# **Enchanted by Lohans**

Osvald Sirén's Journey into Chinese Art

Minna Törmä



# VÄRLDSKULTUR ÖSTASIATISKA

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# In the Forbidden City

At the heart of the present city of Beijing stands the former Imperial Palace, the Forbidden City, where the Son of Heaven resided and ruled the world from its golden throne for centuries. His country was called the Middle Kingdom (*Zhongguo* #) and the palace was the center of that kingdom.

On a hot early summer day in 1922, a 43-year-old man, rather short and thin and wearing glasses, entered the precincts of the palace compound, carrying with him photographic equipment. The era of imperial rule was over, as the country had been made a republic in the revolution of 1911, but an emperor still lived there. The palace was in a dilapidated condition. It must have felt eerie to walk around the vast courtyards where the individual buildings solemnly stood on marble terraces and weeds grew through the cracks of the stone pavements. Gone were the ceremony and pomposity of ritual. Then again, the ceremonial sections of the palace had never been exactly a merry place. One is more inclined to think of endless lines of men clothed in ceremonial robes standing quietly with downcast eyes. If the lines did move, they would have proceeded in a slow pace in unison, and bright flags flapping in the wind would have been the only element to animate the scene. The man entering the palace compound was Osvald Sirén (1879–1966), a Finnish-Swedish art historian, then Professor of Art History at the University of Stockholm (Figure 1). He was in China for his first long tour there, and his aim was to document Chinese art and architecture for future research. His camera accompanied him everywhere.

In the first version I heard of Sirén's visit to the Forbidden City, the meeting of Sirén and Puyi 溥儀 (1906–67), the Last Emperor, sounded rather formal and somewhat dramatic. An octogenarian Sirén told one of his colleagues, Lars Pettersson (1918–93), then Professor of Art History at the University of Helsinki, that he had been granted an audience with the emperor when he was photographing the palace compound taking photographs in the palace compound. During the

visit he was asked to take off his glasses, since no one should look at the Son of Heaven through glasses. Sirén's eyesight was not very good, and he really needed the glasses to see properly. The emperor was very interested in the camera Sirén was carrying. Sirén had to make a demonstration of its functions and then, when the emperor wished to look inside, Sirén had to take it apart. Suddenly it was announced that the time of the audience was up: Sirén had to gather the pieces of his camera into his pockets, kowtow to the emperor, and walk backwards towards the door (nobody turns his back to the Son of Heaven), still without his glasses. It is interesting to note how this version characterizes an Eastern despot (though he was no longer a reigning emperor—only an emperor in name) in a stereotypical fashion.

In fact, Sirén had written an account of the meeting soon after it had taken place. The piece was published as "A Chinese Emperor Plays Photographer's Assistant."<sup>1</sup>



Figure 1 Osvald Sirén, undated photograph, most likely mid-1920s, © MFEA, Stockholm

His choice of title indicated that this version of the story might be somewhat different. In addition, among the 274 beautiful photographs published in *The Imperial Palaces of Peking* (1926), there are several depicting the inner quarters. These prove that his visit to the Imperial Palace was not filled only with ceremony.

Sirén had already had access to those parts in the southern section of the palace compound which had been taken over by the republican authorities. However, the whole northern section and large portions of the areas on both sides of the three throne halls still belonged exclusively to the emperor and members of the imperial family. Sirén had received permission to visit these precincts quite unexpectedly:

It was conveyed by telephone from the Emperor's private apartment on a burning hot afternoon in the early summer when I was half dazed by heat and fatigue, so that I could hardly realize its full importance. According to the message, I was to present myself at 11 o'clock the next morning at the Shen Wu men, the north gate of the Forbidden City, where all the Manchu officials enter at their weekly audiences. I was to bring my camera along, as I would be allowed to photograph all the secluded parts of the palace.<sup>2</sup>

In the article, Sirén is not more specific about how this visit may have come about. Did he perhaps get some assistance from Reginald Johnston (1874–1938), Puyi's English tutor? Sirén had written Johnston's Beijing address down in his notebook, and one of Johnston's duties in the palace was to deal with the emperor's foreign correspondence. The answer can be found elsewhere, in a typescript titled "Med kejsaren i den Förbjudna Staden" (In the company of the emperor in the Forbidden City).<sup>3</sup> In that text Sirén makes evident that he had asked Johnston for assistance in this matter, but Johnston had made it clear that it was not in his power to assist in securing a permit to enter the imperial private quarters. Instead, he promised to furnish Sirén with letters of introduction, which would open the doors to the mansions of Manchu princes and their gardens.

Sirén had previously visited Pujie 溥傑 (1907–94), the younger brother of Puyi. Sirén suspected that his photographs of the prince (who was very interested in photography himself and gladly posed for Sirén in his garden) and the mansion were the key which later opened to him the gates of the emperor's private quarters (Figure 2). Prior to the invitation Sirén had sent the prince a series of photographs as a gesture of gratitude.<sup>4</sup> Sirén speculated that the two brothers had looked at the pictures together and that they had roused the emperor's curiosity.

On the appointed day, Sirén arrived together with his former Chinese language tutor Zhou Guzhen at the Shenwumen 神武門 (The Gate of Divine Prowess) as instructed. From there they were led through a labyrinth of corridors and passage-ways to a gate which entered into the garden in front of the emperor's private



Figure 2 Residence of Pujie, Puyi's younger brother, photograph by Sirén 1922, © MFEA, Stockholm

quarters. There they were met by two eunuchs and Johnston, who, after greetings, withdrew to his duties.

The matter of the eyeglasses appears also in Sirén's published account. Sirén was met by the emperor's special representative, who informed him that he would be allowed to take all the photographs he wished; that he could not meet the emperor personally; but that "the Emperor was standing at the large window in the main building near by looking at me, but if I wanted to look at him I should take off my glasses, it being very impolite according to Chinese custom to look at a superior through eyeglasses." The emperor himself wore glasses. When it had become apparent to Johnston that his student was seriously short-sighted, he had insisted that the emperor should be examined by a Western doctor. In spite of the opposition of the conservative members of the imperial household, Johnston's firmness prevailed and his student was able to enjoy the benefits of 'improved' eyesight.<sup>5</sup> Sirén related this incident in his article.

Meanwhile, Sirén had set up his camera in the courtyard and had begun to work. Then Sirén continued:

When I had taken a few plates—the whole time closely watched by the Emperor at the window—a messenger came out to me with the suggestion that I should not use too many plates at that particular spot, as there were so many other more important places to be photographed within the palace precincts. Grateful for the advice I moved on into the adjoining court, . . . I had hardly set up my camera, when a new messenger appeared on the scene with an old kodak which was handed to me with the question whether it could be of any use! The camera was in a deplorable state, so I could do nothing more than suggest that it be taken to the best photographer's shop in Pekin [Beijing] in order to be repaired. This was simply an introduction. A few minutes later the Emperor himself was close at my side observing everything I did with my camera.

The emperor did actually own more cameras, since broken cameras surfaced again at the end of the tour, when they had seated themselves and "[t]wo broken kodak cameras, together with a large box of roll films, were again handed to me for examination." So, in his old age, Sirén had himself, perhaps, built up his story around the eyeglasses and broken cameras and added some Oriental color to enchant an occasional listener.

Once out in the courtyard, the emperor took the lead in directing Sirén in the choice of photographic viewpoints:

He seemed to begin with, a little shy and hesitating, but gradually the hesitation gave way to an increasing interest. He began instructing the servants where to go and which places to photograph. He made inquiries about how many plates I had left, so as to save a sufficient number for the most important buildings. It did not take long before he had entirely forgotten his shyness and taken the lead in selecting the spots and the viewpoints from which the photographs should be taken. The situation was somewhat peculiar to me, because I was supposed not to recognize him, nor to speak to him without having been properly introduced. But his keen interest, his questions and suggestions soon drove away all stiffness and formality.

If we could follow Sirén, together with His Majesty, as our guides to the inner precincts of the palace and see some of the highlights of the visit on that late May day in 1922, we would perhaps share Sirén's slight bewilderment at the sight of men suddenly falling on their knees in prostration or when "[t]he old leather-faced Manchu guards with the tasseled hats straightened up suddenly, as if hit by an electric current . . ." as they saw their emperor approaching. One can well imagine the scramble that this relaxation of proper ceremony created among the eunuchs and servants as the entourage proceeded in the search for scenic spots.

First, they toured the garden and, in their quest for the most suitable vantage points, they climbed up piles of stones and half-rotten steps. Some of the pictures taken during this garden tour found their way into *Imperial Palaces*. An impressive

rocky mound was called Xianjiadong 仙家洞 (The Fairies' Home Cave); trees were growing on its slopes and a small opening led to a cave.<sup>6</sup> They paused to admire the ancient, partly entwined, Chinese scholars' trees (*sophora japonica*) that had been growing in the garden for centuries.

One of the most impressive buildings in the Inner Quarters is Qianqinggong 乾 清宮 (The Palace of Cloudless Heaven), which was used as the imperial audience hall. Approaching from the south on the brilliant marble pathways, Qianqinggong appears imposing, though it is smaller in size than Taihedian 太和殿 (The Pavilion of Supreme Harmony) or Baohedian 保和殿 (The Pavilion of Protecting Harmony), two of the three great ceremonial halls of the official part of the Imperial Palace. Like the other halls, this one has a double hipped roof covered in glazed tiles of golden yellow; its facade is nine spans wide and painted in a deep red color; and the elaborate bracketing system added green, blue, gold, and white to the color scheme. The interior of Qianqinggong was in an unusually good condition compared to the other, rather decayed buildings, and the emperor seems to have taken special pleasure in showing Sirén around it, with its ornately carved throne and marvelous ceremonial vessels.

Qianqinggong was used for celebrations of great anniversaries, though there was less need for them and they were smaller in scale now that Puyi was an emperor without power and his court a shadow of its former glory. The members of the imperial family and court assembled still in the great courtyard in front of the hall to pay their respects to their sovereign. Old handscrolls painted by the court painters of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) present us the splendor of the court ceremonies during the height of imperial power.<sup>7</sup> In these brilliantly colored scrolls the attention to detail is meticulous; one of their functions was, in fact, to be documentary testimony of the life and rituals of the Manchu court. These handscrolls and imperial portraits help us to add color in our minds to Sirén's black and white photographs and populate the scenes with members of the imperial court, dressed in appropriate costumes.

Sirén was privileged to be invited also to visit the private rooms of the emperor in Yangxindian 養心殿 (The Hall Where the Heart is Nourished) (see Figure 3). Located on the west side of the Inner Court, the hall was covered with a single hipped roof and had a broad gallery in front of it, which gave it a rather unusual look. Sirén described the interior: ". . . his living quarters made a more startling impression, because of their abundant mixture of foreign and Chinese pieces of furniture and decoration. The Emperor had apparently been the recipient of a great many gifts which reflected the weakness of present-day Chinese officials for foreign bric-à-brac and which by no means fitted into the architectural surroundings of



Figure 3 Yangxindian, private rooms of Puyi in the Forbidden City, photograph by Sirén 1922, © MFEA, Stockholm

the traditional Chinese room." Johnston mentions in his memoir that this palace had been built or rebuilt at the beginning of the nineteenth century and that its name included a reference to a passage in *Mengzi* 孟子 (second half of the fourth century): "[I]n the nurture of the mind it is of the first importance to refrain from self-indulgence."<sup>8</sup> According to Sirén's photographs, the courtyard and part of the gallery were filled with various potted plants, junipers, lilies, orchids, bonsai pines, and palms, forming a garden in front of the hall. Sirén was among the first Westerners, if not the first, to be granted access to photograph these zealously safe-guarded areas of the Forbidden City. However, to take a picture of Puyi was out of the question.

At the end of the tour they sat down in Yangxindian, and this was when more broken cameras were brought to Sirén's attention. As unexpectedly as the emperor had appeared by Sirén's side in the beginning of the visit, he suddenly rose and bid farewell to his guest and disappeared. Sirén was escorted back to Shenwumen, where he expressed his admiration: ". . . I had received a very vivid and intimate impression of the sympathetic young man who holds the position of the Son of Heaven. And this was to me almost as valuable as all the films I carried away." For us today, Sirén's reminiscences and the photographs developed from those films offer an invaluable view of a moment in Chinese cultural history. Sirén's explorations of the Imperial Palace in 1922 will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. First, however, we need to look at how he began his journey as an art historian and consider some of the stories which unfold his voyage into the world of Chinese art and shed some light on the question of what made Sirén, an internationally well-known scholar of Italian art, start his career anew at the age of forty.

# The Beginnings of the Journey

Sirén received his academic education at the Imperial Alexander University of Finland (presently the University of Helsinki) in his hometown of Helsinki. This was the only academic institution in the country, which at the time was the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland (1809–1917) in the Russian Empire and Helsinki was its capital. In addition to the university, the city could boast an art museum: Ateneum Art Museum had opened its doors in 1888 and made public the collection managed by the Finnish Art Society (established in 1846). The same building housed the drawing school of the Finnish Art Society. Culturally Stockholm was closer than St Petersburg because of historical reasons: Finland had been part of Sweden until the Napoleonic wars in the early nineteenth century.

It is not clear what inspired Sirén to choose art history as his major. The subject was new to the university curriculum in Finland. Only two doctoral dissertations on art history had been defended at the university and his was to be the third.<sup>1</sup> In fact, there had been no professor designated to art history until 1897 when J. J. Tikkanen (1857–1930) became personal supernumerary professor. Art historical topics had been under the care of C. G. Estlander (1834–1910), Professor of Aesthetics and Modern Literature. Both Tikkanen and Estlander were Sirén's teachers. Estlander was an aesthetician and a chairman of the Finnish Art Society (1878–95) and in this latter function played an important role in the Finnish art scene.

Sirén's interest in literature and aesthetics is more comprehensible. A budding poet, the first entries in his bibliography are poems published in periodicals. One of these appeared in 1898 in *Finsk tidskrift*, a journal which had been founded by Estlander. Sirén went on to bring out two collections of his poetry: *Accord* (1902) and *Stilla stunder med naturen* (Quiet moments in nature; 1913). During the last years of the nineteenth century Sirén took his first steps as an art critic as well.

Sirén was, however, looking west towards Stockholm. He had not yet embarked on his doctoral studies when he moved there in 1898 and began working as an *extraordinaire amanuens* (research assistant) at the Nordic Museum (Nordiska museet). In Stockholm, Sirén was in close contact with Oscar Levertin (1862–1906), Professor of Literary History at the University of Stockholm. Levertin lectured on French eighteenth-century literature and painting from 1897 to 1899 and conducted research on Swedish painters Niklas Lafransen (1698–1756) and Alexander Roslin (1718–93).<sup>2</sup> Sirén may have listened to some of the lectures; in any case, it was Levertin who suggested a topic for Sirén's doctoral dissertation, namely, the eighteenth-century Swedish genre painter Pehr Hilleström the Elder (1732–1816).

Sirén's next major research project concentrated on portrait painter Carl Gustaf Pilo (1711/1714–93); indeed, he was fascinated at that time with Rococo, writing in a notebook enthusiastically about the playfulness and liveliness of the art and imagining gentlemen in their powdered wigs and ladies in robes à la Pompadour swirling through minuets.<sup>3</sup> Powdered wigs and ladies in wide petticoat-dresses abound in the paintings of Hilleström and Pilo. By that time he had moved to work in the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, which held an important collection not only of Swedish but also of French eighteenth-century painting, as Sweden and France had had close cultural ties during that period.

In addition to poetry in the Romantic vein and research on Rococo themes, Sirén began to publish in the Swedish journal *Theosophia* in 1900. The topic of his first article is "Karma och återfödelsen" (Karma and rebirth).<sup>4</sup> It is not known exactly when and how he became interested in Theosophy, but as an aspiring poet, he had certainly read the works of the Romantic poet and writer Viktor Rydberg (1828–95). The Theosophical Society in Sweden (Teosofiska Samfundet) had been founded on Rydberg's initiative in 1889. Rydberg himself was never active in the Theosophical Society, but he followed theosophical literature. Central to his interests was Neo-Platonism, and he even showed partiality to Buddhism.<sup>5</sup>

The Theosophical Movement had begun in the United States in 1875. Its inception was based largely on the writings of Helena Blavatsky (1831–91), one of the founding members, and she drew from both Hinduism and Buddhism among other thought systems. The Theosophical Movement was a gathering of peculiar and strong-willed personalities, everyone emphasizing slightly different points of view. What they had in common, however, was the belief that all religions contained truth in them; they all were seen as variations of the same esoteric truth, which they called Theosophy. Historically speaking, the movement promoted to a significant degree the knowledge of Asian cultures by popularizing Oriental religions. On the other hand, because they tended to mystify matters, they sometimes went from one extreme to the other; instead of scorn, the East was seen as a paradise veiled in secrecy. Sirén saw the role of Theosophy as practical: a Theosophist ought to bring instruction, support, and comfort to people's daily lives. This would partly be realized by transmitting knowledge about ancient beliefs of the West and about the religions and philosophies born in the East; the goal was also to teach everyone to find the source of knowledge inside themselves.

By the time Sirén became involved with Theosophy, the movement had split up. One of the largest groups was the Theosophical Society International in North America (henceforth, Theosophical Society) led by Katherine Tingley (1847–1929). The other two major groups were the United Lodge of Theosophists and the Adyar Theosophists, which had its headquarters in India.<sup>6</sup> Swedish Theosophists had strong connections with the Theosophical Society. Tingley had founded a utopian community at Point Loma in 1897, known as Lomaland, and in time it came to include an educational institution (Raja Yoga School) based on her ideas about human development and edification, a system she called "Raja Yoga."<sup>7</sup> She had a social-reform agenda together with an interest in welfare work, and the Lomaland experiment was an effort to combine these with the ideals of Theosophy in practice. It was this practical approach which appealed to Sirén.

At the same time, Sirén was making his first forays into Italian art of the Renaissance, canvassing the collections in Sweden and writing travel essays for Swedish newspapers and periodicals from his Italian tours, which commenced on a yearly basis from 1901 onwards. His preferences in research topics were dictated by professional realism, as was his relocation to Stockholm, where opportunities for an art historian were ample compared to Helsinki. It is quite prosaic—he was a young man wanting to get married, but he needed to earn a respectable amount yearly to support a wife and eventually a family.<sup>8</sup> In 1903 he felt professionally secure enough to marry Maria Myhrman (d. 1925), and they settled down in Stockholm. Application for Swedish citizenship meant that he had decided to stay.

The Renaissance masters became important for Sirén because he thought that one would find in their art the universal characteristics of "good" art. From their works one could derive objective criteria for the evaluation of art works.<sup>9</sup> Artists especially the great masters—functioned as mediators between human beings and God, and only an artist could transmit a premonition of the divine inherent in everything surrounding us.<sup>10</sup> These thoughts were the background for Sirén's interest in Leonardo da Vinci (1459–1519), the subject of a monograph which constituted his international breakthrough as an art historian. Leonardo was a *uomo universale*; he had reached that high spiritual plane where Sirén saw the fulfillment of a world ruled by brotherhood and unity.

It was the art that was born in the inner world of the artist that most strongly appealed to Sirén. He had no patience for nineteenth-century naturalistic art, and he repeatedly complained about the popular taste which preferred naturalistic representation. Anyone could reproduce external form according to set rules, but to give form to the inner nature of things and emotions was another matter. The task of the artist was to express his inner sentiment through composition—the combination of lines and planes—and, if the viewer had a refined awareness for art, he would grasp the meaning of the work immediately. At the same time, this art was for him the expression of religious spirit. One must take note, however, that in Sirén's thought the word "religion" has a very wide meaning and includes also philosophical thinking. One may use William James's (1842–1910) definition of "religion" here to describe Sirén's views on this matter: ". . . the feelings, acts, and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine."<sup>11</sup>

The world of art history was international, and Sirén emerges as professionally ambitious from the beginning, looking beyond the borders of the Nordic scene. As an art historian he turned to connoisseurship. He formed his approach in analyzing paintings according to stylistic analysis, following the ideas of Giovanni Morelli (1816–91) and Bernard Berenson (1865–1959). Morelli's collection in Bergamo and a visit to Berenson's home in Florence in 1902 were some of the highlights of his early travels in Italy. Soon Rococo themes were all but forgotten.

In connoisseurship, dated paintings should be the starting point for the analysis of the style of a master, and on the basis of those paintings one should be able to reconstruct the development of a personal style. The method had been applied primarily to the study of figure compositions of the Italian Renaissance. One of the basic ideas of this Morellian tradition of connoisseurship is that the painter's personal touch, his hand, would be found in details which were considered to be of less importance with respect to expressive power of representation: the basic vocabulary of an artist should be sought, for example, in the depiction of hands, ears, or background landscape. The appeal of this style of connoisseurship was based on the belief that it could make art historical practice more scientific, that the criteria proposed by Morelli and Berenson would be objective. It was to be a science of observation: the connoisseur was looking closely at the visual properties of a picture, comparing these properties with those of other pictures, and attributing them to a certain master or classifying them into schools and movements. An experienced connoisseur would have examined as many works of art as possible and thus developed a sensitive eye for stylistic qualities.

Connoisseurship, moreover, furnished Sirén with skills which were advantageous when he began looking for work opportunities outside museums and publishing. The first collector seeking Sirén's assistance as an advisor for acquisitions was Paul Sinebrychoff (1859–1917), a Finnish industrialist, who in 1901 asked Sirén to keep an eye out for paintings which would enhance his collection.<sup>12</sup> Their cooperation, which lasted for eight years, was the beginning of Sirén's activities as an advisor for collectors and dealers. Meanwhile, Sirén was lecturing at the University of Stockholm and writing articles and monographs: *Don Lorenzo Monaco* appeared in German in 1905 and studies in Swedish on Giotto (1906), Giottino (1908), and Leonardo (1911) followed in rapid succession. He was, again, changing the focus of his research, now looking towards the periods preceding the Renaissance.

Sirén established himself as Swedish art historian in 1908 when he was appointed Professor of Art History at the University of Stockholm. The post had been vacant since the departure of Viktor Rydberg in 1895. The economic security provided by a permanent position must have been welcome to Sirén as his family had grown: his daughter Margherita had been born in 1904 and son Erland in 1906. However, family life did not slow down his productivity as a writer, and he continued to travel fairly frequently, both around Europe, where most of the holidays were spent in Italy, and in North America. The earliest reference to his visits to the United States comes in the first of a series of articles, "Trecento pictures in American collections," published in 1908. He discusses an attribution to Cimabue of *Madonna and Child between Four Saints* in the Jarves collection (New Haven) and he writes: "Unfortunately it hangs very high, so that a thorough examination was not possible to me . . ."<sup>13</sup> This series covers the collections in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Brunswick (Maine) as well. Holidays did not provide enough time for research, though, and he applied for leaves of absence from time to time.

Even though Sirén's *Leonardo Da Vinci: Hans lefnadsöden, bildverk, personlighet och målarbok* (1911) had been published in Swedish, he was beginning to gain international recognition as a scholar. The above mentioned articles on Italian *trecento* paintings had appeared in the *Burlington Magazine*, which was widely read by art historians and collectors alike. He received an invitation to lecture on Leonardo da Vinci at Yale University, and he delivered these lectures in March 1914. During the same period he lectured also in museums in the Boston area—the Fogg Museum and the Museum of Fine Arts—and at Harvard University. Following these, Sirén was asked to study and catalogue the Jarves collection in New Haven, and the research was done during the summer and autumn of 1915. The Jarves collection of Italian art was an important one; Yale University had acquired it in 1871, and it was already well-known to Sirén. He also presented more lectures at Harvard University.<sup>14</sup>

Art was not the sole reason why Sirén spent so much time in the United States. He visited Point Loma, the Theosophical Society Headquarters, and Katherine Tingley in 1911.<sup>15</sup> It was possibly around this time that he left his two children to be brought up and educated there. He was very much impressed by Tingley, her personality, and what she had done in Point Loma. Sirén valued the educational system which emphasized, according to him, fulfillment of duties, building of character, and both practical and intellectual learning.<sup>16</sup> In his personal life, Sirén thus betrays a strong attachment to the ideals promoted by the Theosophical Society.

Because Theosophy played such an important part in Sirén's life and was the basis of his world view, for some this provides sufficient explanation for his growing interest in Chinese culture. However, the matter is not quite as straightforward as that. If there is a country or a culture outside the West to which Theosophy points directly (and this is arguable as well), it is India or ancient Egypt, not China. In the light of Sirén's career, the role of Theosophy is oblique; that is, Theosophy influenced him strongly, but it should not be taken as a comprehensive answer which empties all explanatory prospects. As we shall see, when we examine further his choices as an emerging art historian, the presence of Theosophy is not easy to assess.

## **Appendix I: Biographies**

The list includes persons whom Sirén knew personally, and in a few cases I have included also persons whose work was important for Sirén.

- Acton, Harold (1904–94): British writer, son of Arthur Acton (1873–1953), a collector and dealer of art based in Florence at Villa La Pietra, and well-known by Sirén; Harold lived in Beijing in the 1930s and taught English at Beijing University (Chapter 9).
- Andersson, J. G. (1874–1960): Swedish archaeologist (originally traveled to China as a geologist) and the founding director of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities; in spite of the differences of opinion on museum policy between Sirén and Andersson, they remained on good terms with each other (Chapters 5, 7, and 8).
- Andersson, R. (dates unknown): Swedish missionary, stationed in Luoyang; Sirén stayed at his residence while there (Chapter 5).

Ardenne de Tizac, Henri d' (1877-1932): director of Musée Cernuschi (Chapter 6).

- Ayscough, Florence (1878–1942): born in Shanghai where she lived for decades; known for her translations of Chinese poetry and essays on Chinese culture, she became a good friend of Sirén in 1922 (Chapters 5, 8, and 9).
- Bahr, A. W. (1877–1959): born in China; originally a coal merchant and general importer as well as collector of Chinese art; Sirén catalogued his painting collection in 1936–37 (Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 9).
- Bahr, Peter (dates unknown): dealer in Shanghai, brother of A. W. Bahr; Sirén bought objects from him in 1918 and 1921 (Chapters 4, 5, and 6).
- Berenson, Bernard (1865–1959): American connoisseur of Italian art based in the vicinity of Florence at Villa i Tatti; Sirén knew Berenson since 1902 and was his rival in the 1910s as a connoisseur of Italian painting (Chapters 2, 3, and 11).
- Bergh, Richard (1858–1919): Swedish painter and the director of the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm 1915–19 (Chapter 3).
- Binyon, Laurence (1869–1943): keeper in the Department of Oriental Prints and Drawings, British Museum; published introductory books to East Asian art, such as *The Flight of the Dragon* (1911) (Chapter 3).
- Bode, Wilhelm von (1845–1929): General Director of the National Museums (Staatliche Museen) in Berlin; known to Sirén already during his period of scholarship on Italian art (Chapters 4 and 7).

- Boerschmann, Ernst (1873–1949): German architect and art historian, published books on Chinese architecture 1906–09 (Chapters 6 and 7).
- Bohlken, Theodor (1884–1954): dealer of Chinese art in Berlin, known as "China-Bohlken" (Chapter 7).
- Bowden-Smith, A. G. (dates unknown): translated Chinese historical sources for Sirén together with some of her assistants at the Beihua School in Beijing (Chapter 6).
- Brandt, F. Geheimrat (dates unknown): German collector (Chapter 7).
- Breuer, A. A. (1868–1944): doctor and collector of East Asian art, particularly of lacquer; first based in London, he moved to Berlin during World War I; Sirén studied his collection of Chinese sculpture (Chapter 7).
- Buhot, Jean (1885–1952): translated Sirén's researches and became a good friend of Sirén; at the same time editor of *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* and closely associated with Musée Guimet; in later years specialized in Japanese art (Chapters 6 and 10).
- Burchard, Otto (1892–1965): German dealer, first of contemporary art (Dada), then of East Asian art in Berlin; moved to Beijing in the late 1920s; Sirén knew him well already in Berlin times (Chapters 7, 9, and 10).
- Carbonel, Rose (1893–1978): French; Sirén's second wife and translator and lecturer on French culture in Sweden (Chapters 7 and 9).
- Chait, Ralph (1892–1975): founder of the Ralph M. Chait Gallery in New York in 1910, specializing in Chinese works of art (Chapter 8).
- Cheng Wan-li (dates unknown): collector of Chinese paintings, but otherwise unidentified (Chapter 9).
- Chillingworth, Rudolph (dates unknown): German inventor, businessman, and collector of Italian art who lived in Lucerne, Switzerland; Sirén wrote certificates of authentication for his painting collection (Chapter 6).
- Coedès, George (1886–1969): scholar of Southeast Asian archaeology and director of l'École française d'Extrême-Orient (Chapter 9).
- Cohn, William (1880–1961): German art historian and co-founder and editor of *Ostasiatische Zeitscrift* together with Otto Kümmel (Chapters 4 and 7).
- Collins, W. F. (Captain; dates unknown): acquired objects in China for dealers in the West, for example, for the Bluetts in London in the 1920s and early 1930s (Chapter 8).
- Cooke, Anna Rice (1853–1934): American collector in Hawai'i, who founded the Honolulu Academy of Arts in 1927; Sirén became acquisitions advisor to the museum in 1930 (Chapter 8).
- Coomaraswamy, Ananda (1877–1947): Sinhalese geologist whose collection of Indian painting and sculpture was acquired by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; he became curator of the collection in the museum (Chapter 3).
- Curman, Jon Sigurd (1879–1966): Swedish State Antiquarian from 1923 onwards (Chapter 7).
- David, Sir Percival (1892–1939): British lawyer and collector of ceramics and porcelain; member of the Executive Committee of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art at the Royal Art Academy in London (Chapter 9).
- David-Weill, David (1871–1952): banker and collector, first of 18th century art; then paintings, sculpture, furniture, and Medieval, Islamic, Pre-Columbian and Far Eastern art; Sirén studied Chinese sculptures in his collection (Chapter 7).

- Di Baoxian 狄葆賢 (1872–1949): Shanghai collector and *guohua* painter; Sirén studied his collection of Chinese paintings in 1935 (Chapter 9).
- Ding Wenjiang 丁文江 (1887–1936): director of the Geological Survey of China (Chapter 5).
- Duveen, Joseph (1869–1939): an influential British art dealer who played an important role in the formation of several American collections; Sirén helped him to acquire paintings by Italian masters in the 1910s (Chapters 3, 4, 6, and 10).
- Ecke, Gustav (1896–1971): German art historian who lived in China for most of the 1920s and 1930s and shared with Sirén an interest in Chinese pagodas; later curator of Chinese art at the Honolulu Academy of Arts (Chapters 6, 8, and 9).
- Elisséèv, Serge (1889–1975): the first director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute and the founder of the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (Chapter 6).
- Estlander, Carl Gustaf (1834–1910): Professor of Aesthetics and Literature at the University of Helsinki; Sirén attended some of his lectures as a student (Chapter 2).
- Eumorfopoulos, George (1863–1939): collector who gathered together one of the most extensive groupings of Chinese ceramics and bronzes; one of the founding members of the Oriental Ceramic Society and its first president (1921–39) (Chapter 9).
- Fåhraeus, Klas (1863–1944): Swedish collector who collected both impressionist and Chinese art (Chapters 4 and 5).
- Feng Yuxiang 馮玉祥 (1880–1948): one of the warlords of the 1920s and 1930s, called also the Christian General and based in the Xi'an area in Shaanxi Province; Sirén contacted him in order to obtain permission for archaeological excavation (Chapter 5).
- Fenollosa, Ernest (1853–1908): curator of the Japanese department in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and author of *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, 1912 (Chapters 3 and 9).
- Freer, Charles (1854–1919): Detroit businessman who collected Chinese and Japanese art in addition to contemporary American art and donated his collection to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C., where his collection is housed in the Freer Gallery of Art (Chapters 3, 4, and 9).
- Fujii Zensuke 藤井善之助 (1873–1943): Kyoto businessman and collector, established the Fujii Yurinkan Museum in 1926 (Chapter 8).
- Gardner, Isabella Stewart (1840–1924): close friend of Okakura Kakuzô, she was an American collector, whom Berenson assisted in acquiring Italian art; whether Sirén knew her personally is not known (Chapter 3).
- Gauffin, Axel (1877–1964): director of the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm and hence Sirén's superior (Chapters 4, 7, and 9).
- Giles, Herbert (1845–1935): British sinologist who published the first anthology of Chinese painting texts translated into English, *An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art*, 1905 (Chapter 3).
- Glaser, Curt (1879–1943): director of the Art Library (Kunstbibliothek) in Berlin and connoisseur of East Asian art (Chapter 7).
- Goloubew, Victor (1878–1945): Russian orientalist, archaeologist, and collector who worked for the École française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi (Chapter 3).
- Grünwedel, Albert (1886–1935): German archaeologist and indologist and in the 1920s the director of the Indian Department in the Ethnographical Museum (Museum für Völkerkunde) in Berlin (Chapter 4).

- Gualino, Riccardo (1879–1964): Italian lawyer and collector from Turin, who consulted Sirén with regard to Chinese sculpture (Chapters 3 and 7).
- Guimet, Émile (1836–1918): founder of Musée Guimet in Paris; Sirén never met him, but was to have a close working connection with the museum and donated Chinese art works to the museum as well (Chapter 3).
- Gunne, Carl (1893–1979): Sirén's colleague at Nationalmuseum in Stockholm; painter and art historian (Chapter 9).
- Gustaf Adolf, Crown Prince of Sweden (1882–1973; reigned 1950–73): an avid collector, particularly of Chinese art, who participated in archaeological expeditions (Chapters 4, 5, 7, and 8).
- Haase, René (d. 1943): successor of Marcel Bing at Maison Bing and related to Siegfried Bing, the founder of the gallery (Chapter 8).
- Hackin, Joseph (1886–1941): director of Musée Guimet (Chapter 6).
- Hara Tomitarô 原富太郎 (1868–1939): prominent Japanese banker, silk merchant, and art collector, whom Sirén visited at his villa in Sannotani by Yokohama Bay (Chapters 4 and 9).
- Hara Zen'ichirô 原善一郎 (dates unknown): son of Tomitarô Hara (Chapter 4).
- Harada Jirô 原田次郎 (1878–1963): Sirén's Japanese colleague who also wrote on garden art (Chapter 8).
- Hedin, Sven (1865–1952): Swedish geographer and explorer, most famous for his expeditions in Central Asia (Chapters 5, 7, and 8).
- Heydt, Edouard von der (1882–1964): German banker who assembled a large collection of East Asian art, presently in Museum Rietberg in Zürich (Chapter 7).
- Hobson, R. L. (1872–1941): curator at the British Museum, responsible for East Asian pottery and porcelain, expert particularly on Qing ceramics (Chapter 9).
- Hosokawa Moritatsu 細川護立 (1883–1970): descendant of an old samurai clan and collector (Chapter 8).
- Hsia Hsi Chung (dates unknown): dealer or collector, possibly a go-between assisting Sirén in 1929–30 and 1935 (Chapters 8 and 9).
- Hultmark, Emil (1872–1943): Swedish art historian who, after inheriting a large fortune, became also a collector and benefactor of various institutions, such as the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities and Nationalmuseum in Stockholm (Chapters 7 and 8).
- Hultmark, Richard (1867–?): Emil's older brother and also a benefactor of various institutions (Chapters 7 and 8).
- Inoue Katsunosuke 井上勝之助 (1860–1929): Sirén mentions Marquis Inoue, and this could refer to Inoue Katsunosuke, the son-in-law of Inoue Kaoru 井上薫 (1836–1915), a well-known Japanese collector (Chapter 4).
- Ito: unidentified, Sirén bought sculpture from him in 1929 (Chapter 8).
- Iwasaki family: Baron Iwasaki Yanosuke 岩崎彌之助 (1851–1908) collected rare books and founded the Seikadô Library, and Sirén may have met his son, Iwasaki Koyata 岩崎小彌太 (1879–1945), who significantly expanded the collection, presently the Seikadô Bunko Art Museum (Chapter 4).
- Johnston, Reginald (1874–1938): entered British Colonial Service in 1898 and from 1919 to 1924 served as tutor and advisor to Puyi, the Last Emperor of the Qing dynasty; assisted Sirén in gaining access to the mansions of Manchu princes (Chapters 1, 5, and 7).

- Karlbeck, Orvar (1879–1967): Swedish railroad engineer based in Bengbu in Anhui Province in the 1920s, he became a collector and dealer of Chinese antiquities, and in the 1930s traveled in China buying artifacts for museums and collectors as the supplier of the consortium Karlbeck Syndicate (Chapters 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 10).
- Karlgren, Bernhard (1889–1978): Swedish sinologist, first at the University of Gothenburg and later (1939–59) researcher at Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm (Chapter 7).
- Kawai, Senrô 河井荃廬 (1871-1945): Sirén bought sculpture from him in 1929 (Chapter 8).
- Kélékian, Dikran (1868–1951): American dealer and collector of Chinese and Islamic ceramics (Chapter 3).
- Klemperer, Herbert von (1878–1952): German industrialist and collector of Chinese art (Chapter 7).
- Koechlin, Raymond (1860–1931): French collector and amateur art historian; his collection included Asian objects and Japanese prints (Chapters 6 and 7).
- Krohn, Mario (1881–1922): Danish art historian, specialist in Italian art, director of the Thorvaldsen museum 1916–21 in Copenhagen (Chapter 4).
- Kümmel, Otto (1874–1952): director of East Asian Art Collection (Ostasiatische Kunstsammlung), a department of the Berlin State Museums (Staatliche Museen) (Chapters 3, 4, 7, and 9).
- Kuroda Nagashige 黒田長成 (1867–1939): Japanese parliamentarian and collector of art (Chapter 4).
- Lagrelius, Axel (1863–1944): Chief Intendant at the Swedish Court and prominent industrialist, who founded the China Committee and sponsored J. G. Andersson's expeditions (Chapter 7).
- Lartigue, Jean (1886–1940): well-known friend and travel companion of Segalen; exhibited together with Sirén and Wannieck in Musée Cernuschi in 1924–25 (Chapter 6).
- LeCoq, Albert von (1830–1930): German explorer and writer, who followed Grünwedel as the director of the Indian Department in the Ethnographical Museum (Museum für Völkerkunde) in Berlin (Chapter 4).
- Lehmann, Karl (1894–1960): German art historian and archaeologist specializing in Greek and Roman antiquity (Chapter 7).
- Lessing, Ferdinand (1882–1961): German sinologist and Mongolist in the Ethnographical Museum (Museum für Völkerkunde) in Berlin (Chapter 7).
- Levertin, Oscar (1862–1906): Swedish poet and Professor of Literature at the University of Stockholm; suggested the topic of Pehr Hilleström the Elder for Sirén's doctoral dissertation (Chapter 2).
- Li Waiyuan (dates unknown): local daoyin (civil governor) in Shouxian (Chapter 5).
- Liang Sicheng 梁思成 (1901–72): the first director of Institute for Research in Chinese Architecture, beginning 1932; together with his wife, artist Lin Huiyin 林徽因 (1904–55), pioneer of architecture history research in China (Chapter 8).
- Lodge, John (1878–1942): curator at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston after Okakura Kakuzô; for a time he worked both in Boston and at the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington D.C., devoting his time wholly to the latter from 1931 onwards (Chapters 3 and 7).
- Loo C. T. (Ching-tsai [Lu Qinzhai] 盧芹齋; 1880–1957): dealer of Chinese art, first based in Paris and later also in New York (Chapters 6, 7, and 8).

- Lundberg, Erik (1895–1969): Professor of Architecture History at the Royal Art Academy (Kungliga konstakademi) and architect at Riksantikvarieämbete; good friend of Sirén (Chapter 3).
- Luo Xiaotong 羅孝同 (dates unknown): Sirén's go-between in Shanghai in 1935 assisting in painting acquisitions; Sirén writes his name as Lo Hsiao-dung (Chapter 9).
- Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866–1940): native of Suzhou, who can be called by many titles: classical scholar, philologist, epigrapher, antiquarian, and Manchu loyalist; known to Sirén since 1922 (Chapter 9).
- Mack (Mr.; dates unknown): Karlbeck's former interpreter in Bengbu (Chapter 5).
- Masuda Takashi 益田孝 (1848–1938): Japanese collector, whose collection represented every aspect of Japanese art; collected also Chinese and Korean art; Freer introduced him to Sirén (Chapters 4 and 8).
- Meeks, Everett (1879–1954): American architect and dean of the School of Fine Arts at Yale University (art school, gallery, architectural school, and drama school) (Chapter 7).
- Moriya Kôzô 守屋孝蔵 (1876–1953): prominent Kyoto lawyer and collector of East Asian art (Chapter 8).
- Morris, Du Bois Schanck (dates unknown): Presbyterian missionary in Bengbu area, Anhui Province; collected Chinese art and his collection is now in the Princeton University Art Museum (Chapter 5).
- Morris, Kenneth (1879-1937): Welsh poet and Theosophist, close friend of Sirén (Chapter 4).
- Munthe, Gustav (1896–1962): student of Sirén in the late 1910s at the University of Stockholm and director of Röhrrska Museum in Gothenburg (Chapters 3, 6, 7, and 8).
- Munthe, General J. W. N. (1846–1935): Norwegian who made a career in the Chinese military and rose rapidly in rank in the service of Yuan Shikai; collected Chinese art, donating pieces to Nationalmuseum; presently the bulk of his collection is in the West Norway Museum of Applied Art in Bergen (Chapters 4 and 8).
- Murayama Ryûhei 村山龍平 (1850–1933): newspaper publisher and the founder of *Ôsaka Asahi Shimbun*; collected tea ceremony utensils, armor, and Buddhist art works (Chapter 4).
- Myhrman, Maria (d. 1925): Sirén's first wife and mother of their two children, Margherita and Erland (Chapters 2 and 7).
- Nezu Kaichirô 根津嘉一郎 (1860–1940): businessman and collector of Japanese and Chinese art in Tokyo; his collection is presently found in the Nezu Institute of Fine Arts (Chapter 8).
- Niwa Keisuke 丹羽圭介 (1876–1953): superintendent of the Imperial Household Garden; donated roof tiles to Nationlamuseum (Chapter 8).
- Nomura Yôzô 野村洋三 (1870–1965): Japanese dealer; introduced to Sirén by Freer; later he would assist Sirén with his garden plans (Chapters 4 and 10).
- Okakura Kakuzô (1862–1913): Japanese who, as curator, played a pivotal part in the formation of the East Asian collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; wrote important early introductory books on East Asian culture for the Western public (Chapter 3).
- Pan Zunian 潘祖年 (dates not known): younger brother of Pan Zuyin 潘祖蔭 (1830–90) and father of Pan Jingshu 潘靜淑 (1892–1939), who was married to Wu Hufan; he inherited Pan Zuyin's art collection (Chapter 9).

- Pang Yuanji 龐元濟 (courtesy name, Laichen 萊臣; 1864–1949): Shanghai collector and connoisseur (Chapter 9).
- Parsons, Harold (1893–1967): appointed as general advisor for the Nelson Trust in 1930; before the designation of Langdon Warner as Oriental advisor in 1932, he consulted Sirén with regard to Chinese art (Chapter 8).
- Pelliot, Paul (1878–1945): French sinologist who alternated between China and Indo-China (École française d'Extrême-Orient) until 1909, after which he divided his time among various institutions, particularly the Collège de France and Sorbonne (Chapters 3, 6, and 9).
- Peterson, Frederick (1859–1938): an American neurologist of Swedish descent; well known as a collector of Chinese paintings since the 1910s (Chapter 8).
- Pettersson, Lars (1918–93): Professor of Art History at the University of Helsinki (Chapters 1 and 3).
- Plummer, H. O. (dates unknown): worked for the Standard Oil Company in Bengbu (Chapter 5).
- Porter, Arthur Kingsley (1883–1933): American scholar of medieval art history at Yale University, where Sirén became acquainted with him in the 1910s (Chapter 7).
- Pujie 溥傑 (1907–94): the younger brother of Emperor Puyi; Sirén photographed the gardens of his home, Qiyefu (Chapters 1 and 5).
- Puyi 溥儀 (1906–67): the Last Emperor of the Qing dynasty, whom Sirén met in the Forbidden City in 1922 (Chapters 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9).
- Raphael, Oscar (1874–1941): British collector of East Asian art and Near Eastern pottery (Chapter 9).
- Rivière, Henri (1864–1951): French artist and designer (Chapter 6).
- Ross, Denman (1853–1935): American historian who became closely involved with the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, as benefactor and trustee of the museum (Chapter 3).
- Rothkegel, Curt (1876–1946): German architect active in China ca. 1900–29 (Chapter 6).
- Rousset, Robert (1901–81): a newcomer on the art market and founder of La Compagnie de la Chine et des Indes in the mid-1930s (Chapter 8).
- Sachs, Paul J. (1878–1965): associate director of the Fogg Art Museum (Chapter 6).
- Sarre, Friedrich (1865–1945): director of the Department of Islamic Art (Islamischen Abteilung) in the Berlin State Museums (Staatliche Museen) (Chapter 7).
- Seeburg, Justus P. (1871–1958): Chicago industrialist of Swedish origin, founder of the J. P. Seeburg Piano Company (Chapter 8).
- Segalen, Victor (1878–1919): French, originally a naval doctor, but also known as a traveler, archaeologist, poet, and sinologist; his photographs and texts regarding his expeditions were published posthumously (Chapter 5).
- Sekino Tadashi 關野貞 (1868–1935): Professor of Architecture in Tokyo; a good friend of Sirén, with whom he exchanged ideas on Buddhist sculpture (Chapters 5 and 6).
- Sickman, Lawrence (1906–88): lived in the 1930s in Beijing and later became curator of Chinese art at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City (Chapter 9).
- Sinebrychoff, Paul (1859–1917): Finnish industrialist and art collector whose legacy lives on in the Sinebrychoff Art Museum in Helsinki; Sirén was his advisor in 1901–09 (Chapters 2 and 3).

- Sirén, Erland (1906–84): Sirén's son; he became an architect and lived in San Francisco (Chapter 2).
- Sirén, Margherita (1904–84): Sirén's daughter; she became active in the Theosophical Society and later moved to Stockholm to work in the Theosophical Society there (Chapter 2).
- Stein, Sir Marc Aurel (1862–1942): Hungarian archaeologist who excavated ancient Central Asia sites during the early decades of the twentieth century; his greatest discovery was at Dunhuang at the so-called Library Cave in 1907 (Chapter 3).
- Stoclet, Adolphe (1871–1949): Belgian railway magnate and collector of Egyptian, Asian, Pre-Columbian, and Etruscan art (Chapter 7).
- Strehlneek, E. A. (1871–?): lived in Shanghai (1890s–1940s); dealing in Chinese art was one of his occupations (Chapters 4 and 5).
- Takenouchi, K. (dates unknown): collector in Japan (Chapter 8).
- Taki, Seiichi 瀧精一 (1873–1945): Japanese art historian at the Tokyo Imperial University and one of the founders of the art journal *Kokka* (Chapter 4).
- Tallgren, Aarne M. (1885–1945): Professor of Archaeology at the University of Helsinki (Chapter 7).
- Taube, Carl (1885–1952): Swedish army officer and writer who stayed in China during 1914–46 as a military advisor for various warlords and later for Jiang Jieshi; accompanied Sirén on an excursion to the Western Hills (Chapter 5).
- Tikkanen, J. J. (1857–1930): Professor of Art History at the University of Helsinki, teacher of Sirén (Chapter 2).
- Tingley, Katherine (1847–1929): head of the Theosphical Headquarters in Point Loma, California, and founder of the Raja Yoga School, where Sirén's children, Margherita and Erland, were brought up (Chapter 2).
- Traugott, Ivan (dates unknown): Swedish collector (Chapter 4).
- Tucci, Giuseppe (1894–1984): Italian scholar of Asian cultures with a focus on Tibet and Buddhism and founder of the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente in Rome; he invited Sirén to lecture there in 1934 (Chapter 8).
- Ueno Seiichi 上野理一 (1848–1919): president of the newspaper *Tôkyô Asahi Shinbun* and collector of Chinese art (Chapter 4).
- Venturi, Lionello (1885–1961): Italian art historian, advisor of Riccardo Gualino, and friend of Sirén; they shared an interest in the Italian Primitives (Chapters 3 and 7).
- Vetch, Henri (1898–1978): kept "The French Bookstore" in the Beijing Hotel and was also a publisher; published Sirén's *The Chinese on the Art of Painting* (Chapter 9).
- Vignier, Charles (1863–1934): French dealer specializing in Far and Near Eastern art (Chapters 3, 6, 7, and 8).
- Voisins, Augusto Gilbert de (1877–1939): writer who accompanied Victor Segalen on Segalen's explorations of China (Chapter 6).
- Waley, Arthur (1889–1966): British sinologist and Keeper of Oriental Prints and Manuscripts at the British Museum; assisted Sirén with *Chinese Sculpture* (Chapter 6).
- Wang Hengyong (dates unknown): one of the go-betweens Sirén used when acquiring paintings in the Beijing area; Sirén sometimes calls him Heng Yung (Chapter 9).
- Wannieck, Léon (1875–1954): dealer and vice president of the Société des Amis du Musée Cernuschi (Chapters 6 and 8).

- Warner, Langdon (1881–1955): Harvard-trained scholar of East Asian art, who traveled to Japan for the first time in 1906 and spent most of his time after that in East Asia (Chapters 4 and 8).
- Worch, Adolphe (1843–1915): dealer and founder of *Worch et Cie* in Paris; died in World War I (Chapter 3).
- Worch, Edgar (1880–1972): nephew of Adolphe Worch; took up the business after him and moved it to Berlin (Chapter 7).
- Wu Hufan 吳湖帆 (1894–1968): Chinese collector and expert on painting, originally from Suzhou but lived in Shanghai in the 1930s when Sirén met him (Chapter 9).
- Wu I-tai (dates unknown; Sirén writes the name sometimes as Wu Ji-t'ai): assisted Sirén with Chinese (Chapter 9).
- Wu Laixi 吳賴熙 (died ca. 1949): Beijing dealer and collector with good connections and a branch in London; dealt particularly in imperial ceramics, but also ancestor portraits (Chapter 9).
- Yamanaka Sadaijirô 山中定次郎 (1866–1936): Japanese dealer whose base was in Osaka; Sirén met him personally for the first time ca. 1926, though he had been a client of the firm since 1918 (Chapters 4 and 8).
- Yang Zhouhan 楊周翰 (1915–89): assisted Sirén with Chinese and lived in Stockholm in the late 1930s before going to Oxford to study (Chapters 9 and 11).
- Yetts, Percival (1878–1957): pioneering British scholar of Chinese art (Chapter 6).
- Zhou Guzhen (Chou Ku-chen; dates unknown): Sirén's Chinese language tutor in 1922 and also later in 1929–30 (Chapters 1, 6, and 9).
- Zhou Xiangyun 周湘雲 (active 20th century): Shanghai collector of paintings (Chapter 9).

## Bibliography

#### Abbreviations

BMFEA	Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities
GHT	Göteborgs Handels-och Sjöfarts Tidning
MFEA	Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm

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