This paper presents a summary of the results of the last few years of our on-going research in Italy on the important and unnoticed photographic albums created by Adolfo Farsari. Since the research is still being undertaken, I particularly focus here on a few issues that I believe will become topics of particular study in Yokohama Photography in the near future. \(^1\) In 2003 and 2004, I was asked to examine a few albums of Japanese photography and other 19\(^{th}\) century Japanese related materials in the Civic Museum of Vicenza in the Chiericati Palace, the Civic Bertoliana Library and the Female Convent of Dorotea, all located in the same town. A preliminary survey was carried out September 2003 and we confirmed that all the materials examined were originally in the possession of Adolfo Farsari (1841-1898) and his family who resided in Vicenza, Lombardy-Venetia. As a result of the 2003-4 findings, we have since undertaken a collaborative survey with colleagues from Tokyo University, Professor Naoyuki Kinoshita, Professor Kazuaki Ura and Dr. Isao Fukushima during the years 2005-07 with a grant-in-aid from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science. \(^2\)

Firstly, I briefly reexamine the current position of the study of Yokohama Photography. The so-called ‘Yokohama Shashin’, born in and near to the foreigners’ quarters of Yokohama at the end of the Edo and early in the Meiji period, owes its florescence to the activities of two main groups who in part competed with each other, namely Felice Beato (c.1833-c.1907), Baron Raimund von Stillfried (1839-1911) and Adolfo Farsari on the one hand, and Renjo Shimooka (1823-1914) and his followers, Kinbei Kusakabe (1841-1934), a disciple of Beato, and Kozaburo Tamamura (1856-1923?), Farsari’s partner and later his rival on the other. \(^3\)

In 1987, Mr. Takio Saito published his work on the Corpus of Japanese Photographs of Felice Beato in the End of Edo Period, and greatly contributed to defining Beato as a person and his work as a photographer. Professor Luke Gartlan has moved forward the study of Stillfried. \(^4\) In 2004, Mr. Saito published a book, which revealed an even clearer picture of the history of photography in Yokohama from the end of the Edo to the early Meiji period. \(^5\) As the scope of this research lies entirely outside my field of specialty, I focus here on four photographic albums, all with fixed provenances, associated documents and materials kept in Italian institutions, with a particular reference to a few newspaper articles that appeared in the Japan Mail, the Japan Weekly Mail and so forth, published in the 1880’s.

The library of the Istituto Geografico Militare, or the Military Geographic Institute in Florence that belongs to the Italian Ministry of Defense, possesses an album containing fifty photographs of Japanese views and costumes, donated by Eduardo Giglioli, son of Enrico or Henry Hillyer Giglioli (1845-1909) in the 1950’s. Henry Giglioli boarded a steam-corvette ship named the Magenta belonging to the newly created Kingdom of Italy to undertake a journey around the world as a member of a scientific mission, which included Senator Professor Filippo De Filippi, his teacher. The Magenta arrived at Shimoda on 4 July 1866, and later entered the port of Yokohama to initiate negotiations with the Tokugawa Bakufu for a treaty of friendship and commerce. The Italian ship left Yokohama harbour for China on 1 September 1866.

While at port, Henry Giglioli and his teacher Filippo De Filippi often left the ship to visit Shimoda, Yokohama, Kamakura, Enoshima and Edo in order to catch a glimpse of the life, customs and costumes of the Japanese people. They also acquired many objects relevant for their future studies of ethnology and anthropology, particularly visiting the Curio Street and Ota-machi in Yokohama. In his book Viaggio intorno al globo della Regina pirocorvetta Magenta, which appeared in Milan in 1875, Giglioli wrote that he purchased beautiful photographs of the views and costumes of Japan in the shop of Renjo in Ota-machi, Yokohama. \(^6\)

Colonel Giovanni Orrù, Director of the Institute in Florence, kindly afforded me the opportunity to examine the Japanese photographic album in his collection from the family Giglioli. Was this the very one that Henry
Giglioli bought at Renjo’s shop? Or could it be an album made by Beato, as many of the photographs can be identified with his other authentic works? And yet, some of the photographs are intriguingly out of focus. The Institute does not possess transparencies of this album. But reproductions have been published in a catalogue from their 1985 exhibition on the journey around the world undertaken by the ship *Magenta*, based on documents kept in the Florentine Institute. The album is composed of fifty photographs with explanation-sheets in English attached on the opposite page of their related photograph. In a few cases the explanations do not describe the photograph on the opposite page.

The photograph entitled *Teramachi* [fig. 1] is almost identical to an authentic one by Beato but slightly blurred. The *teahouse* [fig. 2] is also not clearly in focus either, when compared with an image in the album of color-painted photographs of views and costumes with the Farsari Company’s trademark, housed in the Yokohama Archives of History. Regardless, this album should be subject to future careful examination. We are presently able, however, to put forward two points that require scholarly attention in the near future. Firstly, Renjo most likely ran his shop in Ota-machi as early as 1866. Secondly, the explanation sheets in English might have already been fixed into the Beato album in 1866.

To return to the examination of Adolfo Farsari’s Japanese photographs, as Mr. Takio Saito has also confirmed, the rediscovery of Farsari’s Japanese photography was due to the efforts of Miss Elena Dal Pra of Vicenza. Adolfo Farsari’s house was inherited by his younger sister, Emma Garbinati Farsari [fig. 3]. As she had no offspring, she in turn left the house to Elena’s paternal grandmother. Immediately before the house was put up for sale, Elena’s mother, then engaged to her father, discovered piles of Adolfo’s letters addressed to his parents and Emma with photographs in the attic of the house. In the 1990’s, two articles derived from her Bachelor’s thesis and two other articles by Lia Beretta brought to light the career of Adolfo [fig. 4] and his activities in Yokohama. In addition, and of similar importance are a few letters from our photographer transcribed by Elena as well as a list of 255 books and journals originally in his possession in Yokohama, and published in the catalogue of the exhibition held at the Civic Bertoliana Library. The Library, in fact, also houses an album of Adolfo Farsari as well as books from Adolfo’s library.

We began our survey in Italy with the mission of identifying authentic photographs or albums of photographs by Adolfo Farsari. The testament by Adolfo I
recently published in the Journal of our Institute of History of Art (Bijutsushi-Ronso, No.23, 2007) is reproduced in fig. 7. On 12 April 1890, he boarded the ship, the Congo, with his young daughter named Kiku born in 1885 with his Japanese partner, in order to return temporarily to his parents’ house in the periphery of Vicenza. In spite of his desire to return to Yokohama, his ill health kept him from doing so, and he was to die on 7 February 1898 in his hometown. As the register of the buried for the year 1898 testifies, he sleeps in the public graveyard of the town, at a corner of the cappelletta 74 where his sister Emma and her husband, and their friend Vittoria Porta, the lawyer who executed Emma’s bequest were also buried [figs. 5 and 6]. On 22 March 1895, Farsari compiled his last will and testament in the presence of the Judge and lawyer Giovanni Comencini and the Notary Dr. Giuseppe Fabris. In his will [fig. 7] he declared: ‘I bequeath what I have now, or what I will be able to earn in future to Rosina Farsari called also Kiku Nakaijma [sic] who now lives in the Farina College, or in that of the Female Convent of Dorotea; and I nominate as executors of this my last will my friends Giovanni Cristofferi and Giacomo Lorenzoni to whom I bequeath, as well as to my sister, anything they want to take as my memory.’

This testament confirmed with certainty that all of the property Adolf acquired and brought back with him to Vicenza was inherited by Kiku, his daughter, while his sister and his two friends could choose what they wanted from his estate. Emma received all the letters Adolf had written to his family and an album of photographs he sent to them from Yokohama. I later refer below to this album.

According to the Vicenza Town Hall Bulletin, 255 books listed in the catalogue of 2005 are registered in the list of works acquired by or donated to the Bertoliana Library in 1898, the very year of Adolfo’s death. Although no document is preserved listing seller or donor, the books most likely belonged to Adolfo’s personal library. His letter of 16 August 1889 to Emma assures her that although he had a good library before a fire broke out in February 1886, he still has some books of excellent quality, as well as many magazines, many of them are scientific. His letter of February 1889 reveals that: ‘Everything they [i.e. painters and printers] know has been taught by me. The printers have also been trained by me. And where have I learned all this? All by myself, even the photography. I have had no real teachers. I have learned everything from books. I bought all the necessary equipment and with no help from anyone, I printed, took photographs, etc. Then I taught others.’ Confirming his statement, in fact, are the many books from Farsari’s library of the Civic Bertoliana Library, including books on the theory and practice of photography, or some chemical issues related to the techniques of photography and painting.

In his letter of 17 January 1888 to his parents, after telling them that he was working as a photographer or a painter, he closes by stating that: ‘I will send you an album as a sample of those I am producing here, as soon as I receive your address.’ And in his letter of September 1888, he declares: ‘I can finally send you the album I promised you. I would have wanted it to be a special one. But I realized I did not have enough time to do so. This album is similar to all those I make for sale. Only the frontispiece is slightly different. That is all. In addition to a photograph of my studio which is bound into the album.’

The frontispiece of the album in the Civic Museum of Vicenza was not only sporting a handwritten title but also boasts of paintings in the margins of beautiful Japanese flowers [fig. 8]. The album is bound in black lacquered wood with maki-e painting and mother of pearl work on both the front and back covers [figs. 9 and 10]. The handwritten title in gold can be translated as ‘The views and costumes of Japan; the author sends this to his family’. No doubt, this is the very album that Adolfo Farsari mentions in his letter to his family. Certainly, this is the same album our photographer sent to his family in 1888 from Yokohama, because the first photograph, with a red-ink
signature ‘Adolfo Farsari’ on the right-hand margin, shows Farsari’s studio or bureau as stated in the above-mentioned letter [fig. 11].

On the rear wall behind the desk where our photographer is seated hang a colour chart and sample patches. One of the pictures on the wall is most likely a certificate which reads ‘Scottish Imperial Insurance Company’ [fig. 12]. On the wall above the mantelpiece is hung a portrait of Italian King, Vittorio Emanuel II [fig. 13]. On the mantelpiece is a long extended panorama photograph of Nara’s famous pond, Sarurawa, in front of which are placed two portrait photographs of a man and a woman respectively. The woman appears to be Emma, or perhaps her mother, but it is difficult to identify with certainty. On the wall to the right of the portrait of the King hangs a photograph of a woman with an illegible inscription, although it may be a portrait of the young Emma. Seven albums bound with a normal cloth cover appear to be scattered on the table covered with fabric.

Regarding the photograph of his premises in Yokohama, we can ascertain from his letter of 24 June 1889 to Emma that she asked him in her reply whether he was going bald on the top of his head. To her question he replied with no small bit of pride: ‘My hair is not so white, either so thin as you see in my photograph. The reason why it appears so is due to solarisation, or to what always happens to objects located near to the window side. I could have adjusted it. But I did not take it into consideration because I took the photograph in the course of my ongoing experiments. When it turned out to be successful and I could take a good photograph, I presented a copy of it to everyone in Yokohama.’

According to a brief article in the Japan Weekly Mail dated 21 July 1888, the night scene in a photograph which depicts fifteen figures including five children gazing at the moment when a sky-rocket has been set off, was displayed in the Saloon of A. Farsari & Company. It is said to have been an interesting example of instantaneous photography taken by magnesium light. This might also be a result of one of his experiments.

The other 45 photographs in the album, except for four including the frontispiece and that of the Adolfo’s premises, are all similar as those bound into the album with the title ‘VIEWS & COSTUME OF JAPAN, A. FARSARI & Co., YOKOHAMA’ (Inv. AC1-144) housed in the Yokohama Archives of History, but they are by far more beautiful and better conserved in Italy. Most of the photographs of the Yokohama Archives of History have their own number and title on the lower corner, right or left, of the sheet [fig. 14], while every photograph of Vicenza...
has the part designed to hold the number and title trimmed off [fig. 15]. Two thin sheets of woodblock prints of ‘A girl playing the koto’ and ‘the ink painting of Bamboo’ respectively have the printed trademark of A. FARSARI & Co., PHOTOGRAPHERS, PAINTERS, SURVEYORS, PUBLISHERS & COMMISION AGENTS. No.16 Bund, Yokohama, Japan [figs. 16 and 17]. These printed sheets are found in one of the four ‘Farsari’s albums’ housed in the Waseda University Library, as well as in an album in Nagasaki University Library.

On the other hand, the album in the Civic Bertoliana Library seems to have been rebound before its entering the library collection, most likely in Italy, because of a spelling error found in the title ‘Fotografie Giaponesi’ and the notably careless layout of photographs attached to every sheet. We were not permitted photograph or reproduce all of the photographs in the album by the Director of the Library. We were able, however, to reproduce a few photographs exclusively related to Adolfo’s private scenes. Luckily these photographs have the highest documentary value.

I describe and illustrate a few of the letters and photographs below. Adolfo’s letter of February 1889 to Emma records: ‘As you can see from the enclosed page of the “Japan Directory” I have a very large staff – 31 artists, printers and so on, and then, two man-servants and a cook.’ In addition, he employed his trustworthy manager, whom he had known for about 15 years. In the black and white photograph illustrated in fig. 18, twenty-three men are shown, of whom two are in European suits with the others in Japanese kimono. In fact, this statement can be confirmed by the above-mentioned page in the Japan Directory. Undoubtedly, this picture depicts the Farsari’s Company itself. Other pictures show Adolfo himself surrounded by his mistress and girl prostitutes in the garden of the Jinpuro brothel [fig. 19], and one of his favorite girls in the house respectively [fig. 20]. The last two photographs are fascinating pictures of a game of live chess [figs. 21 and 22]. Adolfo most likely performed the chess match with live chessmen analogous to that carried out annually, still to the present, in a small town called Marostica near Vicenza.

The last picture, no doubt, reveals a group of people aboard a ship named the Congo, when Farsari was returning to Italy with his daughter Kiku [fig. 23]. To our left, we can recognise Farsari and a Japanese woman in a kimono probably a nanny for Kiku, usually called an Ama-san in Yamate of Yokohama, and in the center of the
picture the little girl that is most likely Kiku. The features of the girl resemble those of Kiku in the picture taken later in Vicenza on 4 October 1890, after entering the College of the Female Convent of Dorotea [fig. 24].

My friend Mrs. Chiara Rigoni, an inspector of the Soprintendenza of Historical, Artistic, and Ethnographical Properties in the Veneto Region informed me of the existence of Kiku’s bequest, and according to the report of Sister Irene de Bartoli, it is made up of eleven items. In September 2006, we conducted a survey of this material on Rigoni’s strong recommendation and Sister Irene’s kind understanding. I have already made a report on our findings in our Institute Journal for 2007. Please allow me to repeat myself in part below.

Interestingly enough, five wood-cases of negative glass-plates and painted pictures of postcard size testify to the strong desire of our photographer to return to Yokohama in order to develop a new commercial venture of photographs of European cities [figs. 25 and 26]. The album in a cloth case is composed of 23 photographs of views, architecture and costumes of Japan [fig. 27]. They are beautiful and in a good state of conservation that is equivalent to those items in the Civic Museum. On 8 September 1888, page 226 of the Japan Weekly Mail reads: ‘It is a pretty idea to put together a photographic album showing the four seasons of the year as they present themselves to Japanese ideas – cherry blossoms, iris ponds, groves of flaming maple, and freshly fallen snow. This is one of Mr. Farsari’s happy inspirations’. The album in Kiku’s bequest contains photographs of the seasons [fig. 28, fig. 29, fig. 30 and fig. 31]. The one of Iris, Summer [see fig. 29] in particular, captures Adolfo and some of his men from the company. We also know that the same picture is bound into an album of Nagasaki University Library.

A gold ring whose jewel has been lost sports the inscription in Latin, which reads as *Ortus Junxit mors non separabit. 19° Februarii 1882* [fig. 32]. It can be translated as ‘Birth has joined, death will never separate. 19 February 1882.’ To my knowledge, a similar phrase in Latin or in Italian literature has not yet been located. Adolfo Farsari, as a cultivated reader of books, might have known of the
legend of the red thread in Japan, that is, the invisible thread with which a man and a woman destined to be married in future have been joined to each other by their little fingers since the moment of their birth. No doubt, this ring commemorated the illegitimate marriage vows exchanged between him and his Japanese concubine who later became Kiku’s mother.

Finally, I would like to mention that there is a high probability that the family name of Kiku’s mother was not ‘Nagashima’ as Elena Dal Pra believes, but ‘Nakajima’. While the letter from the Royal Embassy of Italy in Tokyo sent to the Director of the female convent recorded her mother’s name as Hama Nagashima, the register of girls for the female convent recorded her name as Kiku Nakajima. In the above-mentioned testament by Adolfo [see fig. 7] she appears as ‘Kiku Nakajima’ most likely with a spelling error made by the person who copied the original, because he became accustomed to writing Italian words which have the spellings ‘ij’ instead of ‘ji’ like Nakajima. Regardless, it is unlikely that Adolfo remembered incorrectly the family name of his beloved.

Sister Irene de Bartoli showed us a booklet of twelve sheets (missing one sheet) depicting beautiful girls in the twelve months, entitled the list of modern beauty painted by Shunko Nakajima [figs. 33 and 34]. This booklet was printed by an Osaka firm, Tunesaburo Aoki, or rather by the printshop Aoki Kozando on 10 November 1895, five years after Adolf and Kiku left for Vicenza. The painter’s family name is the same as that of Kiku’s mother. This fact can lead us to conjecture that the painter Shunko Nakajima might have been the father of Kiku’s mother and the grandfather of Kiku. Regardless, his career remains to be researched [figs. 35 and 36].

In conclusion, I would like to address particular challenges for future research. Adolfo wrote to Emma that he devoted himself to reading books in his library when he was out of job. It is true that he had a few friends in Yokohama. One of them was Carlo Giussani, a broker of raw silk. It is known that his collection of Japanese art was donated to the Ambrosiana Library in 1908. Many of the Yokohama Photographs that he brought to Italy when he returned to Milan were bequeathed to the Civiche Raccolte d’arte Applicata ed Incisioni in Milan, which has become a part of the Raccolta delle Stampe ‘Achille Bertarelli’, or the ‘Achille Bertarelli’ Collection of Prints. But these photographs have not yet been fully studied and catalogued. The portrait of Ulrico Tesceetto taken at Farsari’s Company was presented to his friend Carlo Giussani when the latter
returned home, as can be seen by the hand-writing on the photograph [fig. 37]: ‘All’egregio amico Carlo Giussani l’amico Ulrico Tescetto, 15 aprile/91’. A photograph of the ‘Achille Bertarelli’ Collection is of Shinobazu Pond of Ueno, as may be confirmed by the hand-writing ‘UYENO. 82’ on the lower right corner [fig. 38]. The same photograph bound into the album by Stillfried at Nagasaki University Library has the same caption and number. By contrast, the photograph in the album with the title ‘Japan’ produced by A. Farsari & Co. in the Waseda University Library shows the title and a different number both turned inside out by the typewriter [fig. 39]. In both cases the photograph is the same. This induces me to conjecture that a new title and a new number might have been given to a photograph every time a printing was made from the negative glass-plate, or more probably, every time the negative plate passed to a new owner.

At the same time as this survey, we are also conducting an investigation into the relationship between Farsari’s Company and a visit to Japan in 1889 by the Count of Bardi, Enrico of Borbone and his party. Adolfo mentions their visit and acquisition of many photographs at his shop in his long letter of 24 June 1889 to Emma.16 In fact, the Count Alessandro Zileri dal Verme, a secretary of the party, kept an unedited diary of their round-the-world tour, composed of 15 booklets with some hand-illustrations and attached photographs. The labor of transcription and translation into Japanese of part of the diary regarding their stay of 8 months in Japan is being undertaken by the Director Fiorella Spadavecchia of the National Museum of Oriental Art in Venice and by my colleague Kazuaki Ura respectively. According to the diary, Enrico (Henry)
of Adolfo Farsari, and also from Kozaburo Tamamura, a certain person called Walsh, and a certain person called Deaken. As has been seen from my presentation, we are continuing with our survey and hope to have more to speak with you about in the near future.

Notes

1 Although I am a specialist in Italian 14th-16th century painting, Professor Junichi Himeno kindly offered me the opportunity to present this paper as the result of an earlier request from two Italian colleagues, Professor Sergio Marinelli (University Ca’ Foscari, Venice), Mrs. Chiara Rigoni (the Soprintendenza of Historical, Artistic, and Ethno-anthropological Properties in the Veneto Region).


3 L. Gartlan, ‘A chronology of Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz (1839-1911)’, in J. Clark, Japanese Exchanges in Art, 1850s to 1930s, with Britain, continental Europe, and the USA, Sydney, Tuttle, 2006, p.303 note 103. For such information I am deeply indebted to Terry Bennett himself.


5 Enrico Hillyer Goglioli, Viaggio intorno al globo della Regina pirocortevetta Magenta, Milano, 1875, p. 381.


8 Un vicentino nel Giappone dell’Ottocento. Adolfo farsari fotografo tra ideali e imprenditoria, Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana, Vicenza 2005, pp.35-41. Most of the letters by Adolfo Farsari in possession of the Dal Pra family were transcribed and published in this catalogue by Elena Dal Pra.

9 The letter of Adolfo Farsari dated 16 August 1889, in Un vicentino nel Giappone dell’Ottocento, cit., p.31.

10 The letter of Adolfo Farsari dated February 1889, in Un vicentino nel Giappone dell’Ottocento, cit., p.20.

11 The letter of Adolfo Farsari dated 17 January 1888, in Un vicentino nel Giappone dell’Ottocento, cit., p.18.


14 The letter of Adolfo Farsari dated February 1889, in Un vicentino nel Giappone dell’Ottocento, cit., p.19.

15 As for Shunko Nakajima, we can confirm that he was also called Nobuyoshi Nakajima because we can read “Nobuyoshi” in his seal borne on every print of modern beauty painted by Shunko Nakajima. Moreover, we propose that he might be identifiable with the author Koyokuna Shunko of Somoku Ikken Ronsou Shitate Hiketsu, published by Hakubundo, in 1902. The coloured illustration of the book seems to me to show a painterly style similar to that of the above-mentioned print by our painter. To my knowledge, he was involved in a wide range of activities from publishing various guide books to the imported arts such as those of European gardening and planting. His biographical information, however, still remains confused, and needs a further study.

16 The letter of Adolfo Farsari dated 24 June 1889, in Un vicentino nel Giappone dell’Ottocento, cit., pp.24-25.

17 As for this “certain Walsh”, Professor Luke Gartlan kindly suggested that he might be identifiable with David Welsh, a photographer who lived near to the Yokohama Grand Hotel at that time. According to Terry Bennett’s study, Japan Punch, October 1884, carried a cartoon about the studio advertisement of the Japan Photographic Association, alias the Stillfried and Anderson Co., which pictures David Welsh as the central character. The February 1885 edition of the same Journal also included a related cartoon suggestive of Farsari’s having only just taken over the studio of the Stillfried and Anderson Co. Also see: Terry Bennett, Photography In Japan 1853-1912, Singapore, Tuttle, 2006, p.303 note 103.

Photo Reference

Figs.1-2, reproduced from F. Ammannati e S. Calzolari, Un viaggio ai confini del mondo 1865-1866. La crociera della pirocortevetta Magenta dai documenti dell’Istituto Geografico Militare, Firenze 1985; fig.3, Courtesy of Elena Dal Pra; figs.8-13,15-17 Per gentile concessione del Comune di Vicenza, Pinacoteca Civica di Palazzo Chiericati, proprietaria dell’album; figs.18-23, Courtesy of the Director Giorgio Lotto della Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana, Vicenza; figs.7, 14, 24-34, Courtesy of the Istituto Suore Maestra di Dorotea Figlie dei Sacri Cuori, Vicenza; fig.36, Courtesy of Nagasaki University Library; figs.37-38 reproduced from the catalogue of the exhibition Da Istanbul a Yokohama. Fotografie storiche di viaggio tra ‘800 e ‘900 dalla Raccolta “Achille Bertarelli, Milano 1998; fig.39, Courtesy of Waseda University Library.