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## The Power of Provenance

### Marketing and Pricing of Chinese Looted Art on the European Market (1860–1862)

During war, art markets are often booming. Wartime means a collapse of order, and in times of chaos many artefacts are translocated and end up in new hands. The artefacts may enter the market because of need for cash or flight to tangible assets, but very often they are moved to another location as a consequence of plundering.<sup>1</sup> The markets set new price levels for the artefacts, they support the recirculation of the objects and help to create new expertise as well as a shift in meaning. Today, in most cases the provenance of plundered objects is hidden, and only recently their history has come under the spotlight again in museums and at public auctions. Yet their provenance was not always a blind spot in the biography of these objects. Until the late 1860's, provenance associated with violent upheaval was even part of the language of the markets. This paper researches the interconnections of the art market and war and the role of the provenance of plundered objects in the process of commodification by taking the example of one of the most spectacular cases of plunder in wartime: the sacking of the Chinese Summer Palace Yuanmingyuan by allied troops in the autumn of 1860.

In recent years the looting of the Yuanmingyuan has been extensively researched. James Hevia traced the phases of plunder as well as first and foremost British market activities by focusing on the shift in meaning and the biographies of the looted objects.<sup>2</sup> In 2008 and 2012, Greg Thomas followed with articles on the translation of looted art into the Western art discourse and its display in Europe, especially in

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<sup>1</sup> Davis distinguishes between two forms of plunder: the official practice of looting that 'has been public, more or less orderly' and freelance, unlawful plundering. He distinguishes between *loot* (everything that was taken during a certain period of time, indicated by the commander) and *plunder* or *pillage* (everything taken outside this period); see: Richard H. Davis, Three Styles of Looting India, in: *History and Anthropology* 6 (1994), pp. 293–317, p. 293. The word 'loot' entered the English language from Hindi or Sanskrit in the eighteenth century in the context of the British expansion to India and was especially used for ordered colonial plundering. It often replaced older words, such as pillage, booty, spoils or plunder without being interchangeable with these terms; see: James Hevia, *English Lessons. The Pedagogy of Imperialism in 19<sup>th</sup> Century China*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> James Hevia, Loot's Fate. The Economy of Plunder and the Moral Life of Objects 'From the Summer Palace of the Emperor of China', in: *History and Anthropology* 6 (1994), pp. 319–345; James Hevia, Looting Beijing: 1860, 1900, in: Lydia Liu (ed.), *Tokens of Exchange. The Problem of Translation in Global Circulation*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999, pp. 192–213; Hevia (2003) (as fn. 1); James Hevia, Plunder, Markets and Museums. The Biographies of Chinese Imperial Objects in

France.<sup>3</sup> The German researcher Ines Eben von Racknitz (2012) explored the legal and military background of the event.<sup>4</sup> Since 2015, Louise Tythacott has been working on the Summer Palace Loot in European Museums.<sup>5</sup> Currently, Kate Hill aims to gather all artefacts linked to the Yuanmingyuan in a digital repository.<sup>6</sup>

By taking French and British market dynamics from October 1860 until the end of 1862 into account, this paper will put the plundering of art objects during war and the benefit of their provenance for the art market into a larger context. By focussing on different auction activities following the sacking – in China as well as in Europe – it researches the effect of cultural plunder during war on the art market and the power of provenance with regard to the objects' reputation and pricing in this context. As the paper addresses a vast geographical range, different methodical approaches and sources are required. With regard to China, researching European market activities will first and foremost rely on Western private and official reports.<sup>7</sup> Many of the British and French officers who were engaged in the looting left accounts that hold information about the selection of objects in the Summer Palace and the different market activities that followed the event, including object categories, prices and market processes.<sup>8</sup> In Europe, auction catalogues are the most reliable and coher-

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Europe and North America, in: Morgan Pitelka (ed.), *What's the Use of Art? Asian Visual and Material Culture in Context*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007, pp. 129–141.

**3** Greg M. Thomas, *The Looting of Yuanming and the Translation of Chinese Art in Europe*, in: *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 7 (2008) (accessed 22 January 2015); Greg M. Thomas, *Regrouping. Displays of Loot from 'Yuanmingyuan'*, in: *Proceedings of CIHA Nürnberg* (2012), pp. 509–513.

**4** Ines Eben von Racknitz, *Die Plünderung des Yuanmingyuan. Imperiale Beutenahe im britisch-französischen Chinafeldzug von 1860*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012.

**5** In 2015, Louise Tythacott published an article on Trophies of War: Representing 'Summer Palace' Loot in Military Museums in the UK, in: *Museums & Society* 13 (2015), pp. 469–488. In 2018, her book entitled *Collecting and Displaying China's 'Summer Palace' in the West: The Yuanmingyuan in Britain and France* was published at Routledge.

**6** See her website: <http://www.yuanmingyuanartefactindex.org> (accessed 26 April 2018). Kate Hill has published about Yuanmingyuan artefacts since 2009. See for example: Kate Hill, *Chinese Ceramics in United Kingdom Military Museums*, in: *The Oriental Ceramic Society Newsletter* 20 (2012), pp. 11–14; Kate Hill, *Collecting on Campaign: British Soldiers in China during the Opium War*, in: *Journal of the History of Collections* 25 (2013), pp. 227–252.

**7** Reliable and accessible Chinese sources are unknown to me so far. I would be grateful for suggestions.

**8** See mainly: Maurice d'Hérisson, *Journal d'un interprète en Chine*, Paris: Paul Ollendorff, 1886; Henry Knolly, *Incidents in the China War of 1860 compiled from the Private Journal of General Sir Hope Grant*, Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1875; R.J.L. M'Ghee, *How we Got to Peking*, London: Richard Bentley, 1862; David Field Rennie, *Peking and the Pekingese*, London: John Murray, 1865; Robert Swinhoe, *Narrative in the North China Campaign of 1860*, London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1861; Alexander Bruce Tulloch, *Recollections of Forty Years Service*, Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1903; Charles Pyndar Beauchamp Walker, *Days of a Soldier's Life*,

ent sources with regard to the objects that entered the European market, the prices paid for them and their buyers. London auction results are based on research in the National Art Library at the Victoria & Albert Museum for the auction catalogues and Christie's archive for the auctioneer's books. The French sources – auction catalogues and *procès-verbaux* – were consulted in the Bibliothèque nationale de France and in the Archives de Paris.<sup>9</sup>

The looting of the so-called Yuanmingyuan, the Imperial or Old Summer Palace to the northwest of Beijing, took place at the end of the Second Opium War, mainly between 7 and 9 October 1860.<sup>10</sup> The palace complex with its gardens<sup>11</sup> had been the residence and administrative centre of the Chinese sovereign since the time of the Qianlong Emperor who reigned from 1735–1796. It covered an area of 3.5 square kilometres and included hundreds of small gardens, lakes, bridges, halls, pavilions, temples and palaces, among them European-style buildings and fountains planned and designed between 1747 and 1766 by the Jesuit Giuseppe Castiglione together with Michel Benoist, who was responsible for the fountains. Thousands of artefacts, mostly of Chinese origin but also from Europe, were stored in the halls, along with unique copies of literary works.

The allied Western troops plundered the palace complex from 7 October onwards and burned it down on 18 October. The plunder was a brutal and uncontrolled act. We have to imagine that thousands of soldiers<sup>12</sup> overran the complex and 'destroyed as many objects as they took'.<sup>13</sup> In his *Narrative of the War with China in 1860*, Colonel Garnet Wolsley of the British Army described it as follows: 'Officers and men seemed

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London: Chapman and Hall, 1894; Garnett Joseph Wolsley, *Narrative of the War with China in 1860*, London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1862.

<sup>9</sup> I am very grateful that Léa Saint-Raymond shared her unique database on Paris auction activities between 1858 and 1939 with me for this article, providing me with details on auctions of East Asian art in 1862. Her support was invaluable. Also see: Léa Saint-Raymond, *Les ventes aux enchères d'objets asiatiques à Paris entre 1858 et 1913: statistiques et listes des principaux acquéreurs*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.7910/DVN/G96SRI> (accessed 25 September 2017).

<sup>10</sup> The plundering may already have started before the morning of 7 October. British sources report that the French started sacking the night before – and even after the 9th, the looting continued (Wolsley [1862] [as fn. 8], p. 224).

<sup>11</sup> The Old Summer Palace consisted of three gardens: the original Garden of Perfect Brightness (Yuanmingyuan), the Garden of Eternal Spring (Changchunyuan), where the European style palaces were located, and the Elegant Spring Garden (Qichunyuan).

<sup>12</sup> The Western armies counted 17,000 men in total. Wong indicates that less than 10,000 troops were engaged in the sacking of the Yuanmingyuan (Young-Tsu Wong, *A Paradise Lost. The Imperial Gardens of Yuanming Yuan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001, p. 142). Tythacott speaks of more than 4,800 men (Tythacott [2015] [as fn. 5], p. 469).

<sup>13</sup> Thomas (2012) (as fn. 3), p. 509. Hevia imagines the situation as a 'carnival-like-atmosphere' (Hevia [2003] [as fn. 1], p. 80).

to have been seized with a temporary insanity; in body and soul they were absorbed in one pursuit, which was plunder, plunder.<sup>14</sup>

The sacking of the Yuanmingyuan was a multinational act, primarily driven by the British and the French. But it involved even other nationalities, especially Indian soldiers, who comprised a third of the British army. Between 7 and 9 October, two acts of looting took place: an official prize-taking for the English and French court by the officers in the morning of 7 October and the accepted plunder by all army members during the following days.<sup>15</sup>

Among the official prizes taken by officers were trophies of political significance, such as imperial robes, sceptres and armours (among them the ‘Cap of the Emperor of China’, two or three of the Emperor’s state robes of rich yellow silk and a carved screen ‘from behind the Emperor’s throne’<sup>16</sup>) and works of art thought to be culturally significant, including many pieces of porcelain and other decorative arts, a small jade-covered book said to contain the sayings of Confucius, a Buddhist shrine, and Buddhist wall paintings. A third category contained objects taken from the emperor’s private quarters.<sup>17</sup> During the looting by all army members, the soldiers mainly concentrated on items that could easily be carried and/or had obvious high material value such as silk, pearls, gold, ivory or jade, objects for personal use such as furs or watches, and objects of political significance – reminiscences of the Emperor of China such as state robes or seals.<sup>18</sup> Compared to the French allies from the infantry, British army members, who were mostly from the cavalry, were much more organised when it came to looting. The British looted in groups, and with their horses, they could not only cover a larger area but also carry away much heavier objects.<sup>19</sup>

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**14** Wolsley (1862) (as fn. 8), p. 227.

**15** At this point, the war had been going on for almost three years, and England and France had reached a formal agreement for how to deal with captured artworks: the Convention of Joint Captures in China signed on 22 February 1860 in Paris.

**16** Hevia (2003) (as fn. 1), p. 86.

**17** Thomas (2012) (as fn. 3), p. 510.

**18** Swinhoe (1861) (as fn. 8), p. 299: ‘The French camp was revelling in silks and bijouteries [...]. One French officer had a string of splendid pearls, each pearl being of the size of a marble (this he afterwards foolishly disposed of at Hong Kong for 3.000 pounds), others had pencil-cases set with diamonds; others watches and vases set with pearls.’ And on page 307: ‘New rooms were constantly being found as the marauders extended their researches, still untouched and filled with old bronzes, clocks, enamelled jars, and an infinity of jade-stone curiosities. To these the plunderers rushed with eagerness.’

**19** Régine Thiriez, *Barbarian Lens. Western Photographs of the Qianlong Emperor’s European Palaces*, Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach Publishers, 1998, p. 56.

## Legal Background

The looting of the Yuanmingyuan was no exception, but conformed to a legal norm among European forces. Before the Hague Convention of 1899 looting was a legal part of warfare outside Europe, especially in the colonial wars, even if the rising bourgeois elite began to raise critical voices in the nineteenth century, denouncing plunder as a transgression of civilised behaviour.<sup>20</sup>

In Great Britain, it was an established principle that looted objects were the legal property (prize) of the British sovereign and that part of the loot could be awarded to the soldiers.<sup>21</sup> Operating with enlisted men, the prospect of loot increased the attractiveness of working as a soldier. The opportunities for prize were even used on recruiting posters.<sup>22</sup> At the same time, uncontrolled plunder by the soldiers ran the risk of losing control over the army. Therefore, it was usually contained by military discipline and the threat of punishment. Colonel Wolsley described it as follows: ‘When looting is once commenced by an army, it is no easy matter to stop it. At such times human nature breaks down the ordinary trammels which discipline imposes, and the consequences are most demoralizing to the very best constituted army.’<sup>23</sup>

During the capture of Sri Rangapattana (Seringapatam) in 1799, British army members plundered as much as during the Anglo-Burmese Wars (the first one starting in 1823) or the Indian Mutiny (1857–1858). In China, during all Opium Wars (from 1839 on) military collecting through plunder was the norm.<sup>24</sup>

To find a balance between unchecked plunder and its control, the British army had implemented a ‘prize’ system. It followed fixed rules: prize agents were appointed who inventoried all plunder and arranged a public auction, keeping a record of each sale. Prize money was distributed via the Royal Hospital Chelsea, following a prize roll that determined how much money had to be paid to which member of the army in accordance with his rank. As Hevia points out, in this system plundered objects were converted into prize via auction market mechanisms: they were transformed into a military-legal category.<sup>25</sup>

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**20** Hevia (2007) (as fn. 2), p. 130.

**21** This principle derived from naval law. See: Act for regulating the Payment of Army Prize Money, and to provide for the Payment of unclaimed and forfeited Shares to Chelsea Hospital (July 14, 1814), in: John Raithby (ed.), *The Status relating to the admiralty, navy, shipping, and navigation of the United Kingdom*, London: George Eyre and Andrew Strahan, 1823, pp. 876–878. See also: Alexander Gillespie, *A History of the Laws of War. Volume 2: The Custom and Laws of War with Regards to Civilians in Times of Conflicts*, Oxford and Portland: Hart Publishing, 2011, p. 249f.

**22** Byron Farwell, *Mr. Kipling’s Army. All the Queen’s Men*, New York: Norton, 1981, p. 211.

**23** Wolsley (1862) (as fn. 8), pp. 224–225.

**24** See Hill (2013) (as fn. 6).

**25** Hevia (2007) (as fn. 2), p. 130.

In France the plunder of artefacts remained part of colonial warfare outside Europe even though it had been officially outlawed since the 1815 Congress of Vienna. Reasons for this may have been the military reforms undertaken during the war in Algeria in 1840, where the traditional system of controlling the enemy via forts had been replaced by patrols operating freely within the country. Part of this new way of controlling the colonised country were raids that included legalized forms of plunder.<sup>26</sup>

## First Market Activities in Beijing: Legalisation and Commodification

After the sacking of the Yuanmingyuan in October 1860, both the British and the French nations had mechanisms in place to create an instant market for looted objects – though they adopted different systems. As almost all of the objects looted from the Yuanmingyuan had been exclusively made for the emperor or his household (and not for trade circulation), these market activities initiated the commodification of the objects.

The British army applied its characteristic prize system, but in an unusual way: Both the auction and the distribution of the prize money were conducted *in situ* (later practised again in the Third Anglo-Burmese war).<sup>27</sup> When looting had come to an end, the British commander General Hope Grant set up a prize committee.<sup>28</sup> First, all booty was collected and then put on display in the British Headquarters, the Yellow or Lama Temple at Andingmen: ‘white and green jade-stone ornaments of all tints, enamel-inlaid jars of antique shape, bronzes, gold and silver figures and statuettes, &c.; fine collections and furs, many of which were of much value, such as sable, sea-otter, ermine, Astracan-lamb etc.; and court costumes, among which were two or three of the Emperor’s state robes of rich yellow silk [...]’<sup>29</sup>

The auctions were held between 10 and 12 October 1860: ‘The sale continued over three whole days, and was largely attended by officers and men. A perfect mania of

<sup>26</sup> Eben von Racknitz (2012) (as fn. 4), p. 58f.

<sup>27</sup> See the loot auction in the palace in Mandalay in 1885. Reasons for the decision to hold the auction on the spot in Beijing are various: the commander General Grant argued that – regarding the presence of the French soldiers and their rich loot – he wanted to prevent dissatisfaction among his soldiers; but the symbolic significance of the auction as an example of free trade on Chinese soil, main reason for the war against China, may also have played a part. Furthermore, the auction was retaliation for the humiliation of British powers in China. See Knollys (1875) (as fn. 8), p. 177ff.

<sup>28</sup> Colonel C.P.B. Walker was in charge of the prize committee.

<sup>29</sup> Swinhoe (1861) (as fn. 8), p. 311. Robert Swinhoe (1836–1877) served as translator of the British Campaign.

competition appeared to have seized all ranks, and the prices realized were fabulous. The most trivial article fetched two or three pounds.<sup>30</sup>

Jade objects and porcelain went for 10–30 pounds sterling (according to Knollys, one small tea cup reached 22 pounds), furs for 10–50 pounds and one of the Emperor's court robes was sold for 120 pounds.<sup>31</sup> Compared to the monthly income of a British soldier of one pound in 1861,<sup>32</sup> the sale prices were quite high. One reason may have been the material value of the objects and the strong competition created to obtain them. But the political value, incorporated in the provenance of the objects and the personal relationship of the buyers to it, may also have influenced the development of the prices. Contrary to normal British procedure, the prize money was apportioned on the spot. The total prize money was 26,000 pounds.<sup>33</sup> The substantial contingent of Indian soldiers in the British army were not included in the distribution but were allowed to keep their booty.

The British Beijing auction had several purposes. First and foremost, collecting, auctioning and redistributing were mechanisms to legalise the loot within the military system by transforming it into monetary value that could just as well have been distributed as a royal award among the soldiers. Secondly, the auction had a very important purpose for the soldiers: the market was essential to fulfil one promise held by the object – its function as a financial bonus, since their salary alone did not make participation in war sufficiently attractive. Thirdly, the auction had high political significance: it was meant as a symbol for the system of free trade that the British sought to implement in China – a conflict that had been the main reason for the Opium wars. Furthermore, the auction was seen as revenge for the lifelong humiliation of British powers in China, as Imperial objects exclusively reserved for the Chinese emperor were transformed into basic commodities that could be purchased by everyone. The auctions therefore advertised China's weakness as a nation or – to put it the other way round – they were trophies: a symbol of the Western triumph over the Celestial Empire. And last, but not least, the establishment of a market had the function to transfer the emotions of war into an orderly structure. Especially the British auction included the important element of re-enforcing military order and hierarchy, as the distribution of the 'prize money was done on the basis of rank and race.'<sup>34</sup>

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**30** Ibid.

**31** Knollys (1875) (as fn. 8), p. 180; M'Ghee (1862) (as fn. 8), p. 294; Swinhoe (1861) (as fn. 8), p. 311.

**32** Hevia (2003) (as fn. 1), p. 85, footnote 13.

**33** It was divided up among officers and men as follows: 'first class field officers – £60; second class field officers – £50; chaplains – £40; lieutenants – £30; ensigns – £20; sergeants&c. – £7 10s; privates – £5' (M'Ghee [1862] [as fn. 7], p. 295.; *The Illustrated London News* [05.01.1861]).

**34** Hevia (2007) (as fn. 2), p. 132. See also Thomas (2012) (as fn. 3), p. 509.

On the French side, a market had also been established immediately after the loot – in a very different way than the British one, but also with the intention of re-establishing military order. French military law did not use the auction system to control discipline among the soldiers. They re-enforced it by encouraging the establishment of a free market: when the plunder came to an end, General Montauban appealed to the reason of the men, questioning the possibility of carrying all the booty back home. By mentioning the limited space on the vessels and the possibility of a further Chinese attack, he raised the possibility of losing the whole loot.<sup>35</sup> As a consequence, the soldiers started to sell a good part of the plundered objects:

[...] For knickknacks and bijoux the French camp offered the greatest allurements for several days. You had only to ask the first French soldier you met if he had anything for sale, and he would soon produce gold watches, strings of jewels, jade ornaments, or furs; and number of British officers, who had disposable dollars, quickly found means of exchanging them for objects of greater value in the French camp.<sup>36</sup>

The first marketplaces offering objects looted from the Yuanmingyuan had therefore been established at the site itself, and the objects came into the possession of members of the Western troops. In the case of the British auction we can assume that the loot was mainly sold to the British looters themselves. The French market was a good opportunity for members of the British forces to acquire further objects from the Imperial Chinese collection – especially for those who were unable to acquire a desirable object at the British auction.

But not only army members were involved in the Beijing art market activities in October 1860. Both at the British auction as well as in the context of the French free market, Western merchants and other private persons, for example newspaper correspondents accompanying the troops took advantage of the opportunity to purchase imperial objects. Many of these were later resold either in China or in Europe.<sup>37</sup> Market actors from Europe also played an active part. As army chaplain M’Ghee mentions in his report *How We Got to Peking*, one officer ‘was understood to have an unlimited commission from Baron Rothschild’.<sup>38</sup> This commission must have been given before

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<sup>35</sup> Hérison (1901) (as fn. 8), p. 631.

<sup>36</sup> Swinhoe (1861) (as fn. 8), p. 311.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 310: ‘The store and canteen keepers who followed the camp consequently drove a large business in this article [silk], receiving payment for stores and liquors supplied to the troops in silk at that rate.’

<sup>38</sup> M’Ghee (1862) (as fn. 8), p. 294.

the looting itself as communication between Europe and China could only have been conducted with a delay of several weeks.<sup>39</sup> Mandates from European market actors (collectors, dealers) like the Rothschild commission may even have pushed the event in some way.

Besides different Western groups of buyers, local actors were involved in these market activities. There were also Chinese looters at the Yuanmingyuan, residents from neighbouring villages mainly focussing on cloth and china.<sup>40</sup> These local looters may have kept some items for personal collections and sold others to foreign soldiers, to Beijing antique dealers, and on a black market. The court soon issued decrees to its citizens requiring all imperial property to be returned, but relatively little was recovered.<sup>41</sup>

Very soon after the looting, imperial objects appeared at Liulichang, the street for antiques and curiosities in Beijing, where members of the Western troops purchased objects before returning home.<sup>42</sup> Soon, traders in treaty ports (mainly Shanghai and Guangzhou) and Hongkong offered artefacts from the imperial collection that had been sold to them by Chinese or Western dealers, or soldiers on their way home.<sup>43</sup>

A considerable part of the Western loot was immediately brought from Beijing to Tianjin, where foreign vessels anchored, and was shipped to Europe.<sup>44</sup>

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**39** In 1860, mail from China needed 43–46 days to reach Europe; see: Robert Bickers, *The Scramble for China. Foreign Devils in the Qing Empire, 1832–1914*, London (et al.): Allen Lane, 2011, p. 165.

**40** M'Ghee (1862) (as fn. 8), p. 212: '(I met scores of Chinese) carrying away heavy loads of plunder from the outbuildings of the palace (chiefly cloth and china).' Swinhoe (1861) (as fn. 8), p. 307: 'Chinese from the surrounding villages crowded in and added their numbers to the vivacious looters, and hundreds of them were going backwards and forwards all day laden with bundles of spoils.'

**41** Thomas (2012) (as fn. 3), p. 510, footnote 4 refers to court documents 305–328.

**42** M'Ghee (1862) (as fn. 8), p. 302; *Illustrated London News* (16 February 1861), p. 142 and 147.

**43** The *Illustrated London News* reported on 13 April 1861, p. 339, that 'a certain quantity of the booty' had made its way to Shanghai and Hong Kong, where it was purchased by the 'Celestials themselves'. Rennie (1865) (as fn. 8), vol. 2, p. 100f. 'October 6th. – Mr. Wade, when last at the Foreign Office, saw a copy of the edition in Chinese of the 'Daily Press' newspaper, which is published in Hong Kong. They appear to take it in regularly at the Foreign Office, and read it with much care. On the occasion in question, Wan-se-ang drew his attention to some European advertisements in it, offering valuable jade-stone ornaments for sale, warranted as having been taken from the Yuen-ming-yuen. Wan-se-ang remarked that it was a pity that in a paper, printed specially for circulation amongst the Chinese, insertion should be given to notices of this nature, which must be very offensive to them to read.' According to Eben von Racknitz (2012) (as fn. 4), p. 209, footnote 432, shortly after the sacking, a large quantity of silk appeared on the Shanghai market.

**44** See: Wong (2001) (as fn. 12), p. 142 who is citing from a material collection concerning the Yuanmingyuan, the Yuan ming yuan zi liao ji (1984), pp. 130–131.

## Summer Palace Loot in Europe

As early as late January 1861, objects from the Old Summer Palace may have reached Europe.<sup>45</sup> The official royal loot was brought to Queen Victoria in London and Emperor Napoléon III and his wife Eugénie in Paris.<sup>46</sup> The reception in each of the countries was very different. This may have influenced their general reception and development as commodities on the market.

Between February and April 1861 and shortly after their arrival in France, the objects were publicly shown in the *Pavillon de Marsan* in the Tuileries Palace.<sup>47</sup> The exhibition was a big success, attended by many visitors<sup>48</sup> who could primarily admire military equipment, imperial sceptres and arms ‘en or massif avec des pierres de jade [...], travaux d’email dépassant les dimensions connues, porcelaines de toutes formes et appartenant aux différentes époques de l’art chinois, pierres de jade d’un travail parfait et d’une rare grosseur.’<sup>49</sup> The instant exhibition of the loot in France was accompanied by press reviews. In *Le Monde Illustré* from 23 February, Allongé presents the exhibition of the imperial objects as ‘un des spectacles les plus étranges’, mentioning above all the excessive size and precious material but also the ‘travail parfait’ of the enamel and jade objects and the age of the porcelain.<sup>50</sup> In his review published in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* on 15 March, China scholar Guillaume Pauthier points out the uniqueness of the collection (unique also in China), praises their high technical quality and aesthetic as well as their art historical value (using the term ‘art chinois’, rendering ‘China equal to Europe in cultural prestige’<sup>51</sup>) and expresses – at the same time – his regrets regarding the displacement of the objects

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<sup>45</sup> The exact date of arrival is unknown. But taking into account the transfer time from Beijing to Tianjin or Dagu, and the fact that before 1871 (establishment of a steamboat line) the passage from China to Europe took at least 100 days ([http://www.dhm.de/archiv/ausstellungen/tsingtau/katalog/auf1\\_1.htm](http://www.dhm.de/archiv/ausstellungen/tsingtau/katalog/auf1_1.htm) [accessed 27 March 2017]), it is unlikely that looted objects from the Yuanmingyuan arrived in Europe before end of January 1861.

<sup>46</sup> In both cases, it remains unclear how many objects and what exactly the royalties received. Hevia (1994) (as fn. 2), p. 327, mentions that only few objects dedicated to the British Crown finally reached the royal court in London. According to Xavier Salmon, former *directeur du patrimoine et des collections* at the Château de Fontainebleau, the French emperor and his wife received 600–800 objects (see: <http://culturelocker.com/story/2013/France-Fontainebleau.html> [accessed 7 June 2016]). A few political and military items went to Napoléon III, but most of the loot was given to Eugénie, in gratitude for her assistance with medical supplies during the war.

<sup>47</sup> See announcement in *Le Monde Illustré*, 23 February 1861, p. 128.

<sup>48</sup> Guillaume Pauthier, Des curiosités chinoises exposées aux Tuileries, in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 9 (15.03.1861), pp. 363–369. Pauthier speaks about a ‘foule compacte qui ne permettait pas le plus souvent de [...] voir [les objets] de près’ (p. 365).

<sup>49</sup> Allongé, Exposition des présents offerts à Leurs Majestés par l’armée expéditionnaire de Chine, in: *Le Monde Illustré*, 23 February 1861, p. 128.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Thomas (2012) (as fn. 3), p. 510.

and the dispersion of the whole collection.<sup>52</sup> This reflects the controversy the objects were facing in France and which had an impact on the way they were handled on the market. On the one hand, we see the cultural appreciation and a fascination for the unknown cultural treasures. On the other hand, we hear the criticism of an international engagement that was shared by many other contemporaries and that reflected the domestic political turbulences under Napoléon III.<sup>53</sup> In the antimonarchic climate of the era, the exhibition was an instrument to display royal power and success with regard to foreign affairs, therefore strengthening the position of the controversial sovereign couple. The display continued after the public exhibition in a private sphere: inside the private family wing of the Château de Fontainebleau, Eugénie established a small museum over two rooms, the so-called *Musée chinois*, where the objects remain until today.

In Britain, the imperial artefacts from China were absorbed into the existing Royal Collection, which already held much Chinese decorative art collected by George IV. Contrary to France, they were not given their own space in the royal buildings,<sup>54</sup> and also, no public exhibition was organised.<sup>55</sup> British critical voices also condemned the sacking of the Yuanmingyuan – but in this instance not as an instrument of criticising the royal family: Queen Victoria was well established. Public perception was dominated by the success of the expedition and the conclusion of the commercial contracts settling the free trade favoured by the British.<sup>56</sup>

The private loot that arrived in France and Great Britain was displayed in military buildings<sup>57</sup>, kept as souvenirs and curios in family collections<sup>58</sup> or was sold in the

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52 Pauthier (1861) (as fn. 48), p. 363: 'Je ne puis m'empêcher d'exprimer d'abord ici le regret, et un regret profond, que ces objets d'art soient tombés, avec tant d'autres, entre les mains de nos soldats, par le droit brutal de la guerre; et, ensuite, que les collections accumulées depuis plus d'un siècle dans les palais d'été des empereurs, collections assurément uniques en Chine, pour l'abondance et la rareté des objets, aient été dispersées à tous les vents, et qu'ils n'en soit arrivé en France qu'un faible échantillon, lequel, à lui seul, est loin de suffire à donner une idée complète de l'art chinois.'

53 See also: Eben von Racknitz (2012) (as fn. 4), p. 249ff.

54 Today, most of them are still there and part is in the Victoria & Albert Museum without reference to their provenance for the visitor.

55 Even if there were plans to exhibit part of the French and the British royal loot at the London International Exposition in 1862, ultimately this did not happen, 'only a large carved screen taken from behind an imperial throne and the 'skull of Confucius' actually turned up.' In the absence of royal loot, the items had been sent over by British experts from China. See also: Hevia (1994) (as fn. 2), p. 327 and Hevia (2003) (as fn. 1), p. 96.

56 Eben von Racknitz (2012) (as fn. 4), p. 264ff.

57 For Great Britain see Tythacott (2013) (as fn. 5).

58 For example the collection of Charles George Gordon, today: Royal Engineers Museum in Gillingham.

1860's and later, be it through dealers or at auction. In London as well as in Paris the public agreed that nothing similar ever had been on the market in Europe before.<sup>59</sup>

The objects saw a vivid reception in the press – above all in the *London Illustrated News* and *Le Monde Illustré* in Paris – and hence went through a process of 'enrichment' that enhanced their attractiveness on the market.<sup>60</sup> The timely publication of reports on the sacking by army members in England as well as in France surely contributed to the publicity of the objects.<sup>61</sup>

## Commodification on the European Market

The first objects from the Summer Palace in Peking were auctioned in London on 18 April 1861. Eight more sales followed in the same year, and eight in 1862. In Paris, the first auction took place on 12 December 1861 and ten further sales during the following year.<sup>62</sup>

### 1 Object groups

With the arrival of the imperial loot from the Yuanmingyuan, the number and range of artefacts from China on the European market increased immensely. The analysis of Saint-Raymond's data collection for East Asian auctions in Paris in 1862 shows that with the arrival of the Yuanmingyuan loot, the total number of Chinese items sold in Paris grew significantly. While in 1857 there were 837 objects from China that were auctioned, and only 211 in 1858, a total of 1,602 were sold in 1862, with almost half of them (785) from the Imperial Palace in China – an increase of 64% (fig. 1).<sup>63</sup>

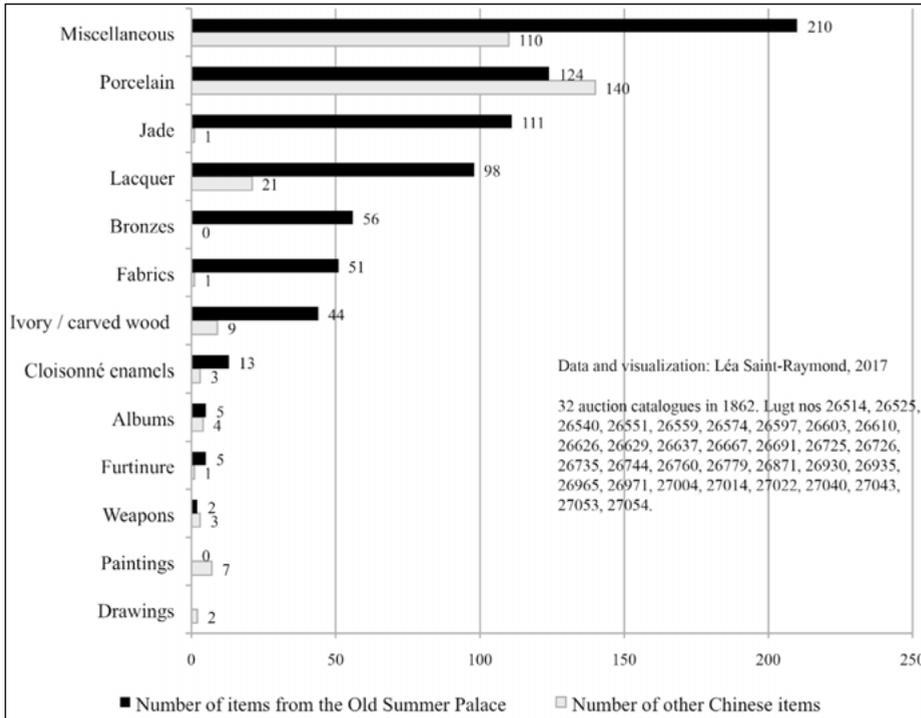
<sup>59</sup> Pauthier (1861) (as fn. 48), p. 363: 'Ces objets [...] sont [...] de grands et beaux échantillons de l'art chinois moderne, comme on n'en avait pas encore vu en Europe.'

<sup>60</sup> For the theory of market 'enrichment', a mechanism to associate already existing things with narratives, see: Luc Boltanski and Arnaud Esquerre, *Enrichissement. Une critique de la marchandise*, Paris: Gallimard, 2017, p. 11.

<sup>61</sup> At least two reports had been published in England in 1861 (Dune and Swinhoe) and two more the following year (M'Ghee and Wolsley). In France, one report came out in 1861 (Mutrécy) and five more in 1862 (Bazancourt, Blondel, Lucy, Roy and Varin).

<sup>62</sup> See the annex at the end of the article. The London auctions were held at Phillips and Christie, Manson & Woods, the auctions in Paris at the Hôtel Drouot.

<sup>63</sup> Léa Saint-Raymond's research data are available at Harvard Dataverse under: <https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/ORIS9K> (accessed 28 March 2017). As some auctions including Chinese items are not included in the dataset (Lugt Nr. 26468, 26514, 26712, 27058, 27118, 27232) we can assume that the number of possible Summer Palace objects was even higher.



**Fig. 1:** Categories and number of Chinese objects (with the provenance Summer Palace and others) sold at auction in Paris in 1862.

Many object groups, especially Chinese antiquities, were new to the European audience or rather rarely appeared at auction before 1862, as it is said in the introduction of a Parisian auction catalogue of that time: ‘Jusque là, il n’en était venu en Europe que des spécimens secondaires, généralement modernes.’<sup>64</sup> In London, enamels, porcelain and jade were the dominant object groups from the Yuanmingyuan on the auction market. In 1862, 55 enamels, 100 porcelains and 22 jade objects had been sold at Christie, Manson and Woods. In Paris, the auction market was dominated by bronzes (a total of 56 bronzes from the Yuanmingyuan were auctioned in 1862 besides no other), jade (111 jade objects from the Yuanmingyuan in 1862 versus one with another provenance) and fabrics (51 with an imperial provenance versus one with no imperial background).

<sup>64</sup> *Catalogue des objets précieux provenant en grande partie du palais d’été de Yuen-ming-yuen et composant le musée japonais et chinois de Monsieur le Colonel Du Pin*, Paris: Renou et Maude, 1862, p. 5.

It is interesting to know that paintings were a category that was not much looted. As Thomas explores, this might have had two reasons: First, the Yuanmingyuan was not the place where the imperial paintings and calligraphies were kept. These were stored in the Forbidden City. Secondly, out of ignorance, the European looters may not 'have recognized any aesthetic, political, or monetary value in these works of art.'<sup>65</sup> At least in Paris, the works on paper from the Summer Palace did not attract much attention, as the famous example of the *Grand album représentant les 40 vues des palais de Yuen-Ming-Yuen* shows: The album was auctioned at Drouot at the end of February 1862 as part of Colonel Du Pin's collection. The auction's expert Dhios noted an estimated value of 20,000 francs (795 pounds at that time) in his annotated catalogue where the pictures of the album were announced as 'pièces uniques'.<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, the album failed to attract its minimum bid and was offered again at auction two months later where it was purchased by its only bidder, the Bibliothèque Impériale (today's Bibliothèque nationale de France).<sup>67</sup> In London, drawings and manuscripts from China seem to have been more successful: all three lots in this category offered at the Christie, Manson and Woods auction on 30 May 1862 could successfully be sold.<sup>68</sup>

From the first auction of Yuanmingyuan loot in London, European auction houses took advantage of the provenance of the objects. It was not a fact to be hidden, but a selling point. Almost every catalogue referred to the Summer Palace (respectively *Palais d'Été* in French) or the Emperor's household as the objects' place of origin and used it as an important element in the semantic creation of value – either already in the title of the catalogue or in the description of the object categories as well as a supplement to object descriptions.<sup>69</sup> In French catalogues, even details of the originally

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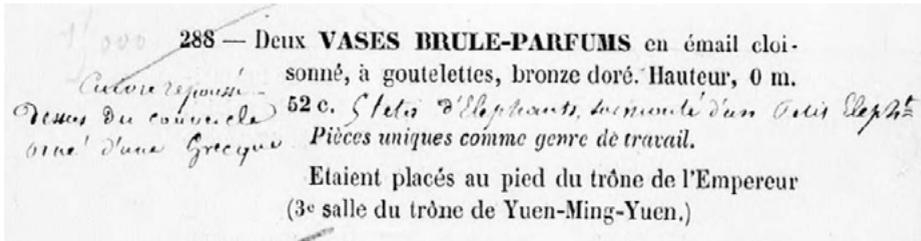
<sup>65</sup> Thomas (2008) (as fn. 3), p. 11 and footnote 54. Montauban writes in his *Expédition* that he managed to take some of the works on paper kept in the Summer Palace but that most of them were destroyed by Chinese looters (Charles-Guillaume-Marie-Apollinaire-Antoine Cousin de Montauban, *L'Expédition de Chine en 1860. Souvenirs du general Cousin de Montauban, comte de Palikao*, Paris: Librairie Plon, 1932, p. 315).

<sup>66</sup> Catalogue Du Pin (1862) (as fn. 64), p. 44. The annotated catalogue of the expert Dhios is accessible at Gallica ([gallica.bnf.fr](http://gallica.bnf.fr)).

<sup>67</sup> *La Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité* 15 (9 March 1862), p. 1: 'La vente a produit environ quatre-vingt-dix mille francs, sans y comprendre les armes japonais et le grand album, peint sur soie, représentant quarante vues des palais impériaux, qui sont renvoyés à des vacations ultérieures.' See also: Christine Howald and Léa Saint-Raymond, *Tracking Dispersal. Auction Sales from the Yuanmingyuan Loot in Paris in the 1860s*, in: *Journal for Art Market Studies* 2, 2 (2018), p. 7f.

<sup>68</sup> I have to add that – in contrast to the above-mentioned album – these were not such high-priced items. According to the auctioneer's book in Christie's Archive, they were auctioned off for an average price of 6 pounds and 20 shillings.

<sup>69</sup> See the annex and also: Léa Saint-Raymond, *La création sémantique de la valeur: le cas de ventes aux enchères d'objets chinois à Paris (1858–1939)*, in: *Actes du colloque 'Déplacements et créations sémantiques Chine – France – Europe'*, Paris: Editions de la rue d'Ulm (forthcoming).



**Fig. 2:** Extract of lot 288 from the *Catalogue des objets précieux provenant en grande partie du palais d'été de Yuen-ming-yuen et composant le musée japonais et chinois de Monsieur le Colonel Du Pin*, Paris: Renou et Maude, 1862, p. 38 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France).

location were given, such as 'étaient placés au pied du trône de l'Empereur (3<sup>e</sup> salle du trône de Yuen-Ming-Yuen).'

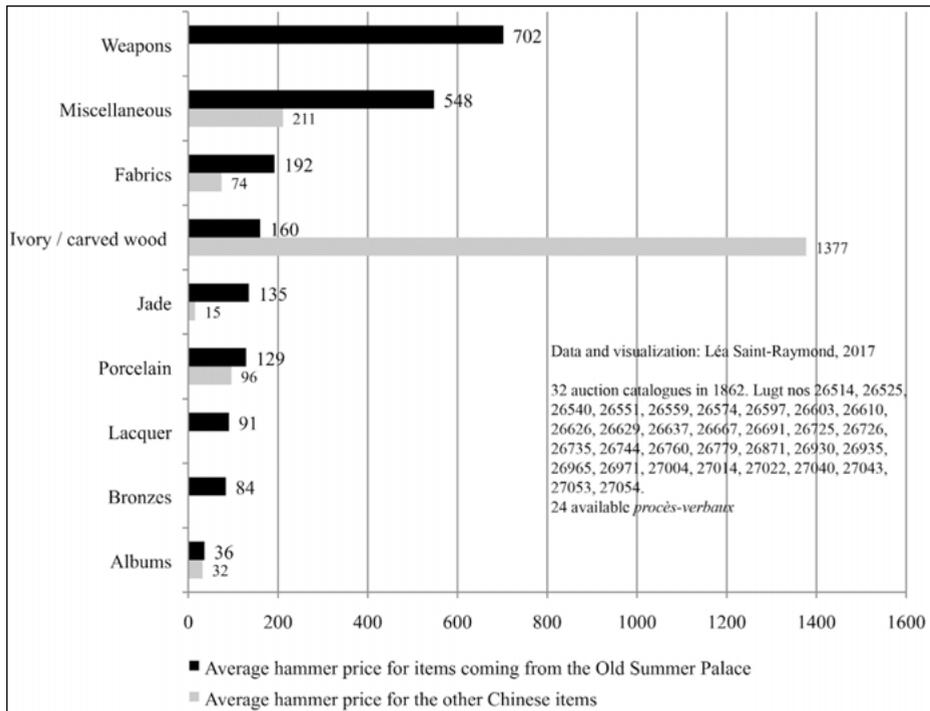
 (fig. 2). However, the reason and circumstances of the translocation were never described.

The reference to the Yuanmingyuan put objects into a context and provided them with a story, a political or military value that enhanced the attractiveness of purchasing them, in addition to their exotic value.<sup>70</sup> The prestigious provenance of an object (did anybody in London ever before own a state robe of the Chinese Emperor?) not only played a remarkable part in the social acknowledgement of its owner – it also allowed remote participation in the 'war event', the victory over an enemy king. Even opponents to the looting of the Yuanmingyuan itself, such as Victor Hugo<sup>71</sup> or Guillaume Pauthier, did not appear to question the legitimacy of the European possession of the imperial artefacts. Victor Hugo himself owned objects from there.<sup>72</sup> This shows the ambivalence of the French public opposition, which may have above all been motivated by the wish to criticise the domestic political situation.

<sup>70</sup> In the Du Pin catalogue (1862) (as fn. 64), pp. 5–6, this is pointed out as follows: 'Les objets trouvés dans le palais d'été de Yuen-Ming-Yuen, dans le cabinet secret de l'empereur et dans les grandes pagodes, ont un intérêt historique qui en augmente la valeur comme œuvre d'art.'

<sup>71</sup> Du Pin catalogue (1862) (as fn. 64), p. 38: lot 288, *Deux Vases Brûle-Parfums*.

<sup>72</sup> 'La maison de Victor Hugo, à Guernesey, contient de nombreux éléments empruntés à l'art décoratif chinois, des objets achetés à Londres et Bruxelles [...]. On peut lire dans les Carnets du poète, à la date du 23 mars 1865: Acheté tout le lot de soieries de Chine vendu par un officier anglais qui était de l'expédition et qui l'a pris au palais de l'empereur de la Chine.' (Bernard Brizay, *Le Sac du Palais d'Été*, Paris: Editions du Rocher, 2003, p. 522).



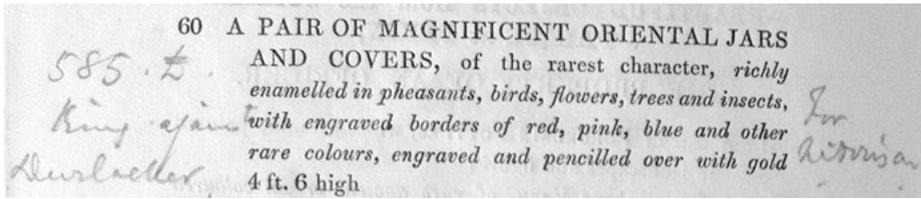
**Fig. 3:** Average hammer price per category of Chinese objects (with the provenance Summer Palace and others) sold at auction in Paris in 1862.

## 2 Prices

The provenance and publicity of the objects, accompanied by an awareness of their rarity not only in Europe but also in China itself,<sup>73</sup> had an impact on their pricing (fig. 3).<sup>74</sup> Already in Beijing, market actors had commented on high prices achieved

<sup>73</sup> Pauthier (1861) (as fn. 48), p. 363, speaks of ‘collections assurément uniques en Chine, pour l’abondance et la rareté des objets’ and in the *Catalogue Du Pin* (1862) (as fn. 64) the objects are described as ‘pièce d’une grande rareté en Chine’ (No. 293 *Flacon Tabatière*, p. 39) or ‘à une très grande valeur en Chine’ (No. 316 *Vase à Pans Carrés*, p. 42).

<sup>74</sup> In order to compare the prices that objects from the Yuanmingyuan achieved in Paris and London, the French auction results were converted from French Francs into Pound Sterling at the rate of 25,14:1 by the historical currency converter of Stockholm University. As the gold standard was implemented after 1862, this can only be an approximate approach. For the historical currency converter of the Stockholm University see <http://www.historicalstatistics.org/Currencyconverter.html>



**Fig. 4:** Extract of lot 60 from the *Catalogue of A valuable and interesting collection of Objects of Chinese Art from the Summer Palace at Pekin, The Property of an Officer [...]*, Which will be sold by auction by Mr. Phillips at his Great Rooms, 73, Bond Street, On Thursday, the 18th day of April, 1861, at one o'clock precisely, London: J. Davy & Sons, 1861, p. 6 (London, National Art Library).

at the British auction.<sup>75</sup> But there was a further, in some cases immense price rise on the European market.<sup>76</sup> First of all, this concerns the maximum paid for an object: while the highest price at the Beijing auction was 120 pounds for a court dress of the Chinese Emperor, a pair of ‘magnificent oriental jars’ fetched 585 pounds at the first auction at Phillips on 18 April 1861 (fig. 4). But, it must be emphasised, this was a singular case, and the 4,6 feet high object was ‘of the rarest character [...] engraved and pencilled over with gold’<sup>77</sup>.

In general, prices achieved for Yuanmingyuan loot at auctions in London and Paris were much lower. They ranged between 2,14 pounds and 27,90 pounds (average prices), depending on the object group.<sup>78</sup> Below, I will compare the price ranges on

(accessed 22 June 2017). My thanks go to Felicity Bodenstein, Léa Saint-Raymond and Susanne Meyer-Bich for their support in finding a solution to the question of historical currency conversion.

<sup>75</sup> See Swinhoe (1861) (as fn. 8), p. 311; or: Walker (1894) (as fn. 8), p. 213: ‘The articles at the sale fetched such ridiculous prices that I preferred keeping my money to buy presents elsewhere.’

<sup>76</sup> M’Ghee (1862) (as fn. 8), p. 294: ‘There was the usual amount of amusement that an auction affords when everyone knows everyone else; it went off very merrily, and though the things appeared to sell for very high prices, still they did not reach anything like the value they would bear in Europe.’

<sup>77</sup> *Catalogue of A valuable and interesting collection of Objects of Chinese Art from the Summer Palace at Pekin, The Property of an Officer, including Vases, Beakers, Incense Burners of the Ancient Enamel; also, Ancient Crackle, Egg-Shell & Enamelled Porcelain, Vases, Bottles, Cups and Figures, in Green and White Jade, Embroidered Dresses, Covers for the Table, &c. A Pair of Magnificent Oriental China Vases & Covers, 4 ft. 7 in. high, beautifully Enamelled in Colors, Pheasants, Birds, Flowers, &c. the Belts engraved on a Pink Ground; and a set of five oriental jars and Beakers, fine old Chelsea Figures, and other fine specimens from the country. Which will be sold by auction by Mr. Phillips at his Great Rooms, 73, Bond Street, On Thursday, the 18th day of April, 1861, a one o'clock precisely*, London: J. Davy & Sons, 1861, p. 6.

<sup>78</sup> As mentioned, these are average prices. The whole price range also included much lower prices. At the London auction at Christie, Manson and Woods on 30 May 1862 (Lugt No. 26825), porcelain from the Summer Palace (lot 174–268) was sold for prices between 5 shillings and 13 pounds.

the basis of the auction results of the year 1862, the first year in which objects from the Yuanmingyuan were well established in both auction markets.

In London, the largest group of objects from the Summer Palace in the auctions of 1862 were pieces of ancient porcelain. In total, 100 lots were sold for an average price of 14,92 pounds. The highest price with 99,5 pounds was achieved for *a bottle of elegant form* (lot 58) at the auction at Christie, Manson and Woods on 21 July 1862. The highest price achieved for an object with the provenance Yuanmingyuan that year were 155 pounds for *a vase with cylindrical handle, enamelled with flowers on crimson ground* (lot 257 at the auction at Christie, Manson and Woods on 30 May 1862). In total, 55 enamels from the Summer Palace were sold at the London auctions that year with an average price of 8,73 pounds. Carvings in jade (22 in total) were sold for an average price of 4,38 pounds, all of them at the Christie, Manson and Woods auction on 21 July 1862. The highest price – 15,10 pounds – was achieved for *a shallow green bowl, most beautifully carved* (lot 95). The four fabrics from the Summer Palace sold that year at an auction in London achieved an average price of 2,14 pounds. Only one bronze from the Yuanmingyuan was sold, for 2,18 pounds and no lacquerware or weaponry.

In Paris, except for porcelain, objects from Yuanmingyuan achieved higher prices than in London.<sup>79</sup> As figure 3 shows, the two weapons auctioned in 1862 reached an average price of 27,90 pounds (702 francs, no other weapons had been sold at the auctions). All other object categories went for much lower average prices per lot: porcelain (124 in total) for 5,13 pounds (129 francs), jade (111 in total) for 5,36 pounds, fabrics (51 in total) for 7,63 pounds (192 francs, versus 74 francs average price for fabrics with another provenance), bronzes (56 in total) for 3,34 pounds (84 francs no other bronzes had been sold at these auctions) and lacquer (98 in total) for 3,62 pounds (91 francs, no other lacquer objects had been sold at these auctions).<sup>80</sup> The only object category where a Yuanmingyuan provenance appeared to go with a reduced price was ivory and carved wood: objects from the Summer palace achieved an average price of 6,36 pounds (160 francs), while objects not from the Summer Palace averaged 54,77 pounds (1,377 francs) – a result that surpassed all prices paid for Yuanmingyuan loot. An exception were the *Objets provenant du Palais d'Été de Yuen-Ming-Yuen* offered on 1 March in section 3 of the Du Pin auction that comprised only objects of very high material or historical value (mostly gold and precious stones). They went up to 318 pounds (8,010 francs) in the case of a *coupe en or massif, ornée de grosses perles fines, rubis, saphirs*<sup>81</sup> or 397 pounds (10,000 francs) for two *vases brule-parfums, pièces*

<sup>79</sup> Once again, Saint-Raymond's database of all auction results for the year 1862 provides the most comprehensive understanding.

<sup>80</sup> Enamels were not listed separately as in the British catalogues.

<sup>81</sup> Catalogue Du Pin (1862) (as fn. 64), p. 38, lot 282.

*uniques comme genre de travail, étaient placés au pied du trône de l'Empereur.*<sup>82</sup> The expected total sale turnover had however been much higher, approximately double the actual auction total.<sup>83</sup>

## Conclusion

The looting of the Summer Palace in Beijing as a consequence of the Second Opium war had a direct impact on the European market for art from China, and the loot changed the disposition of this market significantly. The arrival of Yuanmingyuan loot in Europe created a first, brief flourish of authentic Chinese artefacts on the market. The market movements were strongly related to the provenance of these objects. Their commodification was important for their integration in the European collector's scene, 'for only by auction sale could buyers get a good title'.<sup>84</sup> Their pricing reflected their high material and cultural value as well as the political dimension of their appropriation. These values were translated into European currencies. Contrary to the years after 1900, when objects looted in the course of the Boxer Rebellion in Beijing were auctioned in Europe and no mention of their provenance was made, the market openly referenced the memory of the objects' origin by indicating their provenance.

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid., lot 288.

<sup>83</sup> 596 pounds (15,000 francs) in both cases.

<sup>84</sup> E.G. Allingham, *A Romance of the Rostrum*, London: H.F. & G. Witherby, 1924, p. 256.

## Annex

### London auctions (1861–1862)

18 April 1861

[Lugt 26164] Catalogue of A valuable and interesting collection of Objects of Chinese Art from the Summer Palace at Pekin, The Property of an Officer, including Vases, Beakers, Incense Burners of the Ancient Enamel; also, Ancient Crackle, Egg-Shell & Enamelled Porcelain, Vases, Bottles, Cups and Figures, in Green and White Jade, Embroidered Dresses, Covers for the Table, &c. A Pair of Magnificent Oriental China Vases & Covers, 4 ft. 7 in. high, beautifully Enamelled in Colours, Pheasants, Birds, Flowers, &c. the Belts engraved on a Pink Ground; and a set of five oriental jars and Beakers, fine old Chelsea Figures, and other fine specimens from the country. Which will be sold by auction by Mr. Phillips at his Great Rooms, 73, Bond Street, On Thursday, the 18th day of April, 1861, at one o'clock precisely, London (J. Davy & Sons) 1861.

26 April 1861

[Lugt 26189] Catalogue of an assemblage of Silver & Silver-Gilt Plate, Oriental, Chelsea, Worcester, and other porcelain, Italian And Chinese Bronzes, Wedgwood and Cologne Ware, Japan Lacquer Ware, &c. &c.; will be sold by auction, by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, at their great rooms, 8, King Street, St. James's Square, on Friday, April 26, 1861, at one o'clock precisely, London (W. Clowes and Sons) 1861.

*Lot 114–120: The following Seven Lots were taken from the Summer Palace in Pekin (handwritten note in the Christie's Auctioneer's Book: Captain Dunne)*

27 May 1861

[Lugt 26277] Catalogue of a beautiful collection of Japanese Porcelain, Bronzes, Lacquer Ware, Cabinets, Boxes, &c.; and some beautiful Chinese Enamels, Crystals, &c., From the Summer Palace, Pekin, The Property of a Gentleman, which will be sold by Auction, by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, at their great rooms, 8, King Street, St. James's Square, on Monday, May 27, 1861, at one o'clock precisely, London (W. Clowes and Sons) 1861.

6 June 1861

[Lugt 26298] Catalogue of the valuable collection of Ancient Porcelain, Enamels, Bronzes, &c. &c., Formed with Taste and Judgement during a long Residence in China, by W.R. Adamson, ESQ.; also, A Choice Cabinet of Carvings in Jade, and other Chinese Works of Art and Curiosities, The Property of AN OFFICER of Fane's Horse, Brought from the Summer Palace at Pekin which will be sold by auction, by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, at their great rooms, 8, King Street, St. James's Square, on Thursday, June 6, 1861, at one o'clock precisely, London (W. Clowes and Sons) 1861.

12 June 1861

[Lugt 26304] Catalogue of a valuable assemblage of Fine Old Dresden, Berlin, Vienna, Copenhagen, Furstenberg, Sevres, and Fayence Porcelain; [...] and some finest Chinese curiosities: Which will be sold by Auction by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, at their great rooms, 8, King Street, St. James's Square, on Wednesday, June 12, 1861, at one o'clock precisely, London (W. Clowes and Sons) 1861.

*Lot 178: A Pair of very curious Altar Ornaments, of ancient enamel with flowers in brilliant colours on turquoise ground, the sides pierced and containing gilt figures of deities, on square stands of enamel, the whole enriched with chased metal gilt, on carved stands. These are models of the Pagoda in the Winter Palace at Pékin, and were taken from the Summer Palace*

5 July 1861

[Lugt 26340] Catalogue of a very choice collection of the finest old Japan Lacquer Work (Including Specimens of great Rarity and Beauty) received from That Well-known Traveller and Connoisseur, Robert Fortune, ESQ., and some Magnificent Enamels, Bronzes, &c., From the Summer Palace at Peking. Which will be Sold by Auction by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, at their great rooms, 8, King Street, St. James's Square, on Friday, July 5, 1861, at one o'clock precisely, London (W. Clowes and Sons) 1861.

*Lot 102–117: The following are from the Summer Palace at Peking, the Property of an Officer; Lot 131–153: The following were taken from the Summer Palace, by an Officer, 152: "The Emperor of China's Great Seal of State"*

29 July 1861

[Lugt 26363] Catalogue of a small Collection of Fine Old Porcelain, Chiefly Taken from the Summer Palace at Peking; Twenty Pairs of large Modern Japanese Vases; A Magnificent high Screen of the finest Black and Gold Japan Lacquer Work, &c.&c., and a few articles of plate and porcelain, the Property of Mr. J.B. Behrens, a Bankrupt: which will be sold at auction by Messrs., Christie, Manson & Woods, at their great rooms, 8, King Street, St. James's Square, on Monday, July 29, 1861, at one o'clock precisely, London (W. Clowes and Sons) 1861.

*Lot 12–80: Fine Old Oriental Porcelain, chiefly from the Summer Palace in Peking*

12 December 1861

[Lugt 26466] Catalogue of a consignment of beautiful ancient Chinese Enamels & Porcelain consisting of vases, tripods, incense burners, ewers, model of an elephant, in rare colours, and other decorative pieces, white and green jade ornaments, ancient bronzes, Japanese lacquer ware, cabinets and porcelain, collected by a Gentleman of known taste and judgement, and received direct from Shanghai, per Challenger. Which will be Sold by Auction by Mr. Phillips at his Great Rooms, 73, New Bond Street, On Thursday, 12<sup>th</sup> of December, 1861, at one o'clock precisely, London (J. Davy & Sons) 1861.

*Lot 51/54/61: From the Summer Palace*

19 December 1861

[Lugt 26485] Catalogue of a large and valuable collection of Oriental, Old Worcester and other Porcelain, fine ancient Chinese enamels, from the Summer Palace; richly embroidered silks, 100 boxes of fancy Baskets, of Bamboo Work, from Japan, and rich Buhl and Marqueterie Furniture; also, four beautiful statuettes in marble, and some valuable personal effects, The Property of a gentleman, deceased: which will be sold at auction by Messrs., Christie, Manson & Woods, at their great rooms, 8, King Street, St. James's Square, on Thursday, December 19, 1861, And following Day, at one o'clock precisely, London (W. Clowes and Sons) 1861.

*Lot 231–247: Ancient Chinese Enamels, From the Summer Palace, Peking*

10 April 1862

[Lugt 26707]

*'A Baronet'; 'Officer from Peking', et a. – Porcel. 123 No. (en partie du Palais d'Été) – Dir: Phillips (from: Frits Lugt, Répertoire des Catalogues de Ventes Publiques, volume 3 [1861–1900], La Haye [Martinus Nijhoff] 1964, p. 17.)*

15 May 1862

[Lugt 26800] Catalogue of a collection of Oriental Porcelain, Bronzes, Jade and Soapstone, Ornaments & Japanese Lacquer, formed by Edwin WADMAN, Esq., During Seventeen Years' Residence

in China and Japan; also some fine enamels and silks, taken from the Summer Palace at Peking, by officers in her majesty's service, &c., &c.: which will be sold by auction, by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, at their great rooms, 8, King Street, St. James's Square, on Thursday, May 15, 1862, at one o'clock precisely, London (W. Clowes and Sons) 1862.

22 May 1862

[Lugt 26809] A catalogue of a collection of Bronzes, Porcelain, Lacquer Work & Curiosities, from Japan and China, The Property of a Gentleman; also, some magnificent enamels, porcelain, and silks, taken from the Summer Palace at Pekin; which will be sold by auction, by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, at their great rooms, 8, King Street, St. James's Square, on Thursday, May 22, 1862, at one o'clock precisely, London (W. Clowes and Sons) 1862.

*Lot 12–29 (bronzes) and 70–141 (lacquer)*

30 May 1862

[Lugt 26825] A catalogue of an assemblage of Oriental, Sevres, Dresden, and Chelsea Porcelain, Delft and Wedgwood Ware, Porcelain, Jades, and Bronzes, From the Summer Palace; Clocks, Candelabra, French Bronzes and decorative furniture. Also, Some Ornamental Objects and Chippendale Furniture, The Property of the Late Joseph Humphry, ESQ., Q.C., Removed from Barnes: which will be sold by auction, by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, at their great rooms, 8, King Street, St. James's Square, on Friday, May 30, 1862, at one o'clock precisely, London (W. Clowes and Sons) 1862.

*Lot 174–268*

30 June–1 July 1862

[Lugt 26872] Catalogue of an assemblage of Sevres, Dresden, Oriental, and Other Porcelain, Japanese Bronzes and Lacquer Work, Decorative Furniture, Tapestry; Carvings in Ivory and Wood, And Some Magnificent Enamels, From the Summer Palace at Pekin: which will be sold by auction, by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, at their great rooms, 8, King Street, St. James's Square, on Monday, June 30, 1862, And following day, at one o'clock precisely, London (W. Clowes and Sons) 1862.

*Lot 138–141: 3 enamels from the Summer Palace and 'A Magnificent Incense Burner [...] One of the largest pieces brought to England [...] used as a stove in the Emperor's library'*

21 July 1862

[Lugt 26895] Catalogue of a very choice collection of Ancient Chinese Porcelain, enamels and Carvings, and Jade, Including Specimens of extreme Rarity and Beauty, and all brought from the Summer Palace at Pekin, by an officer; also a very beautiful vase, of the finest old Sevres, [...], which will be sold by auction, by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, at their great rooms, 8, King Street, St. James's Square, on Monday, July 21, 1862, at one o'clock precisely, London (W. Clowes and Sons) 1862.

21 November 1862

[Lugt 26966] Catalogue of a small collection of Ancient Porcelain, formed by a gentleman in Pekin; also a Collection of Japanese Bronzes and Silks, the Property of a Gentleman: which will be sold by auction, by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, at their great rooms, 8, King Street, St. James's Square, on Friday, November 21, 1862, at one o'clock precisely, London (W. Clowes and Sons) 1862.

*Lot 21: A Pair of figures of elephants; Lot 22: A small turquoise bottle; Lot 32–41: Silk – all 'from the Emperor's Palace'*

1–4 December 1862

[Lugt 26991] Catalogue of the splendid collection of Chinese and Japanese Works of Art, contributed to the international Exhibition by Messr. Remi, Schmidt, & Co.: The Carved Furniture, Jewellery, &c., From Ceylon; Mr. Harry Emanuel's Trophy; A large Collection of beautiful Ornamental Objects exhibited in the Zollverein and French Courts; [...] which will be sold by auction, by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, at their great rooms, 8, King Street, St. James's Square, on Monday, December 1, 1862, And following days, at one o'clock precisely, London (W. Clowes and Sons) 1862.

*Lot 120: A Magnificent Carpet of silk velvet; Lot 121: A Ditto, of Imperial yellow; Lot 157: A Small enamel and copper-gilt vase – all 'From the Summer Palace'*

## Paris auctions (1861–1862)<sup>85</sup>

12 December 1861

[Lugt 26468] Catalogue d'une précieuse collection d'objets d'art et de curiosité de la Chine provenant du Palais d'Été de Yuen-Ming-Yuen tels que matières précieuses, magnifiques pièces en jade, cristal de roche, agate orientale, etc; très beaux émaux cloisonnés; bronzes anciens; laques rouges en relief. Très belles étoffes, parmi lesquelles on remarque: une robe en soie jaune de l'empereur de la Chine et la tenture de son lit; un très beau tapis en drap rouge sur lequel est brodé le portrait en pied de l'impératrice de la Chine; un costume complet de général tartare, Paris (Pillet fils aîné) 1861.

*Hôtel Drouot – auctioneer: Charles Pillet; expert: Charles Mannheim; seller: Albert Bertall*

13–14 January 1862

[Lugt 26514] Catalogue d'objets de curiosité provenant du palais d'été de l'empereur de Chine. Belles Pièces en jade et autres matières précieuses; très beau Sceptre et Bâtons de commandement; Objets en laque. Très beau Meuble en laque du Japon, à hauteur d'appui, formant cabinet, d'une grande richesse d'ornementation. Riches Manteaux de cour, de l'Empereur et de l'Impératrice, en velours et soie magnifiquement brodés en or, argent et soie; Etoffes de velours et soie unis et brodés. Une très belle Selle avec tous ses accessoires, garnie de pierreries et ayant appartenu à l'Empereur. Objets en ivoire sculpté; Bronzes, Peintures sur verres; grande et belle lanterne; Porcelaines, etc. Et d'une réunion de meubles anciens en bois sculpté et marqueterie de bois; Faiences anciennes; Bustes et Bas-reliefs en marbre; Bronze et terre cuite; Tapisseries anciennes; Émaux; Bijoux, etc, Paris (Renou & Maulde) 1862.

*Hôtel Drouot – auctioneer: Escribe; expert: Charles Evans; seller: Charles Evans*

30–31 January 1862

[Lugt 26551] Catalogue d'une très belle réunion d'objets d'art et de curiosité de la Chine et du Japon tels que Vase et Autel portatifs en or massif et enrichis de pierreries; Très beau Poignard garni en or et en argent; Garniture de cinq Pièces en argent doré et émaillé à gouttelettes; Bijoux divers en or et en argent; Très beaux Laques du Japon à fond d'or, à fonds noir et aventuriné; Laques rouges de Pékin; Matières précieuses; Superbe Morceau de lapis-lazuli de Perse; Cristaux de roche; Groupes et Amulettes en agate orientale, en onix et en jade; Porcelaines anciennes de la Chine; Bronzes anciens de la Chine et du Japon et incrustés d'argent; Emaux cloisonnés; Objets très fins en ivoire

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<sup>85</sup> My deepest thanks go again to Léa Saint-Raymond for sharing her research results with me.

sculpté; Très belles Robes de chambre en soie garnies de fourrures; Autres Robes et Soieries en pièce; Grand Tapis en soie et en drap brodés de soie et d'or à fleurs; Quantité d'Objets divers. Provenant en grande partie du Palais de Yuen-Ming-Yuen, Paris (Pillet fils aîné) 1862.

*Hôtel Drouot – auctioneer: Charles Pillet; expert: Charles Mannheim; seller: Charles Mannheim*

3–4 February 1862

[Lugt 26659] Notice d'une nombreuse réunion d'objets d'art et de curiosités de la Chine et du Japon. Porcelaines anciennes craquelées; Céladon turquoise et autres décorées de personnages, telles que: Vases, Cornets, Jardinières, Plateaux, Bois, Coupes, etc; Matières précieuses, Jade, Cristal de roche, Agate orientale, Pierre de lard, etc; Bronzes japonais et chinois, dont quelques Pièces à incrustations d'argent; Très grande et belle Vasque, Vases. Fontaines, Brûle-Parfums, Flambeaux, Pagodes, etc; Vases et Cornets en émail cloisonné; Belles Pièces en laque ancien du Japon; Cabinets, Etagères, Paravents, Lits, en bois de fer, en laque et en marqueterie de Nyang-Pô, et quantité d'Objets variés, Paris (Pillet fils aîné) 1862.

*Hôtel Drouot – auctioneer: Charles Pillet, expert: Charles Mannheim; seller: M. Chanton*

22 February 1862

[Lugt 26597] Catalogue d'une jolie réunion d'objets d'art et de curiosité de la Chine et du Japon tels que Vases, Statuettes, Coupes, en jade de diverses nuances, en cristal de roche, etc; Belles Pièces d'orfèvrerie émaillées; Niches pour idoles, Théières, etc, en argent; Bijoux divers; Boîtes, Coffrets, Nécessaires, Ménagères, en laque de Chine et du Japon; Boîtes, Coffrets, Tabourets, etc, en laque de Chine et du Japon; Boîtes, Coffrets, Tabourets, etc, en laque sculpté de Pékin; Très belle Selle japonaise en laque, accompagnée de ses Etriers, Mors, Brides, Chabraque, etc; Jardinière, Bois, Flacons, en émail cloisonné; Sculptures en ivoire; Bronzes anciens, dont une partie incrustée de filets d'argent; Quelques Pièces de Porcelaines anciennes; Très belles Robes de voyage en soie, garnies de fourrures; Robes de dames et de seigneurs de la cour du Japon, très riches; Autres Robes et Soieries en pièce, richement brodées de soie et d'or; Quantité d'Objets variés. Provenant en grande partie du palais de Yuen-Ming-Yuen, Paris (Pillet fils aîné) 1862.

*Hôtel Drouot – auctioneer: Charles Pillet; expert: Charles Mannheim; seller: Charles Mannheim*

26 February–1 March 1862

[Lugt 26610] Catalogue des objets précieux provenant en grande partie du palais d'été de Yuen-Ming-Yuen et composant le musée japonais et chinois de M. le Colonel Du Pin, Paris (Renou et Maulde) 1862.

*Hôtel Drouot – auctioneer: Louis Edouard Baudry; expert: J.M. Dhios*

11–12 April 1862

[Lugt 26712] Catalogue d'une jolie réunion d'objets d'art et de curiosité de la Chine provenant en grande partie du Palais d'Été. Belles pièces en jade; bijoux en or enrichis de perles et pierres fines; montres et tabatières en or émaillé; petits groupes d'ivoire sculpté; écrans et vases en émail cloisonné; brûle-parfums, vases, etc, en bronze; coupes, cornets, vases en porcelaine de Chine; joli petit cabinet avec incrustations de pierres précieuses; grands lits, guéridons et boîtes à thé en marqueterie de Ning-Pô; très belles soieries et fourrures; objets divers, Paris (Maulde et Renou) 1862.

*Hôtel Drouot – auctioneer: Boulland; expert: Charles Mannheim*

28–29 April 1862

[Lugt 26744] Notice d'une nombreuse réunion d'Objets d'art et de curiosité de la Chine et du Japon. Porcelaines anciennes craquelées, Céladon turquoise et autres décorées de personnages, tels que: Vases, Cornets, Jardinières, Plateaux, Bols, Coupes, etc; Matières précieuses, Jade, Cristal

de roche, Agate orientale, Pierre de lard, etc; Bronzes japonais et chinois, dont quelques Pièces à incrustations d'argent; Deux grandes et belles Vasques, Vases, Fontaines, Brûle-Parfums, Flambeaux, Pagodes, etc.; Vases et Cornets en émail cloisonné; Belles Pièces en laque ancien du Japon; Cabinets, Etagères, Paravents, en bois de fer, en laque et en marqueterie de Ning-Pô; Grandes et belles Pièces pour ornement de jardin, Paris (Pillet fils aîné) 1862.

*Hôtel Drouot – auctioneer: Charles Pillet; expert: Charles Mannheim; seller: M. Chanton*

2 May 1862

[Lugt 26760] Collection chinoise et japonaise, Paris (Renou & Maulde) 1862.

*Hôtel Drouot – auctioneer: Louis Edouard Baudry; expert: J.M. Dhios*

8–9 May 1862

[Lugt 26779] Collection chinoise et japonaise. Pièces remarquables provenant du Palais d'Été en Jade, laque rouge de Pékin, cuivre émaillé, ivoire, porcelaine des périodes Kien-Long, Kia-King et Tao-Houang, Paris (Renou & Maulde) 1862.

*Hôtel Drouot – auctioneer: Louis Edouard Baudry; expert: J.M. Dhios*

13 December 1862

[Lugt 27022] Catalogue d'objets d'art et de curiosité de la Chine & du Japon. Belles perles d'Orient, Brûle-parfums, Coupes, Poignard, Couteaux, Figurines, Plaques, etc., en jade de diverses nuances, en aventurine et en pierre de lard; Bronzes anciens, tels que Brûle-Parfums, Flambeaux, Vases, Cornets, etc.; Beaux Vases, Plats, Bois, etc., en ancienne porcelaine de Chine; Tasses japonaises en porcelaine dite coquille d'oeuf; Beaux Vases et Boîtes en laque rouge de Pékin; Emaux cloisonnés; Sabres japonais; Encre de Chine; Belles Robes de soie richement brodées; Etoffes et Objets divers; Belle Tapisserie des Gobelins, à sujets chinois, style Louis XIV, tissée en soie. Quantité de ces pièces proviennent du palais d'Été et portent le Dragon impérial à cinq griffes, Paris (Pillet fils aîné) 1862.

*Hôtel Drouot – auctioneer: Charles Pillet; expert: Charles Mannheim; seller: Charles Mannheim*

