibliothèque de l'INHA, Paris, MS375 (6.5.1~6.5.3)

5) Ernest Brown & Phillips Ltd, London.

6) Ed. by William E. Fredeman, *The Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*,

vol. 8, *The Last Decade, 1873–1879*, Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2009, p. 221, 78.271.

7) <http://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/stockbooks/servlet.starweb?path=stockbooks/stockbooks.web>

る作品は在庫帳では単に《ボブラ》と記されていた。

なお、この《陽を浴びる柳》は第二次世界大戦期にフランス政府に敵国財産として接収され、1947年にパリで競売に付された作品の一つであり、現所在は不明である。

#### オールドマスター

文書記録にあたることはできなかったが、まとまった数の画廊ラベルが出てくる場合もある。たとえば、ロンドンのローソン=ピーコック画廊のラベルは松方コレクションのオールドマスターを中心とした作品の裏側においてしばしば目にする (fig. 21)。

あるいは、所蔵印の存在から特定のコレクションの競売の存在が見えてきた例もある。松方コレクションの複数の素描作品には画家エドワード・ポインターの所蔵印が認められる (fig. 22)。ここを出発点として、1918年にロンドンで開かれたポインターの競売目録を参照し、そこにいくつかの出品作を見つけることができた。こうした情報の蓄積は、今後、松方の直接的、間接的な入手経路を探っていく上で重要な道しるべとなっていくことが期待できる。

最初に述べたように、こうしたラベルに記された画家名や作家名は正しいものとは限らない。しかしかつて少なくともある時点においてその作品に付与されていた情報を歴史的記録として知ることができる場合がある。たとえば、かつて「レンブラント」とされていたこの作品 (M909) は今日の目では疑問符がつくが、作品の裏に残されたカッシーラー画廊のラベルにレンブラント作品と記載されていた (figs. 23–25)。カッシーラー画廊のアーカイヴ<sup>9)</sup>にこの作品の松方の購入記録はなかったので、直接の購入ではないと思われるが、少なくとも、松方がこの作品を購入した頃、絵画マーケットではレンブラントの作品として流通していたと推測できるだろう。

#### 破損作品

さて、カタログ編纂にあたって我々はまず、当館設立時のコレクション、すなわち1959年の返還時の松方コレクションの内容の検証作業をおこなった。つまり各種リストの比較検討をおこない、どの時点でどの作品があったのか、あるいは姿を消しているのかを割り出した。この作業でとくに興味深い結果につながったのは、一群の破損作品であった。ここではドガとモネの例を紹介したい。

第二次世界大戦中、フランスに残された松方コレクションはパリを出てノルマンディーの小村の民家に疎開している。おそらくその頃に水や湿気の被害を受けていくつかの作品が損傷した。1944年にフランス政府が接収した松方コレクションのリスト<sup>10)</sup>では (作成は1945年)、はじめて破損作品への言及が見られる。実際、1959年に日本へ返還された375点のなかには破損作品が含まれていた。しかし、1944年の接収時には破損作品として記載されながら、この375点に含まれていない作品があることもわかってきた。

#### -ドガ《女性像》(M375)

ドガの女性像はその一つである (fig. 26)。この作品はもともと1946年のドガのカタログ・レゾネに松方旧蔵の所在不明作品として掲載されていた (fig. 27)。また、1921年10月12日付のベネディットから鈴木商店宛の手紙に購

入の事実が記されるとともに、1920年代前半にベネディット周辺で作られた作品リストから接収作品リストにいたるまで途切れなく収録されていた。ただし接収作品リストでは、この作品が収められていたクレートは「湿気によって損傷」と記され、作品タイトルには「主題は認識できない」、作家名には「ドガ? (非常に損傷している)」とも記された。

当館が1959年の開館以来、複数の破損作品を保管していることは2008年の悉皆調査で確認していたが、このうち、木枠に画布の半分が残るばかりで、作家も主題も、縦横すらわからず、記録もない、作品裏に「40」という数字が見えるラベル (fig. 28) を残した詳細不明作品がこのドガ作品であったことが今回判明した。サイズ、かろうじて残っていた図柄とルモワヌの白黒画像の一致、また作品の裏に残されていたラベルの番号40は、1918年にジョルジュ・プティ画廊で開かれたドガのアトリエ・セールでこの女性像に付けられた番号と一致するもので、「Buste de… [～の胸像]」という文字も読むことができたのだ。そしてあらためて画面をよく見たところ、画面右中央にドガのサインも読み取ることができた。

#### -モネ《睡蓮、柳の反映》(M788)

モネ《睡蓮、柳の反映》もモネのカタログ・レゾネに松方コレクションの一部として収録されていたのだが、長く所在がわからなくなっていた作品である (figs. 29, 30)。1921年に松方がモネから購入した後、少なくとも第二次世界大戦期までは松方コレクションをめぐる複数のリストに記録が残されていたのだが、日本へ返還される作品のリストから外されていた。2016年、この作品がルーヴル美術館の館内で思いがけず見つかった際には日本側とフランス側で情報を照合して調査を進めたことで、2018年初めに作品の日本への返還がかない、2019年6–9月の「松方コレクション展」での展示へつながった。ドガ同様、このモネ作品も接収作品のリストではじめて「湿気によって損傷」と記された上、さらには評価額には「価値なし」と記されていた。

#### 終わりに

最後に、今回のシンポジウムを共催するきっかけとなったパリのウィルデンスタイン=プラッナー研究所における調査について紹介する。2017年11月頃から、我々とWPIとの間でモネのカタログ・レゾネに掲載された図版をめぐるやり取りが始まった。その後、同研究所で調査させてもらったこの《睡蓮、柳の反映》の写真の裏側に「caisse nationale des monuments historiques」のスタンプがあったことから (fig. 31)、この種の写真を現在保管している建築文化財メディアテークに問い合わせた結果、ロダン美術館で保管されていた頃の松方コレクションのほとんどを撮影した貴重なガラス乾板のコレクションを突き止めるにいたった (fig. 32)。ガラス乾板の一部は今回の松方コレクション展でも展示している。そしてモネの《睡蓮、柳の反映》のガラス乾板の発見は欠落部分も含めたカンヴァス全体をデジタル技術で推定復元するプロジェクトの実現につながった。

同様に展覧会で現在展示中のマネの《嵐の海》(M691)の来歴調査についても言及させてほしい (fig. 33)。ナチス・ドイツの協力画商ヒルデブラント・グルリットのコレクションの一部として近年再発見された松方旧蔵作品である。グルリットのコレクションは2013年にミュンヘン、続いて2014年にザルツブル

8) Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 2012.M.54, Box 2612.

9) Paul Cassirer Archive & Walter Feilchenfeldt Archive, Zurich.

10) Archives Nationales, Paris, 20150044/120, «Collection Matsukata Séquestre».

クでそれぞれ息子のコルネリウスの家で発見され、最終的には約1500点に及ぶ規模となった。画商としての正当な取引作品からユダヤ人からの略奪美術品まで混在したこのコレクション発見の一報は2013年のことだったが、世界的な注目を集めた。我々はこのマネ作品を第二次世界大戦中の疎開時代に松方の部下がおそらく旧知の画商アンドレ・シェラーに売却したものと推測していた。WPIでラファエル・ジェラルの売買記録の調査をさせていただいたことにより、この仮説がほぼ裏付けられ、来歴の重要な空白を埋めることができた。今回、松方コレクションの調査においてWPIから全面的なご協力を得てきたことにこの場を借りて謝意を表する。

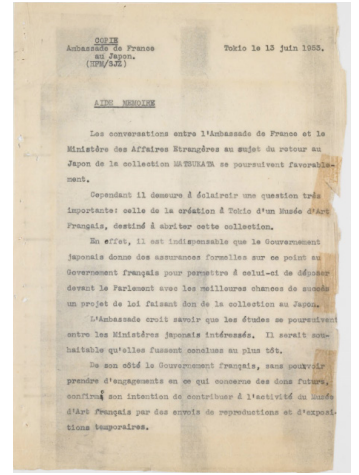
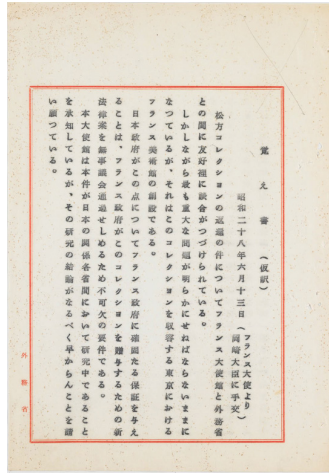
われわれは、さまざまな外部機関での資料調査と同時に、これまで館内に蓄積されてきた資料や記録の収集と整理にあたり、作品ファイルへの集積やデータベースを中心とする情報の整理を経て松方コレクションのカタログを編纂し、展覧会へ展開させた。ミュージアム・ドキュメンテーションという点ではまだ多くの課題に取り組み始めたところだが、文書資料や写真に加え、作品の修復や購入、展示の記録、あるいは外された古い額や台紙、ラベルなどの保管と情報の整理といった美術館ならではの問題を視野に入れつつ、作品をめぐるより詳細で多様な情報を公開・共有するデジタル時代にふさわしいプラットフォームの構築を目指したい。

(陳岡めぐみ)





fig. 1 皇太子明仁親王殿下（上皇陛下）の国立西洋美術館への御来館、1959年7月13日



figs. 2, 3 松方コレクション返還交渉文書（国立西洋美術館）



fig. 4 国立西洋美術館作品ファイル

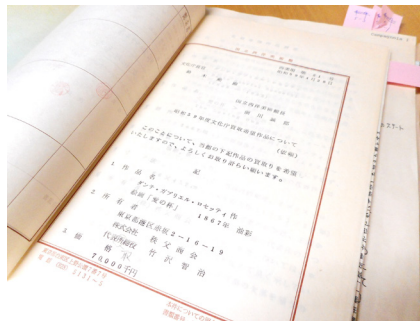


fig. 5 国立西洋美術館作品購入記録



fig. 6 松方コレクション調査資料

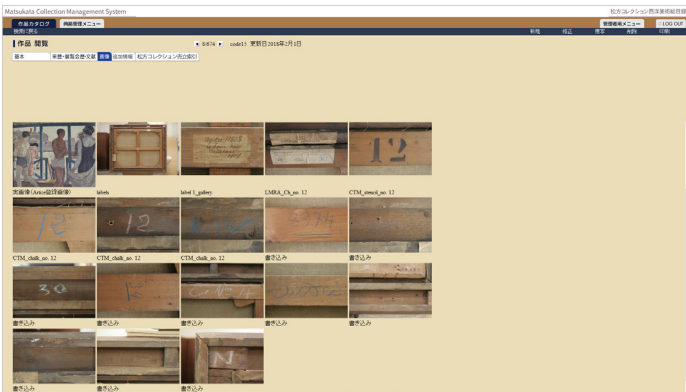


fig. 7 本事業のためにカスタマイズした収蔵作品管理システムの画面

figs. 8-10 ルノワール《帽子の女》と作品裏面



（ラベル拡大 “1081. Renoir / Femme au chapeau / 1891”）



fig. 11 アンドレ《花》の作品裏に残されたラベル





figs. 12, 13 セザンヌ《舟にて》と旧裏板

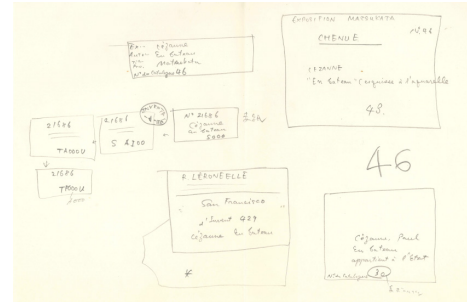


fig. 14 ラベルの書き写し



fig. 16 ロセッティ《少女》あるいは《女》



fig. 17  
レスター画廊のラベル



fig. 18  
木枠に残された焼き印

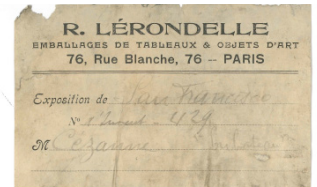


fig. 15 額装解除時に剥がされて保管されていたラベル



fig. 19 モネ《陽を浴びるポプラ並木》

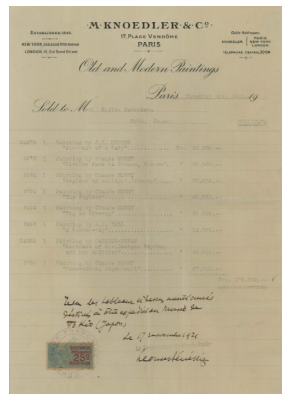


fig. 20 ノードラー画廊からの購入に関わる書類



fig. 21 ローソン=ピーコック画廊のラベル



fig. 22 エドワード・ボイントンの所蔵印



fig. 25 カッシーラー画廊のラベル

figs. 23, 24  
かつてレンブラントに帰属《男の肖像》と作品裏面





fig. 26 ドガ《女性像》

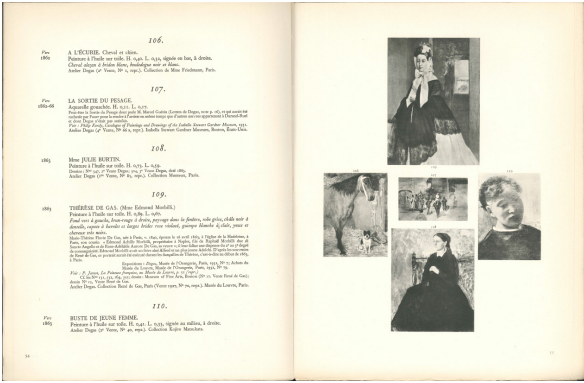


fig. 27 ドガのカタログ・レゾネ



fig. 28 「40」という数字が見えるラベル



fig. 29 モネ《睡蓮、柳の反映》

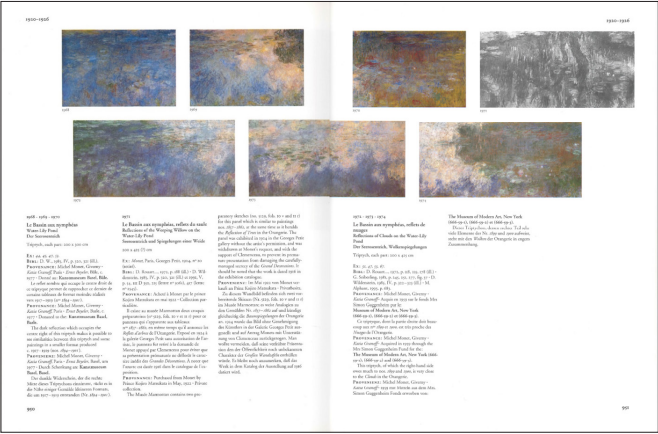


fig. 30 モネのカタログ・レゾネ

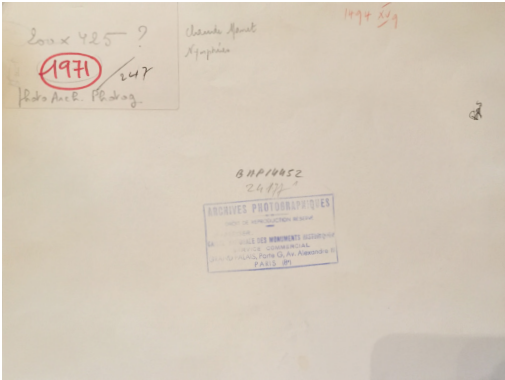


fig. 31 モネ《睡蓮、柳の反映》を写した紙焼き写真の裏面 (WPI所蔵)



fig. 32 モネ《睡蓮、柳の反映》を写したガラス乾板 (建築文化財メディアテーク所蔵)



fig. 33 マネ《嵐の海》(2019年10月、国立西洋美術館購入)



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Museum Documentation and the Compilation of *the Matsukata Collection: Complete Catalogue of the European Art* <sup>1)</sup>

## I. The Relationship between the Matsukata Collection Catalogue Raisonné and Materials

The National Museum of Western Art (NMWA) opened in its present location in the Ueno district of Tokyo for the preservation and display of the Matsukata Collection (fig. 1). Matsukata Kōjirō (1866–1950) was an industrialist and founding president of Kawasaki Dockyard Co., Ltd. While on business trips to Europe in the 1910s to 1920s, Matsukata acquired artworks on visits to art dealers, such as the Durand-Ruel Gallery, and through direct negotiation with such artists as Claude Monet. After World War I, the majority of these works were shipped to Japan, yet circumstances at the time meant that a not insignificant number of works remained in London and Paris. Those works which remained in France were then linked to the establishment of this museum, a total of approximately 400 works, including paintings, sculpture and drawings.

During the final years of World War II the French government sequestered the Matsukata works in Paris. Then after the war, the San Francisco Peace Treaty formally made them the property of the French government. However, negotiations between the French and Japanese governments were held regarding their return to Japan. As one of their conditions for this transfer, the French government stated that a new museum must be built in Japan to house the collection (figs. 2, 3). This is the historical process that lies behind our holding of the Matsukata Collection exhibition to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the Museum's opening.

Over the course of last year and this year, the NMWA has compiled and published a catalogue raisonné of the Matsukata Collection. The theme of this paper is to introduce the connection between this compilation process and the materials that have been previously reported.

Interest in archives has increased in recent years, and here, in addition to archives in the strictest meaning of the term, we have also considered the documentation of individual artworks found in auction and exhibition catalogues, along with such special types of materials as the labels pasted on painting frames, backs and stretchers. In this paper we would like to describe how we used these materials in the production of the catalogue raisonné. First, let us confirm the entirety of the Matsukata Collection that is the subject of the catalogue raisonné.

The Matsukata Collection can be largely divided into three lineages. Namely, the group of works that remained in France and later became the basis of the NMWA collection, the group that was shipped to Japan and were then relinquished by Matsukata as part of his taking responsibility for the collapse of Kawasaki Dockyard Co., Ltd., and later dispersed in auctions. Unusually, the *ukiyo-e* works were not dispersed, but rather were presented in their entirety to the Imperial Household Agency and later handed onto the Tokyo National Museum. The third group comprised works stored in London which were later destroyed in

a fire at the warehouse.

With the exception of the works in the NMWA and the Tokyo National Museum, the remainder of the collection was dispersed and there was no known inventory of the entire collection. Thus it was a challenge to get an overall sense of the Matsukata Collection when we began to edit the catalogue of the collection's Western artworks, not including the *ukiyo-e* works. This project was not a catalogue raisonné of a single artist, but rather a catalogue raisonné of a collection assembled by a single person. We must note here that more so than artist identification and questions of an artwork's techniques and production date, we have focused on the provenance of the works and their locations over time.

Earlier research seeking an understanding of the entire scope of the Matsukata Collection can be found in the catalogue edited and published by the Kobe City Museum in 1990 (referred to here as the Kobe catalogue). In the years since that publication it has functioned as the standard work on the subject. However, several years ago a philanthropic individual appeared who was troubled by the fact that lack of funding meant that only a small number of the Kobe catalogues were produced and it was thus hard to acquire, and that the contents were becoming dated. This led the philanthropist to donate funds for the production of a new catalogue. In line with this donation, we became involved in creating a book-format catalogue, not just a digital media database. That was around 2014.

The Kobe catalogue primarily relied on the sale catalogues related to works dispersed in Japan and the catalogue of the works in the NMWA collection as its information sources. In essence, the Kobe catalogue drew largely from the materials available in Japan that date from the collection dispersal period or later. However, in the intervening quarter century since that publication, circumstances have changed in how materials can be accessed. The following is a listing of what materials we used in our compilation process.

As part of the transfer of the Matsukata Collection to Japan, negotiations between Japan and France included the previously mentioned establishment of a new museum. Various materials remain in both Japan and France regarding this negotiation process. In particular, in France, given that Léonce Bénédict, who assisted Matsukata with his art purchases, was the director of the French national art museum, the national art history research center inherited the Fonds Léonce Bénédict<sup>2)</sup> materials related to Bénédict. A wealth of records related to the Matsukata's collecting activities are found in that archive. In this manner we surveyed the archival materials in the INHA (National Institute for Art History, Paris), the Archives nationales, Paris, our own NMWA archives and those of numerous other institutions. Then we discovered that there were some subtle differences depending on when the lists handed down in these institutions were made and who made them.

Thus said, however, strictly speaking, it was previously known that various different versions of the collection list existed, and those who

1) Kawaguchi Masako & Jinguoka Megumi, eds., *The Matsukata Collection. Complete Catalogue of the European Art*, 2 vols., The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, 2018/2019.

2) <https://www.inha.fr/fr/ressources/publications/publications-numeriques/dictionnaire-critique-des-historiens-de-l-art/benedict-leonce.html>

previously stated that this question would require further inquiry at a later date were probably correct. In any event, we were finally confronted with the unavoidable question of list discrepancies and we had to gather our courage and address the issue. Given that there were around 400 works, the lists were endlessly varied, in terms of number of works included, their titles and numbering systems, making our task quite difficult.

During that process it became apparent that there were some works that did not appear on the list of works transferred to Japan, in other words, those works for which the French negotiators could not either find traces of how they were sold off, or whose whereabouts became unknown during the process. We realized that it was important to determine whether these works coincided with the previously known works recorded in the Kobe catalogue or whether they are newly discovered works. Details of this matter will be addressed below, but here we can indicate that artist catalogues raisonnés played an important role in such determinations. The works by Monet and Degas shown on this slide were all owned by Matsukata or formerly owned by him, and all of them are recorded in their respective artist's catalogue raisonné. There is no need to reiterate the importance of catalogues raisonnés to researchers of Western art, but it is important to consider that the role of catalogue raisonnés as we think of them today, such as the tradition of recording famous tea ceremony utensils, as discussed by Takeuchi Jun'ichi, have not yet become prevalent in Japan.

Most of the artists covered by the NMWA purview of Western artists up until the first half of the 20th century have some degree of catalogue raisonné in existence. As a result, it has been extremely helpful that when need arises, it is very easy to refer to these catalogues in the library. When puzzling and complex problems arise, and issues cannot be quickly resolved, our research does not advance as anticipated. In projects such as this one, catalogues raisonnés and other important documentary sources are indispensable, and the assembly of such resources in one place is another essential element of the organizing of a research environment.

In recent years interest in Japan has focused on archives related to information on art, but we believe there is a need not only for archival materials, but also a consideration of the creation of an overall research base that includes a broad range of materials, from these types of specialized books to digital resources. In that sense, we can anticipate the future role of organizations such as the Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, as we will hear from the next speaker Yamanashi Emiko.

I noted earlier that the Kobe catalogue relied primarily on materials from the collection dispersal period and later, but for our study we focused on records from the time of the collection's formation. In detail, in addition to the previously noted French research institutes, we also referred to archival materials at the Tate Gallery, London, the German

art market archive ZADIK, materials at the Getty Institute in Los Angeles and those from art dealers such as the Durand-Ruel Gallery.

This approach was made possible by the heightened need for provenance research in the West and changes in the study environment brought about by advances in making archives publicly available. These changes meant we had direct access to records dating from the time when Matsukata purchased the works.

Further, along with this materials survey at various institutions, we also referred to the materials accumulated at the NMWA, such as the Museum's curatorial files (fig. 4). In addition to the Matsukata Collection which entered the Museum at its founding, over the course of the intervening 60 years we have also acquired and displayed other dispersed ex-Matsukata works and have gathered materials on them. This utilization of the results of such museum documentation activities can be considered one of the special features of projects conducted by art museums that own artworks.

There are copies of articles and copies of information owned by other institutions in the file boxes dedicated to each artwork. There are also photographs of the backs of the artworks and thus records of the gallery labels, exhibition labels and other information directly attached to the objects themselves.

On the other hand, there are also archival records regarding the purchase of the artwork (fig. 5) which are maintained in a separate system from the artwork data file. There are also cases of works being on deposit, when they are held the museum but their ownership is not transferred to the NMWA, and so as part of this project we also referred to the records of on-deposit works. In addition to this materials survey, we also surveyed works both in the NMWA and in other sites. These slides show our visits to private collectors and businesses as part of such surveys.

As we progressed on the material and artwork surveys both in-house and at other venues, next we turned to the organization of the assembled materials and images. We filed the materials by artwork (fig. 6). When we discovered new artworks, we created new folders, or in some instances, combined folders when it became apparent that information in two separate folders actually referred to a single work. As this process advanced, the number of folders vacillated. Work on reorganizing this material continued over the course of our catalogue compilation, and we would like to organize these materials so that in the future these files can be shared with outside researchers. One of the reasons for this hope can be noted here.

The slide shows the list we referred to as the artwork list at the time of the Franco-Japanese negotiations. As you can see this is not the original document, but rather a text that was republished in some publication. Regardless of the fact that the original list is an extremely important document, for a long time its whereabouts were unknown. Our research for the catalogue confirmed its location. While this substitution was



essential when we did not know the location of the original, some of the information in the copy cannot be explained by comparison with other lists. Is this a case of simple transcription error, or was it simply a case of a different interpretation of the information given. There are several instances of this problem. In essence, in order to preserve evidence that underscores information, access to the original must be preserved separate from the copying of the information. This stipulation can also apply to our catalogue. For this publication we reached certain conclusions or hypotheses, and in order to prove their appropriateness, it is important to ensure third-party access to the materials that underscore those decisions. As new materials are discovered and research advances, undoubtedly there will be instances in which our catalogue will need revisions. Given these factors, we considered it was our duty to preserve the raw materials used in the compilation of our catalogue so that they can be referred to by third parties. As organization of these materials advances in the future, we hope to present them in some format that can be shared with other researchers.

Conversely, the records gathered in new surveys and photographs of works are maintained not in paper format but as digital files. This is the database made up of these materials. We have recorded numerous images of labels on the backs of frames. We used a specialized database system for this project, in other words, we customized an artwork collection management system for use in catalogue editing (fig. 7). The fact that we could record numerous survey photographs was particularly helpful. In the case of this work we also recorded numerous photographs of the writing on the back of the work's frame. We will discuss how this system can be useful later in this paper.

Then finally, we would like to introduce the serendipitous tricks we used to consider catalogues raisonnés in the digital age. For this catalogue raisonné we learned from examples in traditional European catalogues raisonnés and included various indices at the end of the volume. Unlike the usual book production method, whereby such indices are created at the editing stage after the entire manuscript is prepared, instead we created index data in tandem with the recording of catalogue data in the system. From the very first stage of the project we planned the final generation and printing process of the manuscript, and this was possible thanks to the customized system. While our final aim was to produce a book-form catalogue, in any event, we used digital assets to the greatest degree possible, and this has allowed us to consider making the digital form also available. Learning from such cutting-edge examples garnered from the Wildenstein Plattner Institute (WPI), we are considering ways in which to make catalogues raisonnés available that suit the digital age.

— KAWAGUCHI Masako

## II. Introducing Survey Examples

Next we would like to introduce specific examples of our research based on works recorded in our catalogue. Today's report is about one pillar of museum documentation and thus will focus on works in the NMWA collection.

Our study of the Matsukata Collection consisted of information gathered from outside the artworks themselves, such as books, letters, artwork lists, gallery archives, and various forms of publications, along with information remaining on the artwork itself such as labels and written comments. We referred to all of these information types and combined them as we went along. Of course, the information remaining on frames and wooden stretchers is not necessarily the absolute record of that work. Frames are often interchanged, and stretchers replaced and canvases re-stretched. There are also instances when exchanges are made in order to falsify such on-work records. Thus said, such risks can also be found in documents and printed materials, and as such it is important to underscore findings by comparing them across sources. Further, wherever possible we picked up information, it might aid new developments in survey research.

### **Renoir, *Femme au Chapeau* (M916)**

First let's look at the labels that remain on the back of Renoir's *Femme au chapeau*, "1081, Renoir, Femme au chapeau, 1891." (figs. 8–10) During our survey we referred to the records of Matsukata's purchase of the work in the archives of the Durand-Ruel Gallery in Paris,<sup>3)</sup> and were also allowed to study their photo archives. When we compared that information, we found that the number on the label mentioned above was the Durand-Ruel Gallery stock number of the work purchased by Matsukata. In late 1921 Matsukata bought this Renoir and six works by Albert André from Durand-Ruel, and all of these works have this same kind of label remaining on their wooden stretchers.

Did Léonce Bénédict, who greatly aided Matsukata with art purchases in Paris, record this information of artwork management? These are not so-called gallery labels, and while it is not clear when and by whom they were attached, they are somehow a record linking the works and the gallery, and they could assist the study in such cases where provenance information is lacking. *Flowers* by Andre is the only one of the seven works with a different label that states the Durand-Ruel name and the number 5 (fig. 11).

This *Femme au chapeau* also has a large stencil of the number 306 on the back of its wooden stretchers. This type of number appears on many of the Matsukata Collection works that were returned to Japan by France in 1959 and are now in the NMWA, but we didn't know what they actually mean. During this study we were able to examine the contents of numerous Matsukata Collection object lists from the earliest days to those used in the post-war return negotiations by the Japanese and French governments, and this comparison indicated that these numbers

3) Durand-Ruel & Cie, Paris.

4) Bibliothèque de l'INHA, Paris, MS375 (6.5.1–6.5.3).

were the management numbers attached to the Matsukata Collection works when they were stored at the Musée Rodin in the 1920s to 1930s. These numbers also accord with the numbers on the glass negatives of the Matsukata Collection that have been recently discovered at the Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine (MAP). In other words, this number is one of the indicators that can be used to identify ex-Matsukata Collection works that were dispersed from the group stored in Paris (fig. 5).

### **Cézanne, *On the Boat* (M1487)**

We learned a great deal from the letters and documents exchanged between Bénédite and Matsukata during their art purchasing process.<sup>4)</sup> While this group of materials today housed at the INHA in Paris has been partially referred to in previous Matsukata Collection research, our new comprehensive examination of the materials, including art dealer invoices and other such documents, provided new data for the catalogue.

Here is an example from these materials. According to the sales records from the Bernheim-Jeune Gallery dated September 7, 1921, Matsukata bought six Cézannes, one Matisse and four Van Dongen works for a total of 73,000 francs. Of those, today there are four Cézanne watercolors in the NMWA, each of which was removed from its original mat and frame for conservation purposes after the works entered the NMWA. These old mats and frames are stored separate from the artworks, and were helpful in our study.

For example, the old back mat of *On the Boat* has a label from the Bernheim-Jeune Gallery, but the ink and paper has degraded and it is hard to decipher. (figs. 12, 13). However, at an early stage our colleague transcribed it (fig. 14), and we were able to match up those records with the label itself. This comparison indicates that the label stated Musée Rodin, and thus we know that the label indicates that it was one of the works purchased by Matsukata in Paris that was sent by Bénédite to the Musée Rodin where they were stored until World War II broke out. Further, the number 21686 which was written on a label removed from the frame and conserved was the Bernheim-Jeune Gallery stock number (fig. 15).

### **Rossetti, *Risen at Dawn* (M940)**

This Rossetti work that appeared in the first auction of the Matsukata Collection had been introduced in Japan in auctions and exhibitions as *Young Girl or Woman* (fig. 16). However, fortunately, a label from the Leicester Galleries, London remained on the back of the painting (fig. 17) and with this as the starting point, we were able to ask to survey the Gallery's archives (not publicly available) which are preserved at Ernest Brown and Phillips, Ltd.<sup>5)</sup> From the Leicester Galleries sales records we determined that Matsukata purchased this *Risen at Dawn* by Rossetti from that gallery in 1920.

*Risen at Dawn* is no. 253 in Surtee's catalogue raisonné of the artist.

This was work number 105 in the studio sale held in 1883 after the artist's death. This was one of the works painted in 1878 for Rossetti's important patron Leonard Rowe Valpy. The auction catalogue describes the work as a "half-figure of a young woman, completely painted except the final glazing, no background. c. 1880." This accords with the composition of this painting. Further, in his November 28, 1878 letter<sup>6)</sup> to Valpy, Rossetti wrote that this work was "42 x 21 inches" (approx. 106.7 x 53.3 cm), which is essentially the size of this work. The name of the art materials shop burned into the wooden stretchers is one of the merchants that Rossetti frequented (fig. 18). Thus, this allowed us to re-position this work in its proper context and record its detailed information in our catalogue.

### **Monet, *Poplars in the Sun* (M777)**

While today no labels or other material remain on Monet's *Poplars in the Sun* (fig. 19), documents related to the sale of the work sent by the Knoedler Gallery to Bénédite remain in the NMWA (fig. 20). Matsukata bought paintings from this gallery during the autumn and winter of 1921. Given that the works primarily bought in Paris were stored at the Musée Rodin where Bénédite worked, these works were also taken to the Musée Rodin. These documents are thought to have been taken with the works during this transfer as proof of their purchase.

The Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles has an important archive of materials on the Knoedler Gallery, which is both open to researchers as work progresses on its digitization and hence availability online.<sup>7)</sup> The artwork storage book can be searched in the online database regarding the group of works purchased by Matsukata at the gallery in 1921. However, given the absence of pictures of the individual works in that storage book it is difficult at times to specifically identify works solely by their artist name and title.

For example, there are two *Poplars* works noted as purchased by Matsukata. And yet, to the best of our knowledge, the only known example of a Monet poplar painting formerly in the Matsukata Collection is the work today in the NMWA. What was the other work? By confirming the Knoedler Gallery photo archives<sup>8)</sup> today at the Getty, it seems that another work depicting willows (M769) was mistaken for poplars, and thus the work which should have been *Willows Bathed in Sunlight* was given the wrong title, *Poplars Bathed in Sunlight*. On the other hand, the work that is today in the NMWA was simply titled *Poplars* in the storage inventory.

This *Willows Bathed in Sunlight* was sequestered by the French government in World War II as enemy assets and was one of the works sold at auction in 1947, with its whereabouts today unknown.

### **Old Masters**

While we could not match them with dealer sale records, we often found several gallery labels on the works. For example, labels from the

5) Ernest Brown & Phillips Ltd, London.

6) William E. Fredeman, ed., *The Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, vol. 8, *The Last Decade, 1873–1879*, Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2009, p. 221, 78.271.

7) <http://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/stockbooks/servlet.starweb?path=stock-books/stockbooks.web>.

8) Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 2012.M.54, Box 2612.

Lawson-Peacock Gallery can often be seen on the back of Matsukata Collection works, primarily the Old Masters (fig. 21). There are other examples where the presence of specific collection auctions can be determined from the presence of collector marks. Many of the drawings in the Matsukata Collection bear the collector mark of painter Edward Poynter. (fig. 22) This mark led us to the catalogue of the Poynter collection auction held in London in 1918 where we found several other works that appear to have entered the Matsukata collection. The accumulation of such information can be anticipated to provide important leads in the future search for how Matsukata acquired the works, whether directly or indirectly.

As noted previously, the painter names and artwork titles noted on these labels are not always correct. And yet, at the very least their information can be acknowledged as historical information. For example, a work that was formerly attributed to Rembrandt is today subject to question, and there is Cassirer Gallery label on the back of the work that states it is a Rembrandt work. (figs. 23–25) Given that there are no records of Matsukata's purchase of this work in the Cassirer Gallery archives,<sup>9)</sup> it is thought to have not been purchased directly from this gallery, but at the very least, we can surmise from this information on the label that the art market thought it was a Rembrandt at the time it was purchased by Matsukata.

### Damaged Works

As we started to compile our catalogue, our first task was to confirm the contents of the Matsukata Collection at the time of the handover in 1959 when it formed the basis for the NMWA collection. In other words, we compared the various extant lists, confirming what works were in the collection at what time, or which works had disappeared. One particularly fascinating result of this work was the group of damaged works. Here I would like to introduce examples from this group by Degas and Monet.

During World War II the Matsukata Collection works that remained in France were evacuated from Paris and stored in a private home in a village in Normandy. It seems that during that process some of the works were damaged by water and humidity. The list of works seized by the French government in 1944 (list made in 1945) was the first mention of these damaged works. In fact, some of the 375 works returned to Japan in 1959 were damaged. And yet, we realized that there were other damaged works which had been listed as such at the time of the 1944 seizure but were not included in the 375 sent to Japan.

### Degas, *Portrait of a Woman* (M375)

Degas' picture of a woman is one such work (fig. 26). This work is listed in the 1946 Degas catalogue raisonné as an ex-Matsukata Collection work whose whereabouts were unknown. (fig. 27) Further, given that the facts of its purchase are known through a letter dated October 12, 1921 from Bénédite to Suzuki & Co., and it is included consistently from

the time of the lists created by Bénédite's circle in the first half of the 1920s to the sequestration list. However, the sequestration list<sup>10)</sup> notes that the crate housing the work had "humidity damage," and the artwork title is listed as "subject not recognized" and artist name as "Degas? (extremely damaged). The 2008 survey of works stored at the NMWA since its founding confirmed the identity of several other damaged works. Of those, there was a work with only half of its canvas remaining on stretchers, with its artist, subject and even measurements unknown, which was not recorded but had a label with the number 40 on the back of the canvas. (fig. 28) In our catalogue, we concluded that this was the missing Degas work. The size and remaining imagery accords with P. A. Lemoine's black and white image and the number 40 on the label on the back of the work is the number given to this image of a woman in Degas' studio sale held at the Georges Petit Gallery in 1918. The words "Buste de.." also can be seen on the label. Then a close look at the front of the picture shows Degas signature on the right center of the canvas.

### Monet, *Water Lilies, Reflections of Weeping Willows* (M788)

Monet's *Water Lilies, Reflections of Weeping Willows* is listed in the Monet catalogue raisonné as part of the Matsukata Collection, but its whereabouts have long been unknown. (figs. 29, 30) After Matsukata purchased the work from Monet in 1921, at the very least it remained on various lists recording the Matsukata Collection up until the World War II period. Like the Degas work this work first appeared as "humidity damaged" on the sequestration list in 1945, but it was omitted from the list of works returned to Japan considered as "no value" and had been remained in France. Unexpectedly this work was discovered in the Louvre in 2016. The relevant French and Japanese staff shared information and research results, which realized a return of the work to Japan in early 2018. The painting was displayed in the Matsukata Collection exhibition held from June to August 2019.

### Conclusion

Finally, we would like to introduce our research conducted at the Wildenstein Plattner Institute in Paris, our co-organizer of today's symposium. Starting around November 2017, we began to interact with the WPI regarding a photograph of *Water Lilies, Reflections of Weeping Willows* included in the Monet catalogue raisonné published by Wildenstein Institute. Later the presence of a "CAISSE NATIONALE DES MONUMENTS HISTORIQUES" stamp on the back of the photograph of this *Water Lilies* which we found at the WPI (fig. 31) led us to confirm that the MAP currently houses this type of photograph (fig. 32). We there discovered an important collection of glass plate photographs of most of the Matsukata Collection works around the time they were stored at the Musée Rodin. Some of those glass plates are included in the current Matsukata Collection exhibition. The discovery of the glass plate photograph of Monet's *Water Lilies, Reflections of Weeping Willows* also

9) Paul Cassirer Archive & Walter Feilchenfeldt Archive, Zurich.

10) Archives Nationales, Paris, 20150044/120, "Collection Matsukata Séquestre".



helped the digital reconstruction of the now missing or damaged sections of the canvas.

We would also like to mention the provenance research on Manet's *Stormy Sea* (M691), which is also currently on display (fig. 33). This is an ex-Matsukata Collection work that was recently rediscovered as one of the works in the collection of Hildebrand Gurlitt, an art dealer who collaborated with Nazi Germany. The Gurlitt Collection was discovered in 2013 in Munich, with more found in Salzburg in 2014, in the home and apartments of his son Cornelius, for a total of close to 1,500 works. The discovery of the collection, which ranges from works legally acquired by Hildebrand as an art dealer to those seized from Jews was breaking news in 2013. We surmised that Manet's *Marine, temps d'orage* was sold by Matsukata's custodian to his old friend the art dealer André Schoeller while the Matsukata works were evacuated during World War II. The Raphaël Gérard sales records conserved in the WPI underscores this hypothesis, and thus filled an important gap in the provenance. We would like to take this opportunity to express our great appreciation to the WPI for their wholehearted cooperation with our Matsukata Collection research.

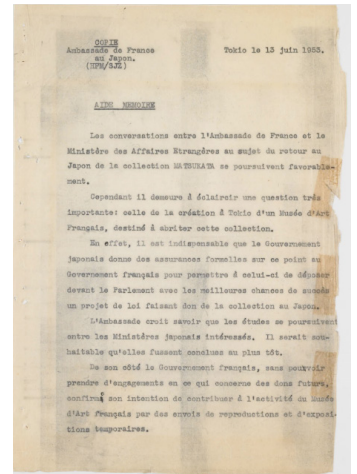
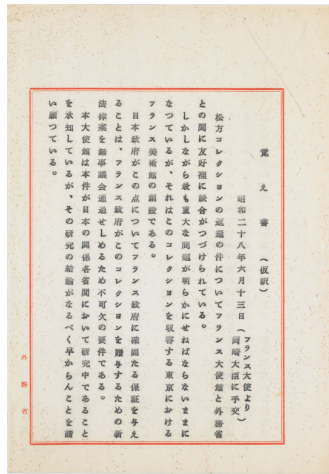
In addition to the document searches at various external institutions, assembling the materials and records accumulated at the NMWA and organizing them into art work files and a database allowed us to compile the Matsukata Collection catalogue and organize this exhibition. We have just begun to engage with the various remaining museum documentation issues. As a museum, we must maintain and organize records regarding artwork restoration, purchase and display, along with preserving removed frames, mats and labels, in addition to related books and photographs. Considering such museum-specific issues, we hope to construct a platform for these various information sources on details about the works in a manner suited to the digital age.

— JINGAOKA Megumi

(Translated by Martha J. McClintock)



fig. 1 Crown Prince Naruhito visiting the NMWA on 13 July 1959



figs. 2, 3 Documents related to the Matsukata Collection restitution negotiations



fig. 4 Curatorial files at the NMWA

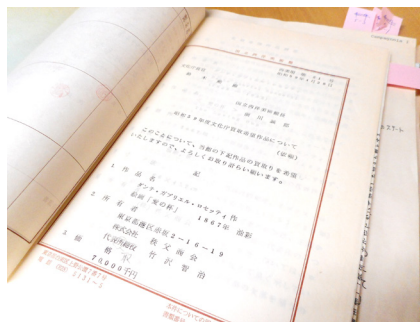


fig. 5 Artwork purchase record



fig. 6 Matsukata Collection research materials

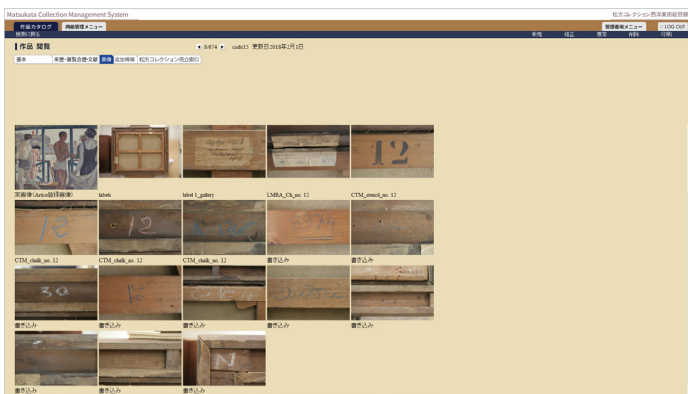


fig. 7 Screenshot of the customized collection management system used for this project

figs. 8–10 Renoir's *Woman with a Hat* and its back

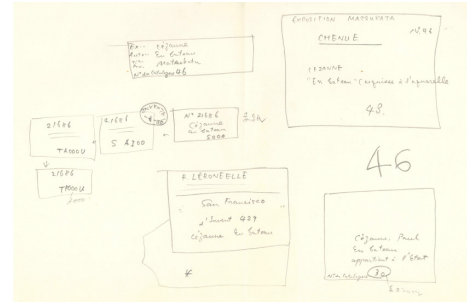


fig. 11 The label on the back of André's *Flowers*



"1081. Renoir / Femme au chapeau / 1891"





figs. 12, 13 Cézanne, *On the Boat* and its old back mat

fig. 14 Transcription of labels



fig. 17  
The Leicester Galleries' label

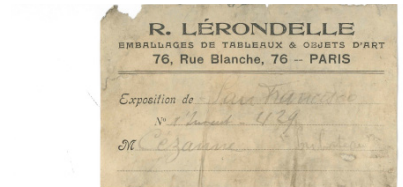


fig. 16 Rossetti, *Young Girl or Woman*

fig. 18  
Stamp of "Charles Roberson & Co."

fig. 15 The labels removed from the back mat

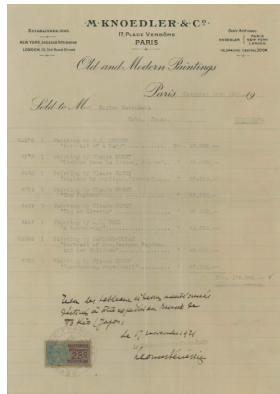


fig. 19 Monet, *Poplars in the Sun*

fig. 20 Sales document of the Knoedler Gallery

fig. 21 Label of the Lawson-Peacock Gallery

fig. 22 Collector mark of Edward Poynter

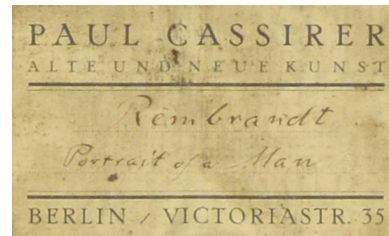


fig. 25 Label of Cassirer Gallery

figs. 23, 24  
Previously attributed to Rembrandt *Portrait of a Man* and its back





fig. 26 Degas, *Portrait of a Woman*

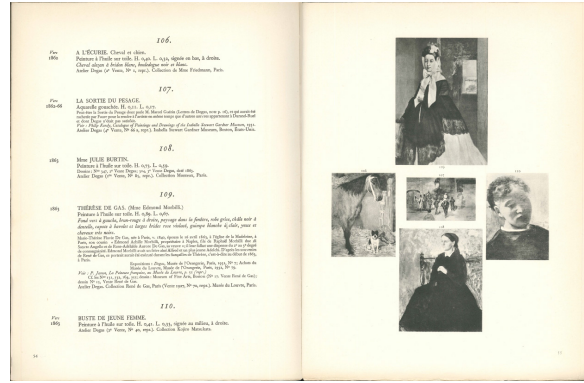


fig. 27 Degas catalogue raisonné



fig. 28 Label with the number 40



fig. 29 Monet, *Water Lilies, Reflections of Weeping Willows*



fig. 30 Monet catalogue raisonné

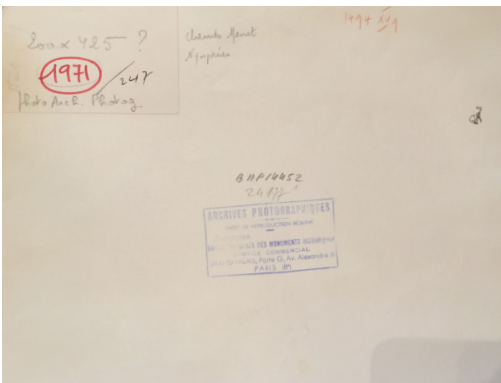


fig. 31 The back of the photograph of *Water Lilies, Reflections of Weeping Willows* (WPI)



fig. 32 The glass plate photograph of *Water Lilies, Reflections of Weeping Willows* (MAP)



fig. 33 Manet, *Stormy Sea* (Purchased by NMWA in October 2019)

山梨絵美子

東京文化財研究所副所長

矢代幸雄の東洋美術総目録構想とデジタル時代の美術アーカイヴ

はじめに

本シンポジウムのテーマである「カタログ・レゾネ」は、今日、「作品総目録」と訳されると思われる。

西洋における美術カタログの歴史については、『美術カタログ論 記録・記憶・言説』において島本浣氏が詳しく考察しておられる。同書によれば、美術カタログは17世紀後半に誕生し、18世紀に広く流通していき、19世紀後半の大辞典での「カタログ」の項には、第一に「書誌」が記載され、第二に「美術」カタログについて、「芸術品をアルファベット順や流派ごとに数え上げ分類したリスト」との記載があるという。<sup>1)</sup> 18世紀には競売の際に画商たちによってカタログが作成され、その形式は伝統的な財産目録を踏襲して、番号のあとに画家名、時に絵画の主題が記載された。18世紀後半になると、ピエール・レミ、ル・ブランのように、それらの簡略な記載に加えて、作品の主題や出来栄え、保存状態についての文章が記載されるようになる。一方で、展覧会カタログは、サロンのリブレとして18世紀に始まり、当初は展示空間の叙述を主としていたが、1740年のリブレでは美術家別の記載に代わり、作品番号が付されるようになった。版画での挿図付きカタログが作成されるようになるのは19世紀からで、19世紀後半には版画が写真に代わる。一方、18世紀末からルーブルなど美術館のカタログも作成され、作品番号、作者、主題、サイズのみという記載から、19世紀半ばのフレデリック・ヴィヨによる「ドイツ、フランドル、オランダ派」のカタログ刊行（1852年）などに見られるように、流派による分類がなされ、作品解説として主題、図様、来歴が記されるようになった。カタログ・レゾネの原型となる一人の作家の作品総目録の試みは、1721年にヴァットーが死去した後に、10年かけて全4巻からなるヴァトー全作品集が1835年に刊行されたのを嚆矢とするという。

今日、日本では「目録」と言えば、財産目録や図書目録、あるいは出品目録といったように、所在のリストのような意味合いが強く、一方で「カタログ」は商品カタログや展覧会カタログのように、モノについての説明あるいは画像が付随しているイメージが強いのではないだろうか。そして、それらに記載されたものの並び順や分類などに、その目録がつくられる背景となっているある種の価値観が表されているといえるだろう。

たとえば、昨年の独立美術協会の展覧会に際して作られた2種類の印刷物、「出品目録」と、作品図版を掲載した図録を例にしてみよう。「出品目録」は「第1室」という記載があることからわかるように、会場の展示順を反映している。展示場を訪れる人の便宜を図るとともに、作品のグルーピングを表しており、そこからその分類を行った人々の価値観を読み取ることができる。

一方の図版が掲載されている印刷物は作家の五十音順に、作品の大きさに関わらず、すべて同じ大きさの図版にして均等に割り付けており、作家の名前という客観的な指標に従って、出品された作品図版を並べた記録集となっている。他の団体では、会員、会友といったその美術団体における作家の格付けなどによって掲載順や図版の大きさが決められていることもあることを考えれば、作品図版を作家名五十音順とし同じ大きさの図版にしている点に、ある種の平等意識や相互尊重の精神を読み取ることができるかもしれない。

このように目録やカタログから、その背景となった価値観などを読み取ることができる。もともとひとつひとつのモノは多様な価値を持っており、その中の

どれを優先するかによって、そのモノの名づけや分類が異なってくることは、誰もが経験していることだろう。目録の記載項目や、記載順などは、その価値指標によって異なってくる。

稿者の所属する東京文化財研究所では有形無形の文化財の調査研究を行い、次の世代に文化財を伝えることを事業の柱としており、そのためにも、調査研究によって蓄積される文化財に関するアーカイブの整理と公開が重要な業務となっている。東京文化財研究所は、1930年に設立された帝国美術院附属美術研究所を母体として、今日まで活動しているが、その研究所の構想を立てたのが、20世紀初頭にルネサンス美術史を西洋で学び、その方法を日本にもたらそうとした矢代幸雄（1890–1975）であった。<sup>2)</sup>

そして矢代は、「東洋美術総目録事業」を美術研究所の主要な事業と位置付けていた。本稿では、矢代の東洋美術総目録構想を紹介し、その目録が美術史においてどのような方法論を提案するものであったかを確認した後、その目録のデータをデジタル化することにより、今日の美術史にどのような可能性が開けるのか、また、今後の課題は何かを概観したい。

美術研究所の構想者である矢代幸雄について

矢代幸雄は1890年横浜に生まれ、旧制第一高等学校を経て東京帝国大学英文科を1915年に卒業している。卒業論文は「感情主義の芸術論」と題し、オスカー・ワイルド（Oscar Wilde）の芸術論を取り上げて論じたものであった。ここからもわかるように、矢代は芸術、とりわけ絵画に興味を持っており、一校時代から日本水彩画研究所に学んで、帝大在学中の1913年、第7回文展に水彩画《草原の赤い傘》（焼失）で入選を果たしている。こうしたことが契機となって同大卒業の後、東京美術学校講師となって西洋美術史を講じ、1917年同校教授となった。1921年3月、西洋美術史研究のため欧州へ留学し、ロンドンに滞在。ロンドンではローレンス・ビニヨン（Laurence Binyon, 1869–1943）、アーサー・ウォーレー（Arthur Waley, 1889–1966）らと交友し、同年秋よりイタリア、フィレンツェでバーナード・ベレンソン（Bernard Berenson, 1865–1959）に師事してルネサンス美術を研究する。その研究成果を1925年に英語による3巻本『サンドロ・ボッティチェリ』として刊行し、矢代は帰国する。

1930年に美術研究所が設立される。美術研究所の事業については、後述するが、美術研究所を、矢代は1942年1月8日に「開戦の詔勅」を誤読した事件により、矢代は同年6月28日に辞任することとなる。以後は神奈川県大磯に住まい、1943年に『日本美術の特質』を刊行するなど執筆に携わった。戦後の1950年に文化財保護法が制定されると文化財保護委員となり、1952年4月の美術研究所改組に伴い再度、同研究所所長となり翌年10月までその任にあった。その後は近鉄社長種田虎雄（1883–1948）の依頼により美術館設立の準備にあたり、1960年に大和文華館が開館すると、1970年までその初代館長をつとめた。同年、美術界への長年の貢献により70年文化功労者に選ばれ、75年5月25日、84歳で死去した。

矢代の業績として大きなものとして、今日の東京文化財研究所の前身である帝国美術院附属美術研究所の設立とその方向付け、松方コレクションへの寄与、そして大和文華館の設立が挙げられる。

美術研究所の設立とその方向付けについては後述するが、松方コレクションについては、ロンドン留学に際して松方幸次郎（1866–1950）の支援

1) 島本浣『美術カタログ論 記録・記憶・言説』（三元社 2005年）28–29ページ。

2) 矢代幸雄と美術研究所の設立については以下のページを参照。  
<https://www.tobunken.go.jp/japanese/gaiyo/gaiyo-kuroda04.html>



を得たという縁が端緒となった。留学に際して矢代は奨学金に応募したが、体格検査に合格せず、資金に困っていた。そこで、勤め先の同僚であった洋画家黒田清輝（1866–1924）に相談したところ、黒田の親戚にあたる松方幸次郎に会いに行くように言われ、松方の援助によってロンドンに赴いている。そうした縁から、ヨーロッパ留学中に松方の西洋絵画収集にも参画し、ジベルニーのモネの自宅にとともに赴いたりもしている。また、戦後、フランスにとどめ置かれた松方コレクションを返還してもらう際に美術分野の代表として、フランス美術館局長であったジョルジュ・サル（Georges Salles, 1889–1966）との交渉に当たった。その交渉によって、松方コレクションが返還され、それらを収蔵・展示するために西洋美術館が設立された。この経緯について、矢代は『芸術のパトロン』（新潮社、1958年）という著書に記している。

大和文華館は近畿鉄道会社社長の種田虎雄（1883–1948）の依頼によって矢代が構想し、作品の収集に当たったものである。戦後の華族制度の廃止や財閥解体などにより美術品の所蔵が激しく動く中で、原三溪コレクションの優品をはじめ、多くのすぐれた美術品を国内にとどめ置くことに寄与した。

### 美術研究所の事業構想

それでは、美術研究所とその事業構想についてみていこう。美術研究所設立は、洋画家黒田清輝の遺言によるものである。<sup>3)</sup> 1924年、黒田清輝は死去に当たり、遺産の一部を美術奨励事業のために用いるよう遺言した。同校校長正木直彦（1862–1940）に黒田の遺言を事業化する件について意見を求められた矢代は、欧州留学中に多大なる恩恵を受けた「写真をもととする美術図書館」の意義を述べた。これが正木の認めるところとなり、同じく遺言執行人であった福原鐸二郎（1868–1932）、牧野伸顕（1861–1949）の賛同を得て美術研究所の構想が成ったという。

この経緯について矢代は『私の美術遍歴』（岩波書店、1972年）で次のように記している。

「欧州滞在中ロンドンにおいて、あらゆる美術作品の写真を集め、これを分類保存している「写真をもととする美術図書館」というべき中心機関があるのを見、かつそこで私自身も大いに勉強させてもらったのみならず、これが実に驚くほど大きく世の中に貢献している事実を知っていたので、そのために使える黒田さんの遺産の金額をもって、ちょうど適合してやって行けそうであることを考えながら、ひとつそういう機関を日本につくられたならば、どうですか、と提案したのであった。（略）私はこのウィット家と知り合いになり、その驚くべき写真のコレクションを利用させてもらって、どのくらい助かったか知れない。」<sup>4)</sup>

「私はロンドンにおいてこのサー・ロバート・ウィット家と非常に親しくなり、いかにこのなんでもないことのようにして始まった美術品の写真のコレクションなるものが、それほど数量に達し、かつそれほどよく分類整理されているとなると、とんでもないほど大きな基礎的貢献を美術界全般に及ぼすことを、私自身直接にこれを利用させてもらった経験から痛感させられたのであったから、私が日本に帰り、そこに落ち着いて学問的の仕事を始めるにあたり、どうかその種の仕事を東洋日本に適する形において実現したい、もし誰も一緒に力を合わせてやる人がいなければ、私一人でもぜひやろうと決心し、」東京美術学校の矢代教室で白畑よし氏を助手として、写真収集とその整理を始めた。その意義を正木校長が認め、援助していたが、それが黒田の遺

言によって設立される機関に結びついていった。<sup>5)</sup>

ここに登場するサー・ロバート・ウィット（Sir Robert Witt, 1872–1952）家の写真コレクションとは、現在、コートールド・インスティテュートの一部となっているロバート・ウィット・ライブラリーのコレクションのことである。<sup>6)</sup>

また、矢代の美術研究所構想が、師ベレンソンがジョヴァンニ・モレリ（Giovanni Morelli, 1816–1891）の着想を受けて完成させた「様式批判」（Stylistic Criticism）の方法論を継承する者としての自覚に根ざしていたことは以下の1927年10月4日のベレンソン宛書簡に明らかである。

「出来の悪い弟子であり、かつ筆無精な私ですが、少しばかり誇りをもってお伝えできることがあります。きっとお喜びいただけると思うのですが、東洋美術の将来の研究のために基礎となるものを築くことができました。お二人のご指導のもとで学び、あなた方の厳密な美術研究の方法を力の及ぶ限り吸収した後で、私には極東での美術研究の現状が非常に不満足なものに思われ、そこで、日本の心ある人たちに説いて、一つの研究所を設立するよう説得することができました。そこでは事実上、あなた方の研究方法が東洋美術の分野で推進されることになります。もしかすると、この「美術研究所」についてロバート・ウィット卿からお耳に入っているかもしれませんがね。来年には開所する予定で、私はその所長に就任するのです。来年から刊行する予定の報告書を見ていただければ、お二人の仕事が我々皆にとって常に根本的な靈感源であることがおわかりになると思います。それで——私は不出来な弟子で、単に生来の芸術家気質に過ぎないのですが——お二人の研究指針に厳密に沿って自分の助手たちを教育しているのです。」<sup>7)</sup>

同研究所が1930年に開所すると、初代主事正木直彦の後を受けて矢代は1931年11月より主事、36年6月から所長をつとめた。

### 美術研究所の事業構想——東洋美術総目録

この美術研究所の事業については、1932年1月1日、美術研究所の編集・刊行で創刊された「美術研究」の巻頭論文で矢代が詳しく述べている。まず、美術研究所設立の経緯について述べ、その事業を説明した後、矢代は、美術に関する資料の収集・整理・公開が予算等の制約により十全に行われていない現状に鑑み、「美術に関する基礎的調査に精力を集中して、その結果を社会一般に提供して行く方が、急務と言ふ可きである」と述べている。そして「研究所調査事項の原則的大綱」として、第一に「東洋美術総目録」の編纂、東洋美術家伝記の集成、落款・印譜集成、美術関係根本史料の編纂、第二に美術関係の文献目録の作製、第三に日本美術年鑑の編纂、第四に海外諸機関との連絡協力、第五に美術行政・教育に関する調査、第六に未着手ながら美術に関する技法材料の調査研究事業を挙げている。

矢代は、美術研究所を美術図書・資料館として構想し、文献、写真を蒐集する事業として「東洋美術総目録」事業を打ち立てた。この事業について、「東洋美術総目録事業に就て」（On the compilation of “Corpus of Eastern Arts”）『美術研究』70号、1937年10月）において述べている。<sup>8)</sup>

具体的の方針として、東洋美術の諸般の項目についてできる限り作者別に、作品、文献（及印写真）等を網羅して調査整理することを目的とし、その体裁は、作品の写真を貼付したカードを作成し、その裏面に作家名、作

3) 美術研究所の設立と黒田清輝の関係については以下のページを参照。  
<https://www.tobunken.go.jp/japanese/gaiyo/gaiyo-kuroda02.html>

4) 『私の美術遍歴』239–241 ページ

5) 『私の美術遍歴』242 ページ

6) ロバート・ウィット・ライブラリーについては以下のサイトを参照。

<https://courtauld.ac.uk/study/resources/image-libraries/digitising-british-art-in-the-witt-library>

7) 原文は以下のページを参照。<http://yashiro.itatti.harvard.edu/letter-014>

8) 本文は以下のページを参照。[http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/67-72/070\\_1\\_Yashiro.pdf](http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/67-72/070_1_Yashiro.pdf)

品名、所蔵者などの事項を記入して、それらのカードを以て総目録の主体とするものであった。個々の画家に関する項目においては、その根本資料の謄写、実蹟よりの印譜等を作り、更にこれらを一括して鳥瞰する為に簡明な伝記的解説、関連年表、および文献目録を添えるというものであった。研究所のファイルはヴァン・ドーン社から取り寄せたもので、そこにこれらのカードが、作家別、社寺別、主題別といった分類で整理されていた。

#### 総目録の実体——『美術研究』『日本美術年鑑』にみる

「東洋美術総目録」事業でいち早く具体的成果をまとめたのは美術研究所所員、渡辺一（1904-1944）で「黙庵電淵——東洋美術総目録の一項」（『美術研究』70号、1937年10月）<sup>9）</sup>が最初であった。その具体的な内容は、矢代の構想にあるとおりで、その後も「無等周位」75号<sup>10）</sup>（1938年3月）、「如拙」「文清」77号<sup>11）</sup>（1938年5月）、「周文」80号<sup>12）</sup>（1938年8月）、「秀文」83号<sup>13）</sup>（1938年12月）、「霊彩」87号<sup>14）</sup>（1939年3月）が発表される。最後の論考は、渡辺の死後、田中豊蔵（1881-1948）がまとめ、「東洋美術総目録 狩野正信」141号<sup>15）</sup>（1947年6月）に田中との共著として発表された。矢代の構想を踏襲し、「史料」として正信について藤涼軒目録の記事を追ひ、次に「伝暦に関する諸問題」を論じて、生没年、出自、幕府との関係、給録、叙任等、名字等、子女等に言及し、次に「画事及び作品」として、先述の史料に現れた正信の作例を列記し、その作風が漫画と大和絵の双方を行き来していることを指摘してそれを正信の作風の特色とし、その点について作例を挙げて論じ、次に関連年表、「史料」の原文記載、目録等に現れる正信作品の列記、落款の写真、研究文献一覧を付している。渡辺の活動は、44年3月、同氏41歳での戦死によって終るが、美術研究所の「東洋美術総目録」事業は、その後も継続し、現在の東京文化財研究所閲覧室にある写真ファイルなど、研究所のアーカイブの重要部分を占めている。

冒頭で、目録やカタログがその背景となっている価値観を表象していると述べたが、矢代の『東洋美術総目録』はどのような背景を表したものであるかを検討してみると、第一には、矢代自身が総目録の構想について述べた文章で触れているように、作家名を優先的概念とし、そこに文献、画像等を紐付けるものであることがわかる。すなわち、19世紀末から20世紀を通して美術史学の基本とされた作家論、実証的な資料に基づいて東洋美術の分野で確立しようとするものであった。

一方で、写真ファイルの分類が示すように、社寺名（所有者）、主題によっても分類されており、渡辺一の『美術研究』における論考が示すように、作家論が第一義的に目指されてはいても、作品写真による様式比較研究や同一主題の表現の変遷を跡づけることも視野に入れられていたことがわかる。

「東洋美術総目録」は東洋美術について過去の資料を収集整理するものであったが、美術研究所構想にあげられているように、同時代の美術につい

て資料を蓄積することも事業の大きな柱となっており、それは1936年から『日本美術年鑑』編集事業として今日まで継続している。『日本美術年鑑』<sup>16）</sup>は毎年の美術展覧会、美術関係文献、物故作家略歴を掲載したものである。

#### デジタル時代を迎えて——東文研の情報発信の現状

美術研究所を前身とする東京文化財研究所は、美術史研究については「東洋美術総目録」構想を柱とし、また、毎年の美術活動のデータブックである『日本美術年鑑』の編集を継続して、資料を蓄積してきた。戦後に今日の保存科学研究センターの前身となる保存科学部、無形文化遺産部の前身となる芸能部が加わったことにより、それらの分野の資料アーカイブも蓄積に加えられた。

1980年代後半からは、電算技術の発展や、文化財に関する情報資料への一般的な関心の高まりの中で、それまで半世紀にわたって蓄積された情報のデジタル化が進められた。特に、2000年以降は、インターネットでの情報発信に力を入れ、2010年から「文化財に関する専門的アーカイブの拡充」を図って、東京文化財研究所のこれまでの刊行物のリストを作製し、PDF化を進めた。また、1936年創刊の『日本美術年鑑』のデータのデジタル化を進め、年鑑に掲載された美術文献と美術展覧会、および物故者記事をウェブ上で公開した。現在では、当所の閲覧室が所蔵する書物、展覧会カタログ、画像データを含め、また、保存科学、無形文化遺産関係の資料も含めた検索システム「東文研総合検索」<sup>17）</sup>での横断検索が可能となっている。

現在、当所が所蔵する文化財関係のアーカイブの中には、資料閲覧室の所蔵図書・図録の所蔵情報、美術をはじめとする文化財の文献情報、美術年鑑編集によって収集してきた展覧会開催情報、研究所が行ってきた調査研究によって蓄積した資料などがある。また、刊行物のPDF化を進めており、1945年刊行分までの『美術研究』、『美術画報』『みづゑ』、近年刊行分までの『保存科学』はPDFデータで閲覧可能である。

当所は予算が限られている為に図書館システムを導入しておらず、所蔵データを広く公開するための窓口を複数化することが課題であったが、2018年度に図書館システムを導入し、現在、運用に向けて準備中である。

近年、JAIRO、NDLサーチ、CiNiiに『美術研究』のデータを公開し、当所の定期刊行物である『保存科学』『芸能の科学』『無形文化遺産研究』も順次公開している。また、日本の老舗のオークションハウスである東京美術倶楽部と共同で、戦前までの美術品売り立て目録のデジタル化事業を進め、2019年度に入ってそのデータを当所閲覧室で公開した。

#### 今後の課題

2014年から3年間、東京国立近代美術館が中心となって行われた海外日本美術資料専門家（司書）の招へい・研修・交流事業（JAL プロジェク

9) 本文は以下のページを参照 [http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/67-72/070\\_3\\_Watanabe.pdf](http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/67-72/070_3_Watanabe.pdf)

10) 本文は以下のページを参照 [http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu\\_Redacted/73-78\\_Redacted/075\\_33\\_Watanabe\\_Redacted.pdf](http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu_Redacted/73-78_Redacted/075_33_Watanabe_Redacted.pdf)

11) 本文は以下のページを参照 [http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/73-78/077\\_15\\_Watanabe.pdf](http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/73-78/077_15_Watanabe.pdf)

12) 本文は以下のページを参照 [http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/79-84/080\\_1\\_Watanabe.pdf](http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/79-84/080_1_Watanabe.pdf)

13) 本文は以下のページを参照 [http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/79-84/083\\_23\\_Watanabe.pdf](http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/79-84/083_23_Watanabe.pdf)

14) 本文は以下のページを参照 [http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/85-90/087\\_21\\_Watanabe.pdf](http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/85-90/087_21_Watanabe.pdf)

15) 本文は以下のページを参照 [http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/140-145/141\\_4\\_Watanabe.pdf](http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/140-145/141_4_Watanabe.pdf)

16) 日本美術年鑑はPDFで公開している。以下のサイトを参照。 <https://www.tobunken.go.jp/~joho/japanese/publication/nenkan/nenkan.html>

17) <http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/?lang=ja>

ト)」<sup>18)</sup>で、海外から見た日本美術アーカイブの問題点として次のような指摘があった。

- 1) 英語、アルファベットでの検索ができない。
- 2) 日本美術について調べる総合的ポータルがない。諸機関の様々なウェブコンテンツのマッピングが求められる。
- 3) 日本美術に関するデジタルでの情報の不足。中国や韓国に比較して、日本美術の情報は検索しにくい。また、画像が少ない。
- 4) 海外で日本美術に関する検索をする際には、日本のサイトよりも欧米のサイトを利用する。日本のサイトは利用しづらい。

これらの問題点に対応するため、東京文化財研究所では海外との共同研究を進めている。東京文化財研究所では英国のセインズベリー日本藝術研究所、米国のゲッティ研究所との共同研究に着手し、OCLC へのデータ提供を行っている。セインズベリー日本藝術研究所とは英語で書かれた日本美術関係文献データの入力と、日本美術展のデータ入力を VPN を介して行っている。そのデータは当所の検索システムで検索できる。ゲッティ研究所とは、同所の運営するゲッティ・リサーチ・ポータルに当研究所の文献のデータを提供している。

また、『日本美術年鑑』に採録されている美術展覧会図録掲載論文データを OCLC に提供している。これらは英語での検索ができない、という課題に出来る範囲で答えようとしているものである。

日本美術について調べる総合的ポータルについては、内閣府が「知的財産推進計画」において「国の総合的ポータルサイト」を構想しており、そこに文化財分野も含まれている。具体的には国会図書館サーチと文化遺産オンラインの連携が考えられているようである。現在は、行政の縦割りによって、各施設がデジタルコンテンツを作っている状況だが、それらのコンテンツを横断して活用できる方向が提案されていると言えよう。

冒頭で、目録がその背景となっている価値観を表象していると述べたが、今日のようにデジタル化が進み、横断検索が可能となった状況にあっては、検索する側が多様な価値指標によってデータをリスト化することが可能となっている。作家名検索は、作家名を上位概念としてデータを集め、作家論を志向していると言えようが、他の視点によるデータの編集も従来よりも容易にできるようになっており、それによって新たな視点が拓かれる可能性もあろう。

一方で、すべてがデジタル世界にあるわけではないこと、アナログなものの存在を忘れてはならないことを強調しておきたい。デジタル化したからといって、資料自体を保存しなくてもよいということにはならない。作品同様に、資料の物自体の収集と保存を続けていくことが、作品の価値を確かなものとし、多くの人に作品の魅力を伝える基盤となる。筆者自身もそのように心して資料に当たっていききたい。

18) JAL プロジェクトの3年間の活動とその成果については、本プロジェクトの企画者であった水谷長志氏による以下の文献を参照。『公開ワークショップ「日本美術の資料に関わる情報発信力の向上のための提言」報告書』(JAL プロジェクト

実行委員会 2015年)、同02(2016年)、同03(2017年)。  
ウェブサイトは以下を参照。https://current.ndl.go.jp/e1881



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## Yashiro Yukio's Concept of an Asian Art Catalogue Raisonné and Art Archives in the Digital Age

## Introduction

The theme of this symposium, the catalogue raisonné, can be translated into Japanese as *sakuhin sōmokuroku*, literally comprehensive catalogue of works.

The history of art catalogues in the West was discussed in detail in Shimamoto Kan, *Bijutsu katarogu-ron: kiroku, kioku, gensetsu* (2005). According to that book the art catalogue was born in the latter half of the 18th century and the concept widely disseminated in the 19th century. Encyclopedias of the latter half of the 19th century include a “catalogue” entry, a term which first refers to book catalogues, and has a second definition referring to art catalogues.<sup>1)</sup> That definition includes the comment, “A list of artworks organized either alphabetically or by school.” (pp. 28–29). In the 18th century art dealers made catalogues when auctions were held, and their format was based on traditional asset inventories, noting a number, followed by the artist’s name, and at times, the subject of the painting. From the latter half of the 18th century Pierre Remy, Le Brun and others added to these simple notations, appending texts that indicate the subject of the work, how it was depicted and the state of the work. On the other hand, art exhibition catalogues began as *Salon livret* in the 18th century, and at first were primarily narratives about the display space. In 1740, the *livret* switched to a listing by artist, with numbers assigned to the works. Catalogues illustrated with prints began in the 19th century, with those prints replaced by photographs in the latter half of the 19th century. The Louvre and other museums began to make catalogues at the end of the 18th century, which listed only artwork number, artist, subject and size. From around the middle of the 19th century we begin to see the publication of catalogues such as the 1852 catalogue of the German, Flemish and Dutch schools by Frederic Villot. Those catalogues were organized by school and included catalogue entries noting subject, iconography and provenance. An experimental form of single artist comprehensive works catalogue which became the model for catalogue raisonnés can be seen in the four-volume entire works of Watteau catalogue published in 1835, after Watteau’s death in 1721 and a compilation process that took ten years to produce.

Today, the Japanese term *mokuroku* strongly implies a list of possessions, whether asset catalogue, library catalogue or exhibited works catalogue. On the other hand, doesn’t the term catalogue in katakana (*katarogu*) give a strong sense of a product catalogue or exhibition catalogue with object explanations or images. Further, the order in which the objects recorded in those catalogues are listed or categorized can also be said to reflect on the value system that underlay the creation of that catalogue.

For example, let us look at the two types of publications issued for last year’s Dokuritsu Bijutsu Kyōkai, namely a *shuppin mokuroku*, list of exhibits and a *katarogu* that included pictures of the displayed works. The *shuppin mokuroku* had a Gallery 1 listing, reflecting the object display order. This was both planned to be a convenience for

those visiting the galleries, and also show how the works were grouped, in which we can read the value system of the people who did that categorization.

On the other hand, the *katarogu* that published pictures of the displayed works arranged the artists in the Japanese syllabary system, with all the works, regardless of their original size, represented by plates of the same size. Thus, the artist names were arranged in an objective order, and the images of the displayed works all standardized. There are Japanese art groups which arrange their lists, and decide on reproduction image size, by the ranking of the artist within their group, whether members, fellows, etc. In those terms, a catalogue of works in alphabetical or syllabic order with uniformly sized plates can be seen as backed by egalitarianism or mutual respect.

Thus the underlying value system can be seen in these display lists and exhibition catalogues. Each object by nature has various values, and which is given precedence impacts upon their naming and categorization, a process we have each experienced. The elements included in a catalogue record or their order differ based on those value indicators.

The researchers at the institute with which I am affiliated, the Tokyo National Institute for Cultural Properties (TNRICP), carry out surveys and studies of both tangible and intangible cultural properties. These studies are the core activity of their work handing on these cultural properties to future generations. Another important part of their work is the organization and public access to archives of the cultural property-related materials and information accumulated in these studies. The TNRICP is the current form of the art research institute affiliated with the Teikoku Bijutsuin established in 1930. It was Yashiro Yukio (1890–1975), who brought methods learned from his early 20th century studies on Western art history in the West to Japan which formed the basis for the TNRICP.<sup>2)</sup>

Yashiro’s catalogue raisonné of Asian art became an important project for the early art institute. This report introduces the design and concept of Yashiro’s Asian art catalogue raisonné, and confirms the art historical methodology it offered to the field of art history, and then provides an overview of the potential that catalogue digitization can provide in art history today and issues for its future.

## Regarding Yashiro Yukio, the Man Who Conceived Japan’s Art Research Institute

Yashiro Yukio was born in Yokohama in 1890. After studying at the old system Daiichi High School, he graduated from the English department of Tokyo Imperial University in 1915. His graduation thesis was on emotionalism in fine arts, discussing the art theories of Oscar Wilde. As can be seen from these choices, Yashiro was interested in art, particularly painting, and during his time in high school had studied watercolor painting at the Nihon Suisaiga Kenkyūjo, with his watercolor on red parasols in the field (since destroyed) accepted in the 7th Bunten

1) Shimamoto Kan, *Bijutsu katarogu ron (Catalogue d’Art : documents, mémoires et discours)*, Tokyo: Sangensha, 2005, pp. 28–29.

2) See the following page regarding Yashiro Yukio and the establishment of the Institute for Art Research. <https://www.tobunken.go.jp/japanese/gaiyo/gaiyo-kuroda04.html>

held in 1913 when he was a university student. Those experiences led him to become a lecturer on Western art history at the Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō, where he became a professor in 1917. In March 1921, he set off for Europe to study Western art history and lived in London. He became friends with Laurence Binyon (1869–1943) and Arthur Waley (1889–1966) in London. That autumn he traveled to Italy, where he studied Renaissance art under Bernard Berenson (1865–1959). He published the results of those studies in his three volume English work on Sandro Botticelli in 1925, and then returned to Japan.

In 1930 the Institute for Art Research was established. I will discuss the work of the Institute later in this paper, but because Yashiro had misread the imperial war edict on January 8, 1942, he resigned from the Institute on June 28, 1942. Later he lived in Ōiso, Kanagawa prefecture, and worked on his writings, publishing such works as *Nihon bijutsu no tokushitsu* (Characteristics of Japanese Art). After the war, in 1950 he became a Cultural Properties Protection Committee member, a committee established by the Cultural Properties Protection Act. In April 1952 he became the director of the reorganized Institute for Art Research, and held that position until October 1953. Later he worked on the establishment of an art museum upon a request from Kintetsu Railways president Taneda Torao (1883–1948) Upon the opening of The Museum Yamato Bunkakan, he became its first director, a post he held until 1970, the same year he was selected as the 1970 Cultural Merit recipient for his long years of service to the art world. On May 25, 1975, he died at the age of 84.

We can thus name three great accomplishments in Yashiro's life, namely his establishing and advising the Institute for Art Research which was the TNRICP predecessor, his contributions to the Matsukata Collection and his establishment of the Museum Yamato Bunkakan.

I will discuss the establishment of the Institute for Art Research and its direction-setting later, but first regarding the Matsukata Collection, this was brought about by Yashiro receiving support from Matsukata Kōjirō (1866–1950) during his studies in London. Yashiro applied for scholarships to fund his studies, but he did not pass the physical exams for the scholarship and thus had financial difficulties. He then consulted with Kuroda Seiki (1866–1924) a Western style painter who was Yashiro's work colleague, and by chance, related to Matsukata Kōjirō. Kuroda told Yashiro to go meet Matsukata, and thanks to Matsukata's support he was able to travel to London. As fate would have it, during his study period in Europe, he also participated in Matsukata's collecting of Western art, and visited Monet at Giverny with Matsukata. After World War II, Yashiro acted as Japan's art-related representative in the discussions with Georges Salles, France's museum division chief, in the negotiations regarding the French return of the Matsukata Collection items that remained in France. Thanks to those negotiations, the Matsukata Collection was returned to Japan, and the NMWA built to house and display the collection. Yashiro discussed that process in his

1958 book *Geijutsu no patoron* (Shinchōsha).

The Museum Yamato Bunkakan was conceived by Yashiro on the basis of a request from Kintetsu Railways president Taneda Torao (1883–1948) and Yashiro was also involved in the acquisition of works for the museum. After World War II Japan's aristocracy system was abolished and the *zaibatsu* (financial combines) dismantled, which greatly distressed many private owners of artworks. Amidst these conditions, many fine works from the Hara Sankei collection and others flowed into the marketplace, and Yashiro was one of several people who prevented many of these superb works from leaving Japan.

### The Concept of the Institute for Art Research

Now let us consider the Institute for Art Research and the concepts behind its operations. The Institute for Art Research was established on the basis of the last will and testament of the Western style painter Kuroda Seiki.<sup>3)</sup> When Kuroda died in 1924, his will stipulated that part of his assets should be spent on projects to encourage and support art. Masaki Naohiko (1862–1940), then head of Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō, sought Yashiro's opinion on how to best utilize the funds, and Yashiro suggested an “art library focused on photographic reproductions,” akin to the type of institute that greatly benefited him during his years of study in Europe. Masaki agreed, and with the approval of Kuroda's executors, Fukuhara Ryōjirō (1868–1932) and Makino Nobuaki (1861–1949), plans were begun for the Institute for Art Research.

Yashiro wrote the following in his *Watashi no bijutsu henreki* (Iwanami Shoten, 1972):

“While I was in Europe, I saw art libraries that focused on collecting photographs of artworks and classified and preserved them. These proved not only invaluable to my own studies, but in fact greatly contribute to the world in a surprising manner. As a result, I think that this would be a perfectly suitable means of using Kuroda's bequest, and I suggested that such an institution be established in Japan .... I became acquainted with the Witt family and can never thank them enough for their help allowing me access to their astonishing collection of photographs.”<sup>4)</sup>

“I became extremely close friends with the family of Sir Robert Witt, and his collection of photographs of artworks which he had begun collecting as nothing special, but had accumulated to such a large number and had been so well categorized and organized that they made a large, fundamental contribution to the art world in general, and I had deeply recognized its significance because of my experience. Hence, when I returned to Japan and got settled in and began my academic job, I thought I would somehow like to make a form of that work which was suited to Asia and Japan, and decided that even if others would not join me in this endeavor, I was determined to do it on my own.”

That led to Yashiro using his classroom at Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō, and with the assistance of Shirahata Yoshi, they begin to collect photographs and organize them. That intention was recognized by and aided by the school's president Masaki, and then thanks to Kuroda's bequest, linked to the establishment of the Institute.<sup>5)</sup>

The photograph collection mentioned above of Sir Robert Witt

3) See the following regarding the connection between Kuroda Seiki and the establishment of the Institute for Art Research. <https://www.tobunken.go.jp/japanese/gaiyo/gaiyo-kuroda02.html>

4) *Watashi no bijutsu henreki*, pp. 239–241.

5) *Ibid.*, p. 242.

6) See the following regarding the Witt Library. <https://courtauld.ac.uk/study/resources/image-libraries/digitising-british-art-in-the-witt-library>



(1872–1952) is today part of the Witt Library at the Courtauld Institute of Art.<sup>6)</sup>

Yashiro was also aware that his concept for the Institute was based on the stylistic criticism methodology used by Berenson, which he in turn continued from the thinking of Giovanni Morelli (1816–1891). This awareness is clearly stated in a letter Yashiro sent to Berenson dated October 4, 1927.

“Although a bad pupil & lazy correspondent, yet I am a little proud to tell you — and I am sure you would be glad to know — that I could do something fundamental for the future study of the Oriental Art. After studying under your guidance & imbibing your accurate way of research-works in Art, so far as I could, I found the present state of art study in the Far East very unsatisfactory & could so far succeed as to persuade the interested people in Japan to establish an institute where your method of study is to be practically pursued in the field of Oriental Art. You may have heard of this “Institute of Art Research” from Sir Robert Witt. It is to be opened from next year & I am going to be its director. You will find from the reports, which we are going to issue from next year, that you & your works are the fundamental & constant inspiration for us all. Therefore, although I am only a bad pupil of yours, being nothing but a simple artist by nature, yet I am educating my assistants in strict conformity to your precepts.”<sup>7)</sup>

The Institute opened in 1930, and its first director was Masaki Naohiko. Yashiro followed as the second director, in that position from November 1931 to June 1936.

### Conception of the Institute for Art Research—Corpus of Eastern Arts

Yashiro gave a detailed description of the work of this Institute in an essay published as the foreword of the inaugural issue of *Bijutsu kenkyū*, an art journal begun by the Institute on January 1, 1932. First he noted the process by which the Institute was established, and then explained its work, and noted that funding did not allow the full collection, organization and public access to materials related to art, stating, “I can say that our urgent work is to focus on basic surveys about art and the provision of the results of those studies to society in general.” Then as “principal outline of institute survey items,” 1st, the compilation of a *Corpus of Eastern Arts*, a collection of biographies of East Asian artists, collection of signature and seals, compilation of fundamental historical materials related to art, 2nd, production of a bibliography related to art, 3rd, compilation of a Japanese art yearbook, 4th, cooperation with overseas organizations and others, 5th, surveys regarding art administration and education, 6th, research on materials and methods of art, albeit not yet realized.

Yashiro conceived of the Institute as an art and resources library, and started work on the *Corpus of Eastern Arts*, a project that consisted

of collecting bibliographies and photographs. He commented on this project in the article, “On the Compilation of Corpus of Eastern Arts (*Bijutsu Kenkyū* No. 70, October 1937).<sup>8)</sup>

In detail, his method was to categorize various forms of Asian art by artist, and survey and organize inclusively artworks, articles (printed photographs) and other materials. These materials took the physical form of a card with a photograph of the work attached, with the artist’s name, artwork title, collection and other information written on the back. These cards became the core of the *Corpus*. Regarding information elements on individual artists, mimeographs of their basic materials, seal compendia based on actual seal impressions, and further, to provide a comprehensive overview of these materials, the inclusion of a biographical explanation, related chronology and bibliography. The file cards for the institute were ordered from Van Dorn Iron Works, and those could then be organized by artist, temple, subject and other categories.

### The Actual Form of the Corpus—*Bijutsu Kenkyū* and *Nihon Bijutsu Nenkan*

The earliest product of the Corpus of Eastern Arts project can be found in a *Bijutsu kenkyū* No. 70 article by Watanabe Hajime (1904–1944) in October 1937.<sup>9)</sup> The detailed content of that article is in line with Yashiro’s concept. This same author published other articles in *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, such as “Mutō Shūi” in No. 75 (March 1938)<sup>10)</sup> “Josetsu” and “Bunsei” in No. 77 (March 1938),<sup>11)</sup> “Shūbun” in No. 80 (August 1938),<sup>12)</sup> “Shūbun” in No. 83 (December 1938)<sup>13)</sup> and “Reisai” in No. 87 (March 1939).<sup>14)</sup> After Watanabe’s death, his final articles were compiled by Tanaka Toyozō (1881–1948) and published as jointly authored by Watanabe and Tanaka in No. 141 (June 1947), under the title “Tōyō bijutsu sōmokuroku Kanō Masanobu.”<sup>15)</sup> Based on Yashiro’s concepts, this article followed the entry in the *Yōryōken mokuroku* on Masanobu as “historical documents,” followed by a discussion of “various biography related issues,” such as birth and death dates, antecedents, connection with the shogunate, stipend level, offices held, names, children and wife. Next a section titled Painting Work and Works listing the Masanobu works that appear in the previously mentioned historical document, and an indication of Masanobu’s painting style traits, namely that he was active in both Chinese and Yamato-e style painting. He illustrated the discussion with examples from Masanobu’s oeuvre. He then provided a relevant chronology, transcription of original texts from historical documents, pictures of inscriptions and signatures on Masanobu’s works that appear in catalogues and other sources, along with a list of research articles and books. Watanabe’s work was cut short by his death in the

7) See the following for the original letter. <http://yashiro.itatti.harvard.edu/letter-014>

8) See the following for the original text. [http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/67-72/070\\_1\\_Yashiro.pdf](http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/67-72/070_1_Yashiro.pdf)

9) See the following for the original text. [http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/67-72/070\\_3\\_Watanabe.pdf](http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/67-72/070_3_Watanabe.pdf)

10) See the following for the original text. [http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu\\_Redacted/73-78\\_Redacted/075\\_33\\_Watanabe\\_Redacted.pdf](http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu_Redacted/73-78_Redacted/075_33_Watanabe_Redacted.pdf)

11) See the following for the original text. [http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/73-78/077\\_15\\_Watanabe.pdf](http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/73-78/077_15_Watanabe.pdf)

12) See the following for the original text. [http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/79-84/080\\_1\\_Watanabe.pdf](http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/79-84/080_1_Watanabe.pdf)

13) See the following for the original text. [http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/79-84/083\\_23\\_Watanabe.pdf](http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/79-84/083_23_Watanabe.pdf)

14) See the following for the original text. [http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/85-90/087\\_21\\_Watanabe.pdf](http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/85-90/087_21_Watanabe.pdf)

15) See the following for the original text. [http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/140-145/141\\_4\\_Watanabe.pdf](http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/PDF/kikaku/01%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6bijutsu-kenkyu/bijutsu-kenkyu/140-145/141_4_Watanabe.pdf)

war at the age of 41 in March 1944, but the *Corpus of Eastern Arts* work continued at the institute, and today these materials form an important part of the TNRICP archives, including the photograph files available in the TNRICP reading room.

At the beginning of this paper I mentioned that catalogues and lists express their underlying value systems. When we examine the background shown by Yashiro's *Corpus*, we first see that, as mentioned in Yashiro's own text on the creation of a comprehensive catalogue, it was an "artist name" first concept, which was then used to draw together bibliography, images and other materials. In other words, it sought to apply the fundamental form of empirically based "artist-centric" art historical study established at the end of the 19th to 20th century to the field of Asian art.

On the other hand, the organization of the photo files also shows categories such as temple names (collections) and subjects. Thus, as indicated in Watanabe's articles in *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, even if artist was considered primary, we can also see how for stylistic comparison of works via photographs or changes in the expression of a single motif or subject were considered factors for classification.

The *Corpus* was a gathering and organizing of materials from the past about Asian art, while another major pillar of the institute's activities was the gathering of material about art of the contemporary period. This took the form of the compilation of the *Nihon bijutsu nenkan* begun in 1936, a project that continues today. The annual *Nihon bijutsu nenkan*<sup>16)</sup> includes information on the art exhibitions held each year, art-related bibliography and brief obituaries of artists who died during that year.

### Welcoming the Age of Digitization: The Current State of Information Dissemination at the TNRICP

The Institute's successor, the TNRICP, continues to gather materials with the *Corpus of Eastern Arts* concept as a core element of its work. It also continues to annually publish the art activity data book *Yearbook of Japanese Art*. In the postwar era the TNRICP added the Center for Conservation Science, successor to the Conservation Science Department, and the Department of Intangible Cultural Heritage, successor to the Performing Arts Department. Each of these sections also accumulates materials for the archive.

Amid advances in computing and the general heightened interest in cultural properties-related information materials, we have spent the half century from the latter half of the 1980s onwards progressively digitizing information accumulated at the institute. In particular, since 2000 we have emphasized the dissemination of information on the Internet, with an expansion of a specialist cultural properties archive starting in 2010. We have produced PDF versions of the TNRICP's publications. Work on digitizing the data from the *Yearbook of Japanese Art* since its founding in 1936 continues, with the art bibliography, art exhibition and artist obituaries now available online. At present, it is possible to do lateral

searches on the Tōbunken (TNRICP) Search Page<sup>17)</sup> which includes the books and exhibition catalogues in the TNRICP Library, along with visual data and materials related to conservation science and intangible cultural properties.

Today the cultural properties archive at the TNRICP includes collection records of the books and catalogues in the TNRICP Library, bibliographic information on cultural properties including art, information on exhibitions gathered in the *Yearbook of Japanese Art* compilation process, and materials gathered in the research studies conducted by TNRICP staff. Further, work continues on creating PDF versions of publications, with PDF versions of pre-1945 *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, *Bijutsu Gahō* and *Mizue*, and up until almost the current issues of *Hozon Kagaku* also available in PDF format.

Budgetary constraints prevented the implementation of library collection software and there were issues in making multiple access points to broaden the accessibility of TNRICP data. This led us to acquire library collection software in fiscal 2018 and we are currently preparing for its operations.

In recent years we have made *Bijutsu Kenkyū* data available on JAIRO, NDL Search and CiNii, and will in turn make our other periodicals *Hozon Kagaku*, *Geinō no Kagaku* and *Mukei Bunka Isan Kenkyū* available. In coordination with the venerable Japanese art auction house Tokyo Bijutsu Club, work is progressing on the digitization of their pre-war art auction catalogues, and those will be made available in our library starting in fiscal 2019.

### Future Issues

The JAL Project,<sup>18)</sup> a three-year program begun in 2014 and centered at the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, invited overseas Japanese art materials specialists (librarians) on study visits and exchange projects. The following are the issues that overseas specialists noted in Japanese art archives.

- 1) Inability to search in English or Romanized Japanese.
- 2) There is no central portal related to Japanese art. A mapping of the webpage content of the various institutions involved is needed.
- 3) Digital information regarding Japanese art is lacking. Compared to China and South Korea, it is hard to search for information on Japanese art. Also, there are few images available.
- 4) When searching for information on Japanese art, these specialists use Western sites, more so than Japanese sites. Japanese sites are hard to use.

The TNRICP is conducting joint research with overseas specialists in order to address these issues. The TNRICP, in conjunction with the UK's Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Culture and America's Getty Research Institute is conducting joint research in order to make data available on OCLC. The Sainsbury Institute utilizes

16) The *Yearbook of Japanese Art* is available in PDF form. See the following site: <https://www.tobunken.go.jp/~joho/japanese/publication/nenkan/nenkan.html>

17) <http://www.tobunken.go.jp/archives/?lang=ja>

18) Regarding the three-year JAL Project and its results, see the following article by the project planner Mizutani Takeshi. <https://current.ndl.go.jp/e1881>

a VPN in order to input English language Japanese-art related data and information on Japanese art exhibitions in the West. That data is now searchable on the TNRICP search system. The Getty Research Institute provides TNRICP bibliographic data in their Getty Research Portal.

We are also providing data to OCLC, including bibliographic data on articles published in art exhibition catalogues recorded in the *Yearbook of Japanese Art*. These materials are not searchable in English, but we hope to address this issue to the greatest degree possible.

Regarding a general portal for researching Japanese art, the Japanese Cabinet has conceived of a National General Portal Site in its Intellectual Property Strategic Plan project and that site would include a cultural properties section. Specifically, this is thought to refer to a linking of the National Diet Library search system and the cultural properties online system. At present, administrative divisions mean that each organization and division makes its own digital contents, and thus the government is proposing means of conducting lateral searches of those contents.

At the beginning of this paper I noted that catalogues reflect their underlying value systems, and today as digitization advances and lateral searches have become possible, the searcher can use a variety of different value markers to list data. A search for artist name gathers data with artist name prioritized, and thus can be said to support artist-based methodologies. The editing of that data from other view points is easier than it was in the past, and this means that new vantage points are available.

On the other hand, I must emphasize that it is not an entirely digital world and we must not forget the presence of non-digital materials. Just because something has been digitized, it does not mean that the physical material basis of that digitized material should be not preserved. Just like artworks, we must continue to collect and preserve the physical materials themselves, as they are the basis by which an artwork's value is confirmed and what conveys the fascination of the artwork to many people. I myself take this concept to heart when I work with these materials.

(Translated by Martha J. McClintock)



## 竹内順一

東京藝術大学名誉教授/茶道美術史家

# 空前絶後のカタログレゾネ、『大正名器鑑』 ——茶道具名物記の歴史を踏まえて

- \* 本稿はシンポジウム当日の口頭発表を再録したものである。掲載にあたっては音声記録を適宜編集した。本発表のテーマである文献の書誌情報は下記を参照のこと。  
高橋義雄編『大正名器鑑』東京：大正名器鑑編集所、第1～9編(11冊)、索引、1921-1927。  
(一部は国立国会図書館デジタルコレクションで閲覧可能。<https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1014837> ほか)

司会： 次のご発表は竹内順一さんで、タイトルは「空前絶後のカタログ・レゾネ、『大正名器鑑』茶道具名物記の歴史を踏まえて」です。では竹内先生、よろしく願いいたします。

#### ■茶道具におけるカタログ・レゾネとは

竹内： 国立西洋美術館で茶道具の話をするというのはちょっと違和感がありますが、カタログ・レゾネということで、始めさせていただきます。まず『大正名器鑑』(fig. 1) 以前、17世紀の半ば過ぎに、形は小さいんですけども文字だけの「名物記」——今で言うところの「総目録」が、茶道具の総目録としてできました(fig. 2)。

そしてそれを引き継いで、江戸後期、18世紀の終わりに、2000点以上の茶道具を総目録にしたものができました。『古今名物類聚』(fig. 3) と言って非常に重要なものですが、この時代から、現存するものには図版が掲載されるようになるんですね。現存しないものは古い図版を参考にしたりして、木版画2色刷りという、当時としてはたいへんなことをいたしました。

そして『大正名器鑑』、これは刊行から90年以上経った今も価値が失われていない。つまりこれに代わる本が出ていないんです。全部で9編11冊以上になります。この『大正名器鑑』の特徴は、大正時代にできたから「大正」と呼ぶんですけども、茶入と茶碗だけなんです。絵画とか書の計画もあったんですが、実現されずに、編纂者の高橋義雄(箒庵、1861–1937)さんが亡くなってしまいます。まず重要なのはこの本が40 cmを超える大きさだということ、つまり1点1点の茶道具を原寸大で掲載しているということです。それからもうひとつは、茶碗が入っている箱と箱書、ドキュメント、そういうものも全部掲載しているということです(fig. 4)。今までどういう過去の文献に載っていたかということを、ずっと追跡しているんですね。その引用文献が101種類あります。1点1点、取り上げていて、全体では、1400回を超える引用があるということです。また箱書というのは茶道具の特徴なんですけれども、これも一種のドキュメントということになるかと思います。これが非常に充実しています。ですから現在、美術館で、茶道具を持っている美術館はたくさんあるんですけども、学芸員はあんまり勉強しないんですね。これがあると全部済んでしまいます。

今、私たちが最先端の研究としてやっているのは、この『大正名器鑑』が扱う以前の茶道具を掲載した古い文献です。最近色々な調査によって、16世紀半ば以降の新しい名物記が発見されました。これによって、『大正名器鑑』以前の時代がどうだったか、ということがわかりますが、逆に江戸時代以降、つまり17世紀以降は『大正名器鑑』に従うしかないということになります。

#### ■茶道具になるための条件

さて、茶道具のカタログ・レゾネの大きな背景として申し上げたいことは、普通の絵画とか書とはちょっと違う性質があるということです。私の結論は、茶道具の特性のために、逆に、今で言うアート・ドキュメンテーション、記録が重要視されただけではないかと思うんです。

まず、普通に使われる陶磁器とか漆の道具が「茶道具」になるためには、私は3つの条件が必要だと思います。ひとつ目は、茶碗とか茶入にある偶然の変化、それを自然の風景に近づけて「景色」と見る。つまり工芸品の中

に風景画を見るような——風景を詠んだ和歌ですかね——和歌を連想するような見方があること。ふたつ目は、不思議なことなんですけれども、1点1点、個別に認識するために茶碗と茶入に固有名詞を付けるんですね。これを「銘」と言うんですけども、その「銘」もあたかも人の名前であるかのようにして付けるというのが特徴で、つまり擬人化して茶道具を楽しむ、味わうというところがあります。

最後に、これは茶入と茶碗に独特なんですけども、見るだけでなく、触って鑑賞するということ。これは絵と書と違うところで、触って初めてわかる、そういう分野だということです。それらをそれぞれ記録しますので、自然に茶道具の記録は、今で言うドキュメンテーションになり得るということになります。

#### ■茶道具を味わう

茶道具の見所のひとつ、微妙な肌合いについて申し上げますと、現在、徳川美術館(名古屋)にある茶碗「灰被天目」<sup>1)</sup>は、上のほうが濃い茶褐色、そして下に向かってだんだん薄くなっていきます。そういう微妙な肌合いが——そうではない黒一色とかもたくさんあるんですけども——いいという美意識を、16世紀以来、日本の茶人は持ち続けたわけですね。こういう美意識を持っているところが、茶道具の前提にあるということを申し上げます。

また棗、茶入が非常に微妙な作りになっていて、それを味わうという世界があったこともお伝えしたいと思います。ちなみに漆器の場合は「棗」、やきもの場合は「茶入」と言うんですね。

千利休(1522–1591)が作ったと言われる京都・大山崎の茶室「待庵」で撮ったある写真には、利休が作らせたと言う「楽茶碗」と、袋「仕覆」に入った茶入があります。茶入は、中国から伝わってきた「名物裂」という、古いものでは南宋時代、だいたい元時代、新しくは明時代に輸入された裂でまわりを保護のために包んでいます。

茶入の名品はたくさん現存しているんですけども、一番は、今、徳川宗家がもっている重要文化財「初花」という銘を付けた茶入です。<sup>2)</sup> この茶入の高さは8 cm ちょっとなんですけども、これが現存する同類の茶入の中で最高に良くできていて、保存状態もいい。そしてこれから申し上げる、当時のどういうところがいいかという見所もほぼ満点に近い状態で満足させる、優れた茶入なんです。これは中国の、場所は未だにはっきりしていませんものの福建省のほうで作られただろうと言われていますが、その陶工が、日本人によってのちに茶入になるということは全然考えずに作ったものです。中国では何のために作ったかという、色々な説があってまだはっきりしません。たとえばここに水を入れて、墨を擦る時に水を垂らす「水滴」にしたんじゃないとか、あるいは、非常に出来がいいので、もっとお香のようなものを入れたとか、香辛料を入れたとか、色々な研究がされていますけれども、中国での用途はわからないんですね。日本に貿易で入ってくると、茶人たちがこういうのを見つけて、これはいいなと思うと袋を付けたり、それから象牙の蓋を付けたり、幾つかのお化粧をして高級感を出し、茶会で使うわけです。この茶入の胴の真ん中のところには線が入っている。産地はまだよくわからないんだけど福建省のほうの陶工たちの、たぶん決まり事、約束事で線を入れているんですけども、日本の茶人たちがいいと思うその条件は、この線の巡り方で、半分だけ巡るのが条件なんです。線がぐるっと向こうまで巡ってい

1) 大物「灰被天目」、唐物、南宋時代(13世紀)、徳川美術館、名古屋(『大正名器鑑』第6編、51頁)

2) 重要文化財・大物 唐物肩衝茶入 銘「初花」唐物、徳川記念財団、東京(『大正名器鑑』第1編、1–10頁)

ると、これは名物茶入にならないんですね。どうしてそうなったのかはわかりませんが、現存するものは、全部そういう法則をもっています。実際に作る場合、ろくろを、中国ですから左回転して、刃物のようなものでひゅっを入れます。ろくろが回転しますとぐるっと回るのは一瞬ですよね、半分だけわざとやるという難しいことをして、そしてこの線があるように釉薬を流す。つまりこちらが正面になるんですね。

#### ■見所も記録する『大正名器鑑』

こういう正面観や、線が半分しか入っていないというのは、実際に茶入を見ないとよくわかりません。しかし『大正名器鑑』の場合は、そういう感触——体験記とか実見記と呼んでいます——作品解説/ディスクリプションをもちょうと掲載しているんです。それが膨大な量であるというのが『大正名器鑑』の特徴ですね。

「初花」では釉薬が上から垂れていますが、日本の茶人の目に止まって、「これは素晴らしい茶入」となるには釉薬の垂れ方にも条件があります。1本が望ましいけれども、2、3本になっても構わない、という桃山時代の記録があるんですが、問題は、この垂れた1本だけが、ちょうど茶入の底の部分で止まらないう駄目なんですね。この部分を「<sup>ほんつき</sup>盆付」と言います。「盆付で止まりたり候」とかいう記録が出てきます。釉薬が途中で止まっていてあと2、3ミリあるといい、というのがあるんですが、それは名物にはならない。そういう習慣ですね。それから中には当然、少し溢れて、底側に3ミリとか、でもそういうのも残念ながら名物にはならない。根津美術館（東京）の展覧会に出たことがある茶入ですが、あと2、3ミリで届くっていうのは、さすがに惜しいので、昔の茶人も漆でそこに色を付けてちょうど届くようにしているものもあります。これは根津美術館の論文に出てきます。それくらい微妙なものです。

あと、ろくろから剥がす時に手で持ち上げますから、指跡が付くんですね。当時、「<sup>てがた</sup>手形」とかいう名前前で呼んでいます、この指跡は取り上げる時、釉薬をつける時に付くものです。必ずどこかに手の跡、手形、指跡が残っているのも、名物になる条件のひとつなんですね。なんでそうなるかは、繰り返しますけれどもよくわからない。

西洋でも日本でも、やきもの場合は、人の形に見立てて各部分に色々な名称を付けます。首とか胴などと呼びます。首のところに、ろくろの回転できゅーっと盛り上がったアクセントを付けるんですが、それが鋭いカーブであるほど良しとされています。これを「捻り返し」と言いますが、「捻り返し」の下に1本だけ線があるのも名物となる条件ですね。先ほど述べたのは、胴の真ん中の線のことです。それから釉薬がきちっと最後まで、盆付ぎりぎりのところにまでかかることも名物の条件です。露が垂れたように見えますので、この釉止まり「釉薬の先端部分」を「露先」と言います。それがお盆のところに付いているから「盆付」なわけですね。

腰とか、胴とか、色々な名称がありますが、これらの言葉は『大正名器鑑』の実見記に全部出てきて、どういうものが写真がなくてもわかるように表現されている。つまり見所をちゃんと文字化している、そういうことになります。

それから大事な点は、土が見えてないと駄目なんですね。胴の全体に釉薬がかかると駄目で、土もほどよく見えるのが大事なんです。釉薬が上のほうで止まると、裾が「接ぎ高」と言って良くない。それから底全部まで

かかってくると、包み過ぎだということで、「土見せ」が駄目だとなる。この「土見せ」が適度に、だいたい高さ8 cm ぐらいですと、裾の1 cm から1.5 cm ぐらい、ぐるっと見えてるのが大事だと。それから上のほうは濃い薬と薄い薬の二重掛けになっている、そういうことも条件だと言えます。

『大正名器鑑』の当時の記録から私が考えるには、当時の茶人たちは、茶会に行くというのは、茶道具を見るワークショップ、茶道具の勉強会、セミナーのようなかたちで行ったんじゃないかと思います。今で言うとサロン風に遊んでいた、楽しんでいたと思われるかもしれませんが。ですから茶会へ行った時は必ず、先に述べてきたような見所、良いところ悪いところを文章化するんですね。

それだけではなくて、茶会には茶人は矢立を持って行くと私は思う。茶入を見たら懷紙にスケッチするんですね。原寸大でスケッチして、家に帰ってきた後、それを清書する時に、コピーがないですから、これを二重写しは正確ではないということで、形の部分だけ缺で切り抜きます。これを「切型」(fig. 5)と言んですが、茶会記に糊でベタッと貼る。写真がない時代に色々な釉薬だとか、形の特徴をスケッチして残していく、これも『大正名器鑑』にそのまま継承されていることですね。細かいことが書いてあるのは、これまで述べてきたような茶入の見方の条件が合うかどうかを追認する記録でもあります。こうしたことを勉強するために、繰り返しますが、当時は茶会に行って、実物のセミナー、実際に手にとって味わったということになります。微妙な違いのあるものをさらに説明すると、「初花」は最高の残り方、形をしている。三井記念美術館（東京）にある「<sup>きたのかたつき</sup>北野肩衝」という茶入、<sup>3)</sup>これは釉薬が一本だけ垂れているという条件は満たしていますが、ほかのところは随分乱れています。それゆえ「初花」に比べると少し質が、格が落ちるんですが、当時は非常に評価されました。形がとてもいいんですね。「北野肩衝」は高さ8.9 cm、色々調べると、当時の茶入、これは肩が張っているから「肩衝」という種類ですが、高さ8.9 cm がベストの大きさのようですね。10 cm を超えたりすると、五島美術館（東京）に11 cm を超えるのがありますが、当時の人から見たら大き過ぎて駄目だということになります。小さなほうでは、8.4 cm ぐらいがちょうどいい。ですから「初花」は少し小さくて横に広がっているという形の上では「北野肩衝」から比べると落ちるんですね。私はいつも冗談に、「北野肩衝」の形に「初花」の釉薬がかかったものがあれば欠点なし、と言ってるんです。

ただ当時の記録を『大正名器鑑』で見ても、欠点が少しあるほうがいいんだというのが出てくるんです。これもちょっとヒネてますよね。なかなか難しいですけど、今のところ、「北野肩衝」の形は最高、そして釉薬の残り方は「初花」が最高、とすることができます。

#### ■変わる名物の基準

桃山時代に茶人の人口が増えたり、江戸時代に入ってお茶が武家に伝わってだんだん茶人の人口が増えてくると、中国から来た「<sup>からもの</sup>唐物」が足りなくなってきました。茶人の人口に供給が合わないということになってきて、結局日本の茶入を使うことになる。これが「瀬戸茶入」なんです。やがて大流行しますと、今までは中国製、つまり「唐物」を選ぶという選択が基準だったんですが、また新しい見方をするようになりました。茶道具に自然の景色を読み取り、そこから和歌を連想したりして鑑賞するという見方ですね。これが小堀遠州

3) 重要文化財・大名物 唐物肩衝茶入「北野肩衝」、三井記念美術館、東京(『大正名器鑑』第1編、19-22頁)



という江戸初期の茶人がやった大きな革命です。

「広沢」と銘の付いた瀬戸茶入<sup>4)</sup>があります。これは地名から銘をとっていますけれども、胴の文様を「月」に見立てているんですね。文様が月に見えるから、「広沢池に映る月」という。外国のシンボジウムで発表して何か質問はありませんかと聞くと、8割くらいが、「竹内、先ほど月に見えると言ったがどうしてあれが月なんだ?私には月に見えない」と言います。

私は東京藝術大学で授業をしていまして、ずっと昔から学生にこの茶入を見せているんですけども、最近ではこれが月に見えない、という学生が増えてきました。少し西洋的な見方になってきているんだと思います。つまりこういう、自然にできた、偶然できたというか、石か何かが入ったのか、ひっつきがあって、剥がしたらちょうど「月」になった、そしてまわりがちょうど空の雲に見える。それでこういう名前が付けられているわけですが、本物の月の写真と一緒にでないとわかってもらえないため、あえて並べて見せるようにしています。そして面白いのは、京都・嵯峨の広沢池 (fig. 6) は昼間はということはないのですが、夜になると池面に映える月が印象的です。「広沢池の月」は、古来、和歌に数々詠まれてきました。ですから「広沢」という銘から、月がこのように見えるという連想をするわけですね。つまりあだ名を「広沢」と付けて、和歌のように鑑賞する。

私がかつて勤めていた永青文庫(東京)には千利休が持っていた「尻ふくら」<sup>5)</sup> すなわちお尻のほうが膨らんだ、という名前の付いた茶入があります。しかし、この胴の帯は完全に一周しているんです。先ほどの桃山時代の茶人たちが選んだ基準からすると外れますよね。千利休の茶入の仕覆等についての記録は残っていないんですが、色々な記録を総合すると、ちょっとぐらい線が足りないとか、多すぎるとか、そんなことはいいと。もっと素朴に、素直に、何気ない茶入を味わおうでないかというのが、利休晩年の主張なんです。その時代に利休によって取り上げられたものは、桃山時代の茶人からすると、良くなかった。当時の名物記、桃山時代に「山上宗二記」という、一番厳しい基準で選ばれた名物記がありますが、点数は『大正名器鑑』の十分の一ぐらいと少ないものです。それによると、「尻ふくら」のような茶入は「町の棚にもあり」といって、どこにでもごろごろしている。普通の民家にもある、普通にお茶を入れるものであって名物ではないと書いてあるんです。でも、あえてそういうものを選んだところが利休の精神かもしれないですね。

「尻ふくら」では、「仕覆」に、先ほど言ったように中国から伝わってきた、明時代から古くは宋時代の裂が使われています。底を見ると釉薬が垂れてきて、ちょうど盆付で止まるという条件を守っています。ですから優先順位があつて、胴の線は一周してもしなくてもいいかもしれないけど、盆付だけは守ると。また土が見えるということは、土見せを守るというのがよほど大事な見方だったんじゃないかと言えます。指跡も残っています。茶道具は手に持って味わうということが、こういうところでもわかります。

#### ■裂、箱——茶道具とともに保管されたドキュメンテーション

これは永青文庫で展示した時の写真ですが (fig. 7)、たった7 cmにも満たない小さな茶入がこんな箱に入って、最後にはこんなに大きな箱に入るんですね。どうしてこうなるかというと、箱にドキュメント、つまりこれをどう見たとか、色々な過去の記録——利休以後、「尻ふくら」は転々とするんですがその持

ち主たちの記録——が入っていると。先ほどから記録に当たるのはとてもたいへんだという発表がいくつかありましたが、茶道具の場合は、箱の中を見れば、全部記録が残っています。そして先ほどご紹介したような名物記とか、あるいは茶人たちが茶会を開いた時に残した茶友日記——今は活字化されて誰でも読むことができます——などを見ると、茶入に関して、あるいは茶碗に関しては追跡調査が非常に簡単、楽なんです。それゆえ『大正名器鑑』は全部写真付で紹介できたわけです。

#### ■名前を付け、触れて愛でる

話題を変えて、「名前を付ける」という大事なことについてお話しします。私が前に勤めていた芸大に、テート・ギャラリー (ロンドン) から美術輸送のトラックが来た時ですが、このトラックの裏側に回ると、名前が付いているんです。「カイツツ君2号」と (fig. 8)。つまりハイテクなトラックにも名前を付けてしまうというこれを私は、茶入に名前を付けるという日本精神の表われかな、と思うんですね。

考えてみると、「一太郎」とか「花子」[ワープロソフト]とか、ハイテクなものにも人の名前が付けられています。これも親しい外国人の美術史家に聞くと「面白いな」と言って笑っていますけれども、ちょっと特殊な現象ですね。こういうものにも名前を付け、そして手で持って味わう、というのは、今でも続く日本の文化ではないかと思います。

東京国立近代美術館で、よくやっている講座の中で、「手に触れる」「手に持つ」という講座があるんです。手で持つという文化は、普及講座にもされていて、油絵を手で持つという味わい方は絶対にないんですけど、今でも続いています。たぶん、その元は、肌合いを味わうということもありますが、作ること、手で造形することの追体験ではないかと思います。手によって作り出されるのが茶入と茶碗ですが——ここに人間国宝・荒川豊蔵(1894-1985)の制作中の写真を挙げます——、のちにお茶を飲む人は作品を手で持つことで、作家荒川豊蔵の手の造形を追体験すると。つまり作家の仕事を、触って追体験する。あるいは茶碗が出来上がった様子を、手に持って味わうということだろうと思うんです。名物の基準とはこういう手で持つ文化があるがゆえに生まれたものだろうと思います。

それから名前を付けるという点で言いますと、国宝の茶碗で、長野県に「不二山」という銘の付いた本阿弥光悦(1558-1637)の茶碗がありますね。<sup>6)</sup> 白い雪があつて裾野があるという典型的な富士山をイメージする、非常にわかりやすい銘ですが、このようにすぐ連想できる景色を詠むということもあります。それから「小倉山」<sup>7)</sup> という高麗茶碗があります。小倉山は和歌の名所、紅葉の名勝です。この茶碗には点々、釉薬のシミが出てきているんですけど、このシミを紅葉だと見て、「小倉山」と付けるとか、凝りに凝って色々な連想をします。現代の作品では、小山富士夫(1900-1975)の作品で、鳥がピーチク鳴いたような感じがすると「森のさえずり」といった銘を付けたものがあります。そういう茶の湯の造形の伝統を守りつつ、現代に來ているわけです。

#### ■桃山の感性への理解

『大正名器鑑』を編纂した高橋箒庵 (fig. 9) は、明治の実業家で、私財を投

4) 中興名物 瀬戸茶入 銘「広沢」、北村美術館、京都(『大正名器鑑』第4編下、101-106頁)

5) 唐物尻膨茶入 銘「利休尻ふくら」、唐物、南宋時代(13世紀)、永青文庫、東京(『大正名器鑑』第2編、181-186頁)

6) 国宝・楽焼白片身変茶碗 銘「不二山」、本阿弥光悦作、江戸時代(17世紀)、サンリツ服部美術館、長野(『大正名器鑑』第9編、181-184頁)

7) 玉子手茶碗 銘「小倉山」、高麗、静嘉堂文庫、東京(『大正名器鑑』第6編、201-202頁)

じてこれを作った。そして調べますと4版くらい版を重ねるんですね。最後は著作権が切れて、復刻もされるんですけども。初版の11冊は、高橋箒庵がこれだと思う茶人だとか研究者に寄贈するんです。上野では東京国立博物館に一セット揃っていますね。それから隣の東京藝術大学の図書館にもあります。そういう社会貢献も高橋箒庵はやっています。高橋箒庵自身も色々なスケッチを残していて、それなりの勉強ノートを残しています。これは今、畠山記念館（東京）にある「日野肩衝」<sup>8)</sup>を見たときの記録です（fig. 10）。大正時代に『大正名器鑑』を作った高橋箒庵の記録なのですが、言葉こそいくつかわちがうところがありますが、釉薬がこう垂れてきてね、それが大事なポイントだということの、いわば桃山的な茶の湯の見方の伝統は守っていますね。そして、この下のところに土見せがあるとか、色々な状態を見ているわけですから、ただ「これがいいな」ということで選んだのではなく、大正時代になっても、高橋箒庵もそれを守って、桃山的な伝統で見ているということがおわかりかと思います。

もうそろそろ最後になりますが、明治24年、1891年に、ジェームズ・ボウズ [James Lord Bowes, 1834–1899] というイギリス人が日本の陶器について書いている。日本では『日本装飾陶器論』 [A Vindication of the Decorated Pottery of Japan]（fig. 11）と訳されています。彼はよく日本の茶道具を勉強して、自分でもコレクションしているわけですが、著書でジェームズ・ボウズは、日本にはこうした綺麗な上絵付というか、綺麗に装飾されたものがあって、どちらかというとこちらのほうが好きなんです、と書いている。しかし日本人は、模様のない、黒いだけの、先ほど話したような茶入、それから茶碗、茶碗も黒いもののほうがいい、と言う。なぜだろう、と考えるわけですね。

それで彼なりの結論は、これはやっぱり選んだ茶人の好み、選んだ茶人がこういう華やかな模様よりも、こちらの素朴な文様のほうがいいだろうといった好みによって選ばれたからだ、と。じつはちょっと違うんですけどね、先ほど言ったように厳密な規則があって選ばれたわけですから。しかし彼はそういうふうには誤解し、曲解して、自分が好きなものもいいものなら、この茶入とかも好きだけれども、私は身の回りの、インク瓶と土管ですね、これが私の「名物」なんだ、と言って、『日本装飾陶器論』を書くわけです。これは大きな誤りで、残念ながらそうじゃなくて厳密な規則があったということですね。

これで終わりますが、最後に「初花」肩衝茶入を回転した貴重な映像がありますから、披露したいと思います。とても素晴らしい出来で、高さ8 cm ちょっとなんですけども、非常に軽く出来ていて、100 g あるかなし、なんです。改めて展覧会に行きましたら、裏側を見て、盆付がどの程度止まっているかということを知ると、桃山時代の見方になるんじゃないかと思います。

今日はアーカイヴの話からちょっと茶道具の見方までご紹介しましたが、ご静聴どうもありがとうございます。通訳のお二人にお礼を申し上げます。

司 会： 竹内先生、どうもありがとうございました。

8) 大名物 漢作唐物茶入「日野肩衝」、畠山記念館、東京（『大正名器鑑』第1編、105–108頁）

## ①『大正名器鑑』の構成

- 高橋箒庵（義雄）編著 空前絶後の茶道具全集（茶入・茶碗〔天目〕）  
1921年（大正10）～1927年（昭和2） cf. 1923年（大正12）関東大震災  
高橋箒庵 1861年（文久元）～1937年（昭和12）慶應義塾・時事新報・三井グループ・1911年（明治44）引退  
高橋梅園（龍雄）1868年（明治元）～1946年（昭和21）島根県・慶應義塾予科で教鞭・不昧研究・『茶道』

- 茶入：5編7冊 茶碗：4編4冊 計9編11冊

唐物茶入：145点 和物茶入 290点

①名称 ②寸法 ③付属物（袋・箱） ④雑記 ⑤伝来 ⑥実見記

## ②名物の三種分類

茶の湯の名物に関しては、かねてから三種類の区別がある。

この三種分類を実在の茶道具に当てはめるといふ編集方針を貫いたのは、『大正名器鑑』（全9編）であった。さらに三種分類の定義づけを行ったのは、『大正名器鑑』の編者高橋箒庵をして「名器検覧の際は、必ず君と同席し、実物、寸法、伝来、付属物等の記録に就き、君の手を煩わしたる者、枚挙に遑（いとま）あらず。余の名器検討に於て、君に負ふ所、誠に鮮少に非ざるなり」と言わしめた、高橋梅園であった。梅園はその著『茶道』（1929年 大岡山書店）の「茶入」の章の一節で次のように書いている。

〔名物のこと〕名物に三通りある。即ち利休以前殊に東山時代のものを大名物オホメイブツといひ、利休時代のものを単に名物といひ、小堀遠州が選定したものを中興名物といふ。今では名物と中興名物を一緒にして名物といひ、大名物と名物との二種に扱ってをる

（172頁なお箒庵の引用は、同書の序文）

…掲載した茶入や天目あるいは茶碗について、独自に中興名物という認定を行っている。つまり、『大正名器鑑』によってはじめて中興名物になったものがいくつかあるのである。

## ③漢作と唐物

…『大正名器鑑』の編集方針を強く貫いていたのは、松平不昧の『古今名物類聚』を可能な限り再現し、同時に、それを乗り越えるという意図であった。

「解説」には、「漢作」と「唐物」の概略について『古今名物類聚』を引用して説明がある。不昧によれば、「漢作」は、中国の陶工の手になる茶入で

あり、「唐物」は、中国に渡り陶法を学んだ瀬戸の陶工、元祖藤四郎が、中国の土と釉薬とを持ち帰り、帰国後日本で制作した茶入、と区別する。これに箒庵は疑問を投げかける。「唐物」と称する現物を見る限り、同時代同一人（元祖藤四郎）の手になるものではないことは明白であると批判する。また、「唐物」も「漢作」と同様だという。…ただし、そうであっても、

古來茶書に漢作若しくは唐物としてこれを區別し居る者は、總て其儘に記載して古人の意見を尊重する事と爲せり

と旧説を、具体的には『古今名物類聚』での区別を変更せずに継承したという。本編の茶入名称に旧来のままの表示があるため、箒庵の「二種分類不可能説」、すなわち「不昧分類否定説」の革新性は残念ながら伝わって来ない。

茶入の産地について、箒庵は、このようにも考えている。藤四郎は、福建省を中心に陶法を学んできたのではないかと。箒庵は不昧に賛同し、藤四郎伝説に固執し過ぎるきらいはあるが、この考えは「漢作」茶入の産地推定のもっとも早い研究である。

## ③文字で表すこと

漢唐茶入の形状、釉質等に関して茶書に記載する形容文字は、筆者に依り時代に依りて、同様ならず、甚だしきは同一文辭にして其意味を異にする者さへなきに非ず…（中略）…實見記中に記載した茶入の要點は大略左圖に依りて會得せられん事を乞ふ。

として、茶入の側面図に形容文字（名称）を記入する。…漢字の表記を含めると「名器鑑造語」はいくつかあるが、後世に影響を与えた主要なものを三点挙げる。「口」の立ち上がり（こしき）を、「名器鑑造語」は①「甌（こしき）際」といふ。そして、「肩」との接点（こしき）を「甌（こしき）際」といふ。これは、桃山時代にはなかった。桃山時代の拝見記では、「口」の下部全体を「捻（ひね）り返し」といった。「捻（ひね）り返し」がなく、直線上に伸びる茶入を「口立ち伸び」といった。「捻（ひね）り返し」は箒庵の図にも指示があるが（表記は「拈返し」）、口縁部の頂上部の折り返し部分（いわゆる玉縁）に限定している。もう一つ大きな「名器鑑造語」は、胴中央部に横に走る一条の沈線の名称である。これを②「胴筋又は紐」といった。…桃山時代は単に「筋」であった。さらには、茶入の図示それ自体を、③「置形（おきがた）」というも「名器鑑造語」である。桃山時代は「切り形」あるいは単に「形」と称した。





fig. 1 高橋義雄編『大正名器鑑』大正名器鑑纂所、1921-27年  
(唐物:145点、和物:290点)

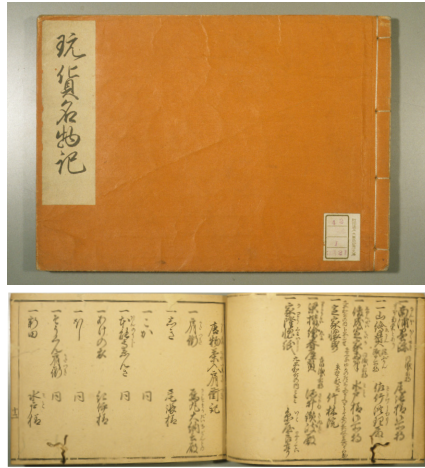


fig. 2 『玩貨名物記』1660年(唐物:121点、和物:11点)

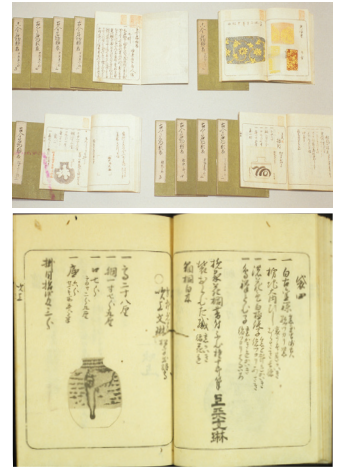


fig. 3 『古今名物類聚』1789-97年(唐物120点、和物:232点)



fig. 4 茶碗の箱に記された箱書きと、『大正名器鑑』に掲載された頁

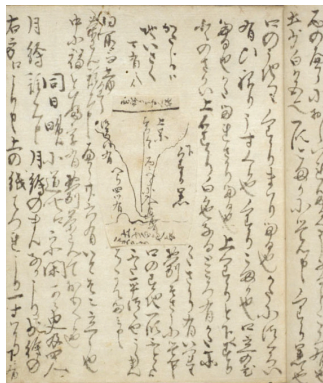


fig. 5 肩衝の切型『天王寺屋会記』永禄10年2月17日(西暦1567年3月27日)



fig. 6 京都・嵯峨、広沢池



fig. 7 「尻ふくら」展示の様子、永青文庫



fig. 8 美術輸送のトラックに印字された名前「カイツ君2号」



fig. 9 高橋箒庵



fig. 10 高橋箒庵による「田野肩衝」(畠山記念館)鑑賞の際の記録

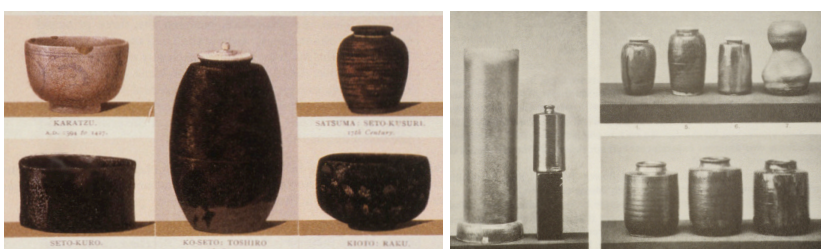


fig. 11 ジェイムズ・ボウス『日本装飾陶器論』より

## TAKEUCHI Jun'ichi

*Professor Emeritus, Tokyo University of the Arts and Tea Ceremony Historian*

### The *Taishō Meikikan*: The Greatest Meibutsu Catalogue Raisonné within the History of Meibutsuki Records

\* This paper transcribes a recording of a paper delivered at the symposium. The text has been edited from the audio recording as needed. Please refer to the following for information on bibliographic references related to the paper's theme.

Takahashi Yoshio, *Taishō meikikan*, Taishō Meikikan Hensanjo, Volumes 1–9 (11 physical volumes total), index, 1921–27, Tokyo (sections available in the National Diet Library Digital Collection. <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1014837>)

Moderator: Takeuchi Jun'ichi will be the next speaker. His paper title is "The *Taishō Meikikan*—The Greatest *Meibutsu* Catalogue Raisonné within the History of *Meibutsuki* Records" Please welcome Professor Takeuchi.

### ■ The Catalogue Raisonné within the Context of Tea Ceremony Utensils

**Prof. Takeuchi:** While I feel somewhat strange giving a talk on tea utensils at the NMWA, let me begin by discussing the catalogue raisonné. First, prior to the *Taishō meikikan* (fig. 1), after the mid 17th century there began to appear comprehensive catalogues of tea utensils that while small in form, bore the term *meibutsuki* (record of distinguished utensils) in their titles (fig. 2).

During the late Edo period, at the end of the 18th century, a comprehensive catalogue of more than 2,000 tea utensils was created. This was the *Kokon meibutsu ruijū* (fig. 3), and it is extremely important to note that from around this period onwards extant examples of these catalogues included images of the items mentioned. For then no longer extant works they had to create two-color woodblock prints from existing images in older sources, which for the time was quite an achievement.

The *Taishō meikikan* has not lost its value more than 90 years since its publication, and indeed, nothing has yet to replace it. This work consists of nine volumes printed in more than 11 physical volumes. The *Taishō meikikan* was, as its title indicates, produced during the Taishō period, but it in fact only includes *chaire* (tea containers) and tea bowls. There were plans to also have sections on painting and calligraphy, but the book's compiler Takahashi Yoshio (1861–1937) died before that plan could be realized. It is important to note that this book was more than 40 cm in height, and this allowed the depiction of each individual tea utensil in full size reproduction. Another important point was the inclusion of all the materials related to each work, such as their box, box inscription, and any accompanying documents (fig. 4). Here I use the term “document” to refer to what the *Taishō meikikan* calls *zakki*, miscellaneous records. These *zakki* allow us to trace the art work's appearance in previous documents and publications, in essence, like a bibliography. There are 101 different sources quoted in these *zakki*. Overall, there are more than 1,400 quotes. While box inscriptions are a special feature of tea utensils, they can also be considered a type of document. In this regard the book is extremely complete. While many art museums today have tea utensils in their collections, even so, the curators haven't actually studied much in this area. With just this one book curators would have access to all this information.

Today our cutting-edge research is on the old publications that published the tea utensils prior to their handling in the *Taishō meikikan*. Thanks to various recent surveys, we have been able to discover some new-to-us *meibutsuki* dating from the mid 16th century onwards. This has allowed us to understand what the situation was prior to the *Taishō*

*meikikan*, and yet at the same time, conversely, from the Edo period onwards, in other words after the 17th century, there was only the *Taishō meikikan*.

### ■ Characteristics Required for Tea Utensils

The first thing I would like to mention regarding the background of tea utensil catalogues raisonnés is the fact that they have a slightly different nature than those for paintings or calligraphy. My conclusion is that it was because of the special nature of tea utensils. Conversely, that led to records and art documentation being seen as important.

First, I consider the following three conditions are essential for an ordinary piece of lacquer or ceramic to become a tea utensil. First, is the *keshiki* (feature color or scenic effect), the accidental change in the surface that creates a scenic effect. In other words, as if seeing a landscape picture in the midst of a decorative artwork, like a *waka* verse that heralds a landscape scene, and thus an appearance that recalls a *waka*. Second, and it may seem strange, the giving of an artistic name to each work, thereby recognizing their individuality. These artistic names are called *mei* in Japanese. This characteristic use of names for utensils just like people names are a means by which utensils are personified, a way in which they can be further enjoyed by their users.

The final special feature of these tea bowls and tea containers is the fact that they are appreciated not simply by looking at them, but also by handling them. This differs from the appreciation of paintings and calligraphy, and puts them in the category of artworks that are first understood by being handled. These features are each naturally recorded in tea utensil records and thus become what today we call the documentation of the work.

### ■ Enjoying Tea Utensils

The subtle surface quality of a tea utensil can be considered one of their features. When I think of this feature, I think of the *Haikatsugi tenmoku*<sup>1)</sup> tea bowl today in the Tokugawa Art Museum in Nagoya. The upper half of this bowl has a dark brown color, which gradually thins further down the bowl. The Japanese tea ceremony practitioners of the 16th century and onwards have aesthetic standards that appreciated this subtle surface quality, although there are many that don't have this color affect and instead are completely black. And in effect we can say that this aesthetic standard is the premise by which tea utensils are understood.

Further I would like to convey that a world existed in which the subtle forms of *natsume* and *chaire* (tea containers) did actually exist. These terms refer to two different kinds of tea containers, they are called *natsume* if made of lacquer, and *chaire* if made of ceramic.

A photograph taken at the Tai'an tea house in Ōyamazaki, Kyoto, which is said to have been designed by Sen no Rikyū (1522–1591), shows a Raku tea bowl and a *chaire* inside its cloth bag known as a *shifuku*. The

1) *Tea Bowl*, known as *Haikatsugi tenmoku*, karamono, Southern Song dynasty, 13th century, Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya, *Taishō meikikan*, vol. 6, p. 51.



*chaire* was put in this protective bag made from *meibutsugire*, literally famous fragments, fragments of silk brought from China, with the oldest from the Southern Song dynasty, most from the Yuan dynasty and the newest from the Ming.

While many famous *chaire* exist today, the greatest is the *chaire* known as *Hatsuhana*, designated an Important Cultural Property and today owned by the main Tokugawa family.<sup>2)</sup> This *chaire* is just barely 8 cm tall but is the best of the extant examples of this style, and is in good condition. And as I am now going to comment, at that time it was considered to be a superior *chaire* that has all of the features essential for being considered a top work. This *chaire* was made in China, and while its actual production site has not been confirmed it is thought to have been made in Fujian province. The potter there made the jar never imagining that it would later be used as a *chaire* by the Japanese. There are a variety of theories about what such a jar would have been used for in China but we are not yet certain. For example, it could have been filled with water and used as a water dropper when making ink. Or if an especially well-formed jar it could have been used to hold incense, perfume, or spices. All sorts of studies have been conducted, but we still don't know how they were used in China. Since they arrived in Japan as trade items, the tea practitioners of the day were impressed by them, put them in a bag, fitted them with ivory lids, and other special accoutrements in order to heighten their sense of luxury when used during a tea ceremony. There is a line at the very middle of the torso of this *chaire*. And while we don't fully understand where it was made, the potters of Fujian province probably put this line there based on some determination, some premise. The tea people in Japan who thought such lines were a good feature decided that the line should only go half way around the jar. So, a jar whose line goes all the way around would not be considered a *meibutsu chaire*, or distinguished example. We don't know why they made that decision, but all of the extant examples have that standard. In fact, potters' wheels turn counterclockwise in China and the line/groove was made by a quick flick of a knife or similar device. As the potter's wheel is turning, it is the work of an instant to make a complete circle groove, and it would be hard to specifically stop at just half way. Then the potter applied glaze to the side that had the line. In other words, that became the front of the jar.

#### ■ The *Taishō Meikikan*'s Listing of a Work's Feature Aspects

We can't really know whether or not a *chaire* has this type of front view area or if the line goes only half way around the work without carefully examining the *chaire* itself. However, the *Taishō meikikan* properly records the description of the work in question, the impression it made on the recorder, which can be called a *taikenki* or *jikkenki*, literally record of experience or record of actual viewing. The massive amount of these comments and descriptions is one of the major features of the *Taishō meikikan*.

Glaze was poured over the *chaire* known as *Hatsuhana* from the top, and this feature caught the eye of the Japanese tea practitioner. The manner in which the glaze flowed down the work is one of the factors that resulted in the decision that "this is a superb *chaire*." Momoyama period records indicate that the number of flow lines was a factor in judging a *chaire*, with one line ideal, though two or three lines were also acceptable. The problem was that if there was only one flow line, it must not stop right at the bottom of the jar. That bottom of the jar section is called a *bontsuki*, literally where it touches the tray. There is a record that states, "It stopped at the *bontsuki*." Similarly, if the glaze flow breaks for a two- or three-millimeter break mid-flow, that is acceptable, but the jar would not be considered a *meibutsu*. This was the custom of the day. Naturally those whose glaze flow overran the bottom by three or so millimeters were similarly not *meibutsu* material. A *chaire* displayed in an exhibition at the Nezu Museum, Tokyo, had a glaze flow that needed just two or three more millimeters of flow to be ideal, so that at some point in the past a tea practitioner "touched up" the piece by adding a few millimeters of lacquer at that point. This was noted in an essay by the Nezu Museum. Such were the subtleties of these aesthetics.

When a potter removed a work from the potter's wheel after shaping it with a spatula, often the potter's fingerprints would remain. At the time these marks were called *tegata* and other such names, and these marks could have been made either when the unglazed pot was removed from the wheel or when the work was glazed. One of the characteristics of a *meibutsu* is that somewhere, somehow, there are traces of such finger marks. And I am sorry to be repetitive, but why such was essential is another question I cannot answer.

In the West as in Japan, the various parts of a ceramic work are named after the parts of the human body. There is the neck, the torso and other such terms. The neck is where the potter has raised the edge of the pot as the wheel turns to give an accent to the work, and in tea aesthetics, the sharper that neck curve, the better. This feature is known as the *hineri gaeshi* or twisted return. Another requirement for a *meibutsu* is a single line drawn around the neck beneath this turnback. As I mentioned previously, the first characteristic is the line right in the middle of the torso. Then there is the glaze flow that extends very close to the bottom of the jar. The tips of these glaze drips are called *tsuyusaki*, literally dew tips, as if dew has flowed down the side of the jar. The lower edges of the jar are known as *bontsuki*, literally touching the tray spot.

All manner of pot section terms, such as hip, torso, etc. appear in the object descriptions in the *Taishō meikikan*, so that even without photographs we can identify which work is which. Basically, the characteristics and feature elements have all been verbalized in this record.

Then another factor that is important, the clay must be visible somewhere on the work. The entire torso must not be covered in glaze, it is important that the clay be visible somewhere. When the glaze stops high on the sides of the jar, it is said that the hem is *hagitaka*, too high.

2) *Tea Bowl*, known as *Hatsuhana*, Tokugawa Memorial Foundation, Tokyo, *Taishō meikikan*, vol. 1, pp. 1–10.

This feature is not good. Similarly, if it covers the entire sides down to the baseline, then it is overwrapped and the *tsuchimise*, literally visible clay, is bad. The appropriate amount of such visible clay is from around 8 cm high on the jar, with the visible section extending to about 1 to 1.5 cm from the bottom edge, and it is also important that this clay can be seen all the way around the jar. Another important criterion is that the glaze on the upper half of the jar be made up of two pourings, one thinner glaze and one thicker glaze.

Based on the records of the time when the *Taishō meikikan* was published, I think that tea gatherings were actually workshops for the attending tea people to see utensils, or study groups, seminar-like gatherings. What we would today call salons, it seems that they enjoyed these gatherings, but when they went to these tea gatherings, they would probably note the features of the utensils they saw there, their previously mentioned features, their good points and their bad points.

I also think that they took their portable brush and ink sets with them when they attended these gatherings. They would sketch the *chaire* on a piece of the *kaishi* paper used in such events. They would make a life-size sketch while viewing the work, carry the sketch home, and since there were no photocopy machines at the time, rather than make a copy, they would simply cut out the sketch and attach it to their more formal records. Such cuttings were called *kirigata* (fig. 5), and they would paste the cutout into their tea diary. At a time when there were no photographs, they would make sketches of work, its particular form and the colors of its glaze, and then these images and notes were handed down as is in the form of the *Taishō meikikan*. The detailed records in this compendium are also confirmation of whether or not the works in question meet the previously mentioned various standards set for *chaire*. In order to study such things, I repeat, they went to tea gatherings, which were like seminars featuring actual utensils, which they could pick up and directly examine. To further explain the subtle differences, the *chaire* named *Hatsuhana* was the best surviving example of the desired shape. The *chaire* known as *Kitano katatsuki*<sup>3)</sup> (Mitsui Memorial Museum) fulfills the standard of only a single flow of glaze, but differs considerably from the other standards. Hence compared to *Hatsuhana* it is a slightly lower grade, but at the time it was very highly valued. The shape of the work is particularly good. *Kitano katatsuki* is 8.9 cm tall, and by checking various sources, this type of jar with full shoulders was known as *katatsuki*, and 8.9 cm was considered the best height for such jars. There are some that top 10 cm, with one in the Gotoh Museum more than 11 cm in height, but the people at the time considered this to be too large. The slightly smaller, 8.4 cm is just right. Thus *Hatsuhana*, which is a bit smaller and a bit wider in form, is less regarded in this manner than *Kitano katatsuki*. I always joke that if you had a jar with *Kitano katatsuki*'s shape and *Hatsuhana*'s glaze, it would be perfect.

But then if we look at the records of the time in *Taishō meikikan*, it seems that they thought that a work with a few demerits was a good

thing. This is a twist, that makes it hard to understand, but today we can say that the *Kitano katatsuki* jar has the best shape while the glaze on *Hatsuhana* is best.

### ■ Changing Meibutsu Standards

The number of tea practitioners increased during the Momoyama period, and then again, increased even further during the Edo period when the samurai class of the day studied the tea ceremony. This increased number of participants meant that there were not enough of the preferred form of utensils imported from China, known as *karamono*. This insufficiency then led people to use *chaire* made in Japan. These were known as Seto *chaire*. They became quite popular, and even today their selection criteria are based on those of Chinese wares known as *karamono*, but even so, new opinions about them arose. One way of enjoying tea utensils is to read a natural landscape or scene in their appearance and link that imagery to *waka* poetry. This process was the revolutionary development of an early Edo period tea master named Kobori Enshū.

There is a Seto *chaire* known as *Hirosawa*.<sup>4)</sup> This name is said to derive from a place name, but there is a moon like image in the design on the jar's torso. Since the motif looks like a moon, the jar was linked to the poem about the moon reflecting on Hirosawa Pond. When I ask if there are any questions when I presented this paper in overseas symposia, 80 percent of the questions are, "Professor Takeuchi, you say you see a moon there, but I don't see a moon."

Long ago when I was a professor at Tokyo University of the Arts, I started to show this *chaire* to students. I noticed an increasing number of students who don't see the moon on the jar. Is that because their way of looking has become somewhat more Western? Naturally, accidentally, the presence of some stones in that area of the clay or glaze, some flaw or chipping away became a moon, while the surrounding area looks like a cloudy sky. This was the reason for the jar's name, and while it is not the same as a photograph of the actual moon, you can see some resemblance. What is interesting to note is that Hirosawa Pond in Kyoto's Saga district (fig. 6) is nothing special during the day, but is quite impressive when the moon is reflected on its surface at night. From antiquity the moon at Hirosawa Pond had been often heralded in *waka* poetry. Thus, the Hirosawa name was because of this link with a moon-like image. In other words, through this naming the tea participants then can enjoy the *chaire* in the same manner they enjoy *waka* poetry.

I previously worked at the Eisei Bunko, Tokyo, a museum which has a *chaire* named *Shirifukura* previously owned by Sen no Rikyū.<sup>5)</sup> This name literally means broad buttocks. And yet, the line at the torso of the jar goes all the way around the jar. This means it fails the previously mentioned Momoyama period tea world standards. There are no records about the *shifuku* bag and other items that accompanied Rikyū's *chaire*, but by compiling various records we note that it was ok if the line was

3) *Tea Bowl*, known as *Kitano Katatsuki*, Mitsui Memorial Museum, Tokyo, *Taishō meikikan*, vol. 1, pp. 19–22.

4) *Chaire*, known as *Hirosawa*, Seto ware, Kitamura Museum, Kyoto, *Taishō*

*meikikan*, vol. 4 (part 2), pp. 101–106.

5) *Chaire*, known as *Shirifukura*, *karamono*, Southern Song Dynasty, 13th century, Eisei Bunko, Tokyo, *Taishō meikikan*, vol. 2, pp. 181–186.

not quite complete, or if it was just a bit too complete. In his later years Rikyū emphasized enjoying *chaire* that were all the simpler, all the less pretentious and casual. The objects that Rikyū espoused during that period would have been considered not good by Momoyama period tea people. The *meibutsuki* of the period, namely the *Yamanoue sōjiki*, which dates to the Momoyama period, was a *meibutsuki* which set very strict standards. However, it only included a very few works, about a tenth of those listed in the *Taishō meikikan*. According to the *Yamanoue sōjiki*, *chaire* like *Shirifukura* could “also be found on shelves in town,” indicating that they were common items, found anywhere and handled without particular care. Thus Yamanoue indicated that they were in ordinary people’s homes, they were used for everyday tea, and they were not *meibutsu*. And yet, it might just have been Rikyū’s own spirit that led to its selection.

The *shifuku* bags used for *Shirifukura* were made from fragments of cloth brought from China, dating from the Song to Ming dynasties. The flow of glaze seen on the base of the jar stops just at the *bontsuki* edge, as preferred. Therefore it was highly ranked, and since the line circling the entire torso didn’t meet the standard, it was only this glaze flow edge that met the standard. In terms of visible clay, we can probably say that maintaining this visible clay standard was considered to be important. The jar also shows fingerprints. All of these features are understood and experienced when you pick up this kind of tea utensil.

#### ■ *Shifuku* and Boxes—The Documentation Preserved with Tea Utensils

This photograph (fig. 7) was taken of a display at the Eisei Bunko. This tiny 7 cm tall *chaire* would have been put in this kind of box, and then in turn that box put finally into this larger box. Why so many boxes, we might ask, but these boxes actually are documents, carrying all manner of records of the past, indications of how the enclosed item was viewed. Since it was owned by Rikyū each succeeding owner’s records were included in these various boxes. Earlier reports today have indicated how hard it is to match extant works with records, but in the case of tea utensils, if you look at the boxes you can see how all of the records have been retained. The *meibutsuki* I mentioned previously and the tea diaries which tea practitioners wrote after their tea gatherings have been transcribed and typeset so that anyone can read them. By referring to these sorts of materials, we can extremely simply and enjoyably trace the paths taken by *chaire* and tea bowls. That is why the *Taishō meikikan* includes photographs of all of the works discussed.

#### ■ The Affection Seen in Naming and Handling of Works

To change the subject, I would now like to explain why naming a work is important. When an art transport truck brought artworks from the Tate Gallery, London, to my former workplace, the Tokyo University of the Arts, I went around the back of the truck and saw that it was named

“Kaiputsu-kun No. 2” (fig. 8). This was a case of someone naming something as high-tech as a truck! I thought this naming expressed the Japanese spirit behind the naming of *chaire*.

If we think about it, people’s names are also given to other high-tech products, such as Japanese word-processing software called Ichitaro and Hanako. When I ask my overseas art historian friends about such things, they laugh and say, how interesting, but somehow it is a special kind of phenomenon. I think this means that the spirit which names something, then takes it in hand and enjoys it still continues in Japanese culture.

One of the lectures often held at the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, is the “Touch it with your hands, Hold it in your hands” lecture. Culture that can be held in your hands is one of the topics of the educational lectures, but this absolutely does not mean that there is a way to hold an oil painting to appreciate it. Even so, they still give these lectures at the museum. Probably this comes from a sense of enjoying the feel of something, an experiential educational event where one makes something, forms it with one’s hands. *Chaire* and tea bowls are made by hand, and here I show you a picture of Living National Treasure potter Arakawa Toyozō (1894-1985) making a pot. The person who later picks up that work and drinks tea from it may then share the experience that the artist Arakawa Toyozō had in making it. In other words, share the experience of making an artwork. Or it could be a case of picking up the tea bowl and enjoying its finished form. I think that the *meibutsu* standards were set specifically because of this culture of holding art works in your hands.

To return to the question of naming a work. There is a National Treasure-designated tea bowl in Nagano prefecture, named *Fujisan*, which was made by Hon’ami Kōetsu (1558-1637).<sup>6)</sup> This extremely easy to understand name comes from the typical image of snow-topped Mt. Fuji rising above brown fields which readily conjures *waka* poetry. Then there is a Kōraijawan type tea bowl known as *Ogurayama*.<sup>7)</sup> The term *Ogurayama* is heralded in *waka* poetry as a famous site for autumn foliage. While debate continues on reason for this naming, the staining that appears here and there on the glaze of this bowl has been likened to autumn foliage, and hence the *Ogurayama* name. In terms of contemporary works, Koyama Fujio (1900-1975) named a work *Mori no saezuri* after his sense that the work evoked a feeling of bird calls in the woods. Thus, the traditions of the Japanese tea ceremony are continued even today.

#### ■ An Understanding of Momoyama Sentiments

Takahashi Yoshio, the compiler of the *Taishō meikikan* (fig. 9), was a Meiji businessman who self-funded the publication. Investigation reveals that four editions of the book were published. When the copyright elapsed, reproduction editions were also produced. The first edition consisted of 11 physical volumes, and it was Takahashi’s hope that it would aid both tea practitioners and scholars. The Tokyo National

6) National Treasure, *Tea Bowl*, known as *Fujisan*, White Raku ware, Hon’ami Kōetsu, Edo period, 17th century, Sunritz Hattori Museum of Arts, Nagano, *Taishō meikikan*, vol. 9, pp. 181–184.

7) *Tea Bowl*, known as *Ogurayama*, Kōraijawan, Seikadō Bunko Art Museum, Tokyo, *Taishō meikikan*, vol. 6, pp. 201–202.

8) *Chaire*, known as *Hino Katatsuki*, karamono, Hatakeyama Memorial Museum of Fine Art, Tokyo, *Taishō meikikan*, vol. 1, pp. 105–108.



Museum holds one set of the first edition. Another can be found in the library of the neighboring Tokyo University of the Arts. Takahashi also made social contributions. Many of his own sketches remain along with his study notes. This slide shows the records he wrote when he viewed the *chaire* known as *Hino katatsuki*<sup>8)</sup> (fig. 10) today in the Hatakeyama Memorial Museum of Fine Art, Tokyo. This is the record made by the *Taishō meikikan* compiler during the Taishō period, and thus there are some differences in the words he used vs. those in the Momoyama period. Nevertheless, he carried on the traditional tea ceremony views of the Momoyama period, such as noting the important point of how the glaze flowed on the work. He also mentioned that below the glaze flow there was visible clay, and the various other factors about the work, and then did not select the work, noting only that “this is good.” Thus even in the Taishō period, this is a good example of how Takahashi maintained the Momoyama period traditions.

I am now at the end of my talk, but before ending I would like to mention a book on Japanese pottery written in 1891 (Meiji 24) by the Englishman James Lord Bowes (1834–1899). His English book title *A Vindication of the Decorated Pottery of Japan* (fig. 11) was translated into Japanese as *Nihon sōshoku tōki ron*. Even though he had made a thorough study of Japanese tea utensils and had his own collection, he wrote that for whatever reason, he preferred the works that were prettily decorated with overglaze enamels. And yet, for the Japanese it was the previously mentioned *chaire* they preferred, unadorned, simply black. Similarly, they preferred black tea bowls. He wondered, why was that the case.

His conclusion was that this was probably the preference of the tea practitioner who chose the work, that person preferred simple, unpatterned works to those with more vivid designs. Actually, it is a bit different, as I noted before, they were selected on the basis of strict standards. And yet, he made that mistaken assertion, turning it around, and stating in his book that something is good because he liked it, and while I like this *chaire*, the things around me, my inkstand, my pipe, they are my *meibutsu*. This was a major mistake, and unfortunately in fact it was a case of strict standards.

To finish now, I would like to end with an important video which shows the *Hatsuhana chaire* from all sides. It is truly splendidly made, and while only 8 cm tall, it is extremely light, less than 100 grams in weight. Next time you see it in an exhibition, notice the bottom, and how the glaze flow has stopped near the bottom edge of the jar. Take this chance to use the Momoyama period way of looking at and enjoying this work.

I have diverged a bit from today’s archival topic, and have introduced various tea utensils and I greatly appreciate your attention during my talk. I would also like to thank the two interpreters for their work today.

Moderator: Thank you, Professor Takeuchi.

(Translated by Martha J. McClintock)

### 1) *Taishō Meikikan* Construct

– Takahashi Sōan (Yoshio), editor and author

The ultimate compilation of tea utensils (Chaire and tea bowls, including Tenmoku)

1921-1928

cf. Great Kanto Earthquake occurred in 1923

Takahashi Sōan 1861–1937, Keiō Gijuku, Jiji Shinpō, Mitsui Group, retired in 1911

Takahashi Baien (Tatsuo) 1868–1946 Shimane prefecture, taught in Keiō Gijuku preparator division, research on Matsudaira Fumai, *Chadō* (Tokyo, 1929)

– *Chaire*: 5 volumes in 7 physical volumes, Tea bowls: 4 volumes in 4 physical volumes for a total of 9 volumes in 11 physical volumes

*Karamono chaire*: 145, Japanese *chaire* 290

Each entry:

a) name, b) measurements, c) accompanying items (bags, boxes), d) bibliography/quote type miscellaneous notes, e) provenance, f) viewing notes

### 2) Three *Meibutsu* Categories

Tea utensil *meibutsu* can be divided into three types. The consistent editorial policy of the *Taishō meikikan* was to fit those three types to actual tea utensils. Takahashi Baien set this three type policy. *Taishō meikikan* editor Takahashi Sōan said that Baien was particularly detailed in his approach, “When examining a famous work, he was unstinting in his use of brush and paper, noting information on the actual object, its measurements, provenance and accoutrements. I am in Baien’s debt when I look at famous works, there is much I learned from him.” Baien wrote the following in his book *Chadō* (1929, Ōokayama Shoten) in the first chapter titled “Chaire”.

“Regarding *Meibutsu*—there are three types of *meibutsu*. Those from the Higashiyama period prior to Rikyū are designated *ōmeibutsu*, those from Rikyū’s era simply *meibutsu*, and those selected by Kōbori Enshū *chūkōmeibutsu*. Today the *meibutsu* and *chūkōmeibutsu* are grouped together so that there are two categories, *ōmeibutsu* and *meibutsu*.” (p. 172. The quote by Sōan is from this book’s preface.)

.... The published *chaire*, *tenmoku* and other forms of tea bowls were personally determined to be *chūkōmeibutsu*. In other words, the *Taishō meikikan* was the first to accord *chūkōmeibutsu* status to several works.

### 3) *Kansaku* and *Karamono*

The *Taishō meikikan* editorial policy was to the greatest degree possible a reproduction of Matsudaira Fumai’s *Kokon meibutsu ruijū*, and at the same time, was intended to supercede it.

The “Kaisetsu” section of explanations quoted the *Kokon meibutsu ruijū* for its explanation of the abbreviations *kansaku* (Chinese-made)

and *karamono* (Chinese object).

According to Fumai, *kansaku* referred to a *chaire* made by a Chinese potter, while *karamono* referred to those *chaire* made in Japan by the founding Seto potter Tōshirō, who traveled to China, learned pottery techniques there and brought Chinese clay and glaze back to Japan for such usage. Sōan questioned this categorization. His critique was that of those extant called *karamono*, they are clearly not by the hand of a single contemporary (Tōshirō). He said that *karamono* and *kansaku* were the same thing. However, even so, he did not change, indeed continued, the categories in the *Kokon meibutsu ruijū*, specifically “when *kansaku* or *karamono* are mentioned in old tea writings, the people who distinguish between them are recorded here as is, in order to honor the opinions of the ancients.” The *chaire* names noted here are copied verbatim from their ancient form, and thus unfortunately did not convey Sōan’s revolutionary “impossible to have two types” or “denial of Fumai’s categorization.”

Sōan also thought this way about *chaire* production sites. He queried whether Tōshirō had primarily studied pottery in Fujian province. Sōan agreed with Fumai, and while he hated over focusing on the Tōshirō legend, this thinking was the earliest research on surmising the production site of *kansaku chaire*.

### 3) Expressed in Words

“Regarding the shape, glaze character and other factors of *karamono chaire*, the descriptive characters used in tea writings depended on the writer and the period, they were not necessarily the same. And we must not exclude the idea that the same word did not mean the same thing to different people .... I want you to get a general grasp of a *chaire*’s characteristics from the images published in these viewing records.”

Thus, the descriptive lettering, names, are used on the side views of *chaire* ....

The *Taishō meikikan* invented terms for describing a work’s construct and we can name three of these newly coined terms that influenced later generations. The rise of the mouth is *koshiki*. The point of contact with the shoulder is referred to as *koshikiwiwa*. These terms did not exist in the Momoyama period. Momoyama period viewing records call the lower section of the mouth overall the *hineri gaeshi*, and in the case where there is no *hineri gaeshi*, those *chaire* with straight line mouths are called *kuchi tachinobi*. The *hineri gaeshi* notation also appears in Sōan’s illustrations, but it is limited to just the top edge turn back, the so-called *tamabuchi*.

Another important invented term is the name for the single grooved line that circles the center of the torso. This is (2) the *dōsuji* or *himo*. In the Momoyama period it was simply called *suji*. Further, the illustration of the *chaire* itself is called (3) *okigata*, yet another invented term. In the Momoyama period this was called *kirigata*, or simply, *nari*.

(Translated by Martha J. McClintock)



fig. 1 Takahashi Yoshio, *Taishō Meikikan*, 1921–1927 (entries for 145 *karamono* (Chinese objects) and 290 *wamono* (Japanese objects))

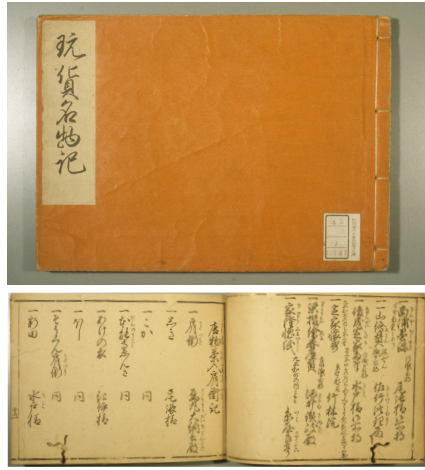


fig. 2 *Ganka Meibutsuki*, 1660 (entries for 121 *karamono* (Chinese objects) and 11 *wamono* (Japanese objects))

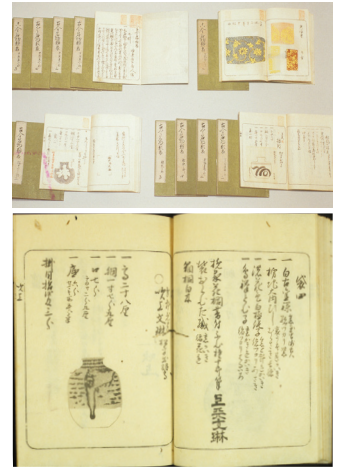


fig. 3 *Kokon Meibutsu Ruijū*, 1789–1797 (entries for 120 *karamono* (Chinese objects) and 232 *wamono* (Japanese objects))



fig. 4 A tea bowl box inscription and the transcription of the inscription as reproduced in *Taishō Meikikan*

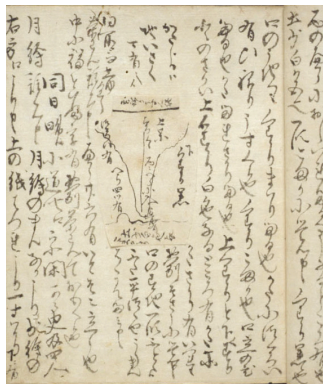


fig. 5 *Kirigata* (paper cuttings) of a tea container in the tea diary, *Ten'nōjiya Kaiki*, tea event held on the 17th day of the 2nd month of Eiroku 10 (1567)

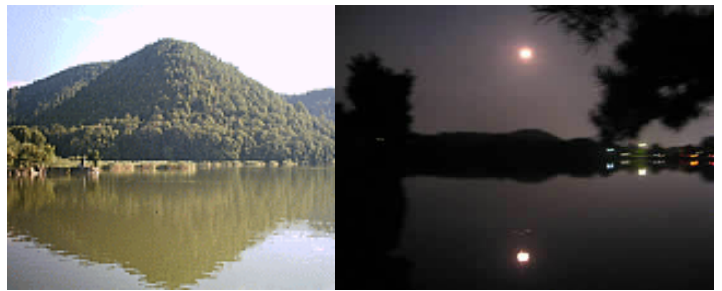


fig. 6 Hiroosawa Pond in Kyoto's Saga district



fig. 7 A display of the tea container named *Shirifukura* and its boxes at the Eisei Bunko



fig. 8 The truck's name "Kaibutsu-kun No. 2" stenciled on an art transport truck



fig. 9 Takahashi Yoshio (Sōan)



fig. 10 Takahashi Yoshio's notes on his observation of the tea container known as *Hino Katatsuki* (Hatakeyama Memorial Museum of Fine Art)

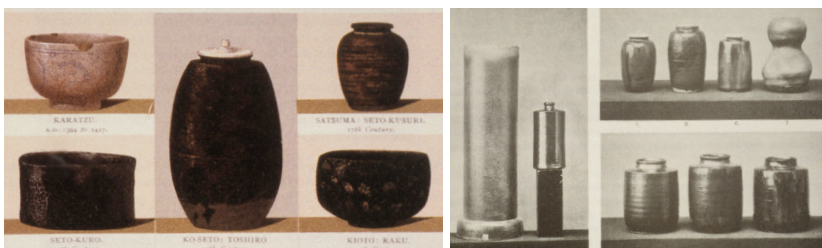


fig. 11 *A Vindication of the Decorated Pottery of Japan* by James Lord Bowes



## Closing Remarks

Hello again, everyone. Jingaoka Megumi has kindly invited me to give today's closing remarks, and I am grateful to her and to her colleagues at the National Museum of Western Art for making this symposium possible. I'd especially like to thank the museum's director, Mabuchi Akiko, for enthusiastically supporting today's programming and promoting this important international collaboration.

I am extremely impressed with the presentations that we have heard today, which demonstrate the great cultural utility of catalogue raisonnés and archives. As it was beautifully presented by our speakers, we have much to benefit from the efforts to document, preserve and share information about the important objects that shape our cultural histories. Today's talks emphasized that these are indeed international concerns, and that we are not working in isolation from one another. We are all working together.

Also, I think we can agree that all works of art—from paintings to manuscripts to precious tea ceremony utensils—are objects that define who we are as individuals and as communities. These objects are significant not only to their current owners, but also to anyone who can learn from and be inspired by their beauty and significance. As a Westerner, I have much to learn about the history of Asian Art and culture. And I am thrilled to be living in an era when this information can be accessed by me, and even by my young children, on a computer in my own

home. Geographic distances are increasingly becoming irrelevant, and rarefied cultural documentation, once the exclusive domain of scholars with the means to access it, is increasingly available to anyone who is interested. Such a thing would have been inconceivable only a decade ago just imagine what we will be able to do a decade from now. All of us here today are custodians of cultural information, and our efforts to safeguard this knowledge is our gift to the future. While it may seem that catalogue raisonnés or dusty, old archives solely concern on the accomplishments of the past, these compendiums are, in fact, encouraging cultural progress far into the future. The information that they hold will shape artistic output and intellectual thought in ways which we cannot anticipate. Ours is the work of both preservation and germination. We are planting the seeds for the future. Around the world scholars are striving for this same goal, and we must encourage and support one another to continue this important work.

Thank you all so much for your participation and attention today. I hope you enjoy the rest of your evening.

**Elizabeth GORAYEB**

*Executive Director of Wildenstein Plattner Institute*



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#### Paul-Louis DURAND-RUEL

ポール＝ルイ・デュラン＝リュエル

Paul-Louis Durand-Ruel, arrière-petit-fils de Paul Durand-Ruel, après une carrière dans la finance, a pris en 1999 la direction des Archives Durand-Ruel, amassées par quatre générations de marchands de tableau et disposant de ressources uniques sur l'histoire de l'Impressionnisme.

L'objet est de pouvoir répondre à toutes les questions posées par les professionnels et les amateurs d'art. En 2014, avec sa nièce Flavie Durand-Ruel, il a publié une édition critique des “Mémoires du Marchand des Impressionnistes, Paul Durand-Ruel” (Flammarion éditeur).

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馬渕明子

国立西洋美術館長 (Director, National Museum of Western Art)。東京大学大学院人文科学研究科修士課程修了後、パリ第四大学大学院博士課程で学ぶ。専門は西洋近代美術史。東京大学助手、国立西洋美術館主任研究官、日本女子大学人間社会学部教授等を経て2013年より現職。主

著に『美のヤヌス－テオフィール・トレと19世紀美術批評』(スカイドア 1992年)、『ジャポニスム－幻想の日本』(ブリュッケ 1997年)、『舞台の上のジャポニスム－演じられた幻想の〈日本女性〉』(NHK 出版 2017年)。講演、展覧会監修にも多く携わっている。

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## Pascal PERRIN

パスカル・ペラン

Head of Research, Wildenstein Plattner Institute. Après des études en Arts appliqués et histoire de l'art, Pascal Perrin intègre le Wildenstein Institute, Paris en 1997 pour prendre en charge le comité Maurice de Vlaminck. Chargé de recherche sur la préparation du Catalogue Critique Maurice de Vlaminck, il se voit également confier en 2000 les dossiers et les archives du catalogue Pierre-Auguste Renoir ainsi que l'organisation

du comité créé en 2003. Il participe également à partir de 2012 au projet du catalogue Claude Monet. Pascal Perrin rejoint le Wildenstein Plattner Institute en 2017 en tant que Head of Research et travaille à harmoniser les protocoles de recherches des comités et de la mise à jour des catalogues déjà publiés en vue des futures publications en ligne.

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## Sophie PIETRI

ソフィ・ピエトリ

Head of Archives, Wildenstein Plattner Institute France. Entrée, en 1989, au Wildenstein Institute, Paris, Sophie Pietri a d'abord apporté son concours à la seconde édition du catalogue raisonné Gustave Caillebotte (Marie Berhaut, *Gustave Caillebotte. Catalogue raisonné des peintures et pastels*, Paris, Wildenstein Institute, 1994). Occupant par la suite, au sein du Wildenstein Institute, le poste de bibliothécaire (1996), elle a

eu également la charge de mettre à jour les dossiers d'oeuvre des deux artistes suivants : Berthe Morisot et Edouard Manet. Depuis mai 2017, elle a rejoint le Wildenstein Plattner Institute, Paris et travaille à la mise en ligne sur le site du WPI de différents fonds d'archives (Gachet, Vollard, Druet...).

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## Florence SONIER

フロランス・ソニエ

Head of Paris Office, Wildenstein Plattner Institute. Florence has been working in the Fine Art field for more than 20 years. She started her career within the Old Master department at Sotheby's London as a researcher. She then joined the Lefevre Gallery as a research associate in London before integrating the Impressionist and Modern Art department

at Sotheby's Paris where she was responsible for managing the global authentication process for the Impressionist and Modern Art department. Since June 2017, she manages a team of art historians at the Paris based office of the Wildenstein Plattner Institute.

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## TAKEUCHI Jun'ichi

竹内順一

東京藝術大学名誉教授／茶道美術史家 (Emeritus Professor, Tokyo University of the Arts / Tea Ceremony Historian)。専門は茶道美術史、陶磁史。五島美術館学芸部長、東京藝術大学大学美術館館長、茨城県陶芸美術館館長、松本市美術館館長、永青文庫館長を歴任。著書に『織部 (日本陶磁全集 第16巻)』(中央公論社 1976年)、『Lords of the

Samurai: Legacy of a Daimyo Family』(共著 Asian Art Museum, San Francisco 2009年)『山上宗二記』(淡交社 2018年)、論文に「名物記の生成構造——実見と編集のはざま」(『茶の古典 (茶道学大系 第10巻)』淡交社 2001年) などがある。

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## YAMANASHI Emiko

山梨絵美子

独立行政法人国立文化財機構・東京文化財研究所副所長 (Deputy Director General, Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties)。専門：日本近代美術史。主な著書：『高橋由一と明治前期の洋画』(至文堂 1995年)『黒田清輝「智・感・情」』(中央公論美術出版 2002年)、『生誕

150年黒田清輝展』図録 (東京国立博物館 2016年)、『日本近現代美術史事典』(共著、東京書籍 2007年)『美術の国の自由市民 矢代幸雄・バーナード・ベレンソン往復書簡』(共著、玉川大学出版部 2019年) ほか。