

**Putting the Pieces in Place:
The Collecting Practices of Edward Perry Warren (1860-1928)
and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston**

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ABSTRACT

Putting the Pieces in Place: The Collecting Practices of Edward Perry Warren (1860-1928) and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Iain Jeremy Stewart

This thesis offers an examination of the meaning and implications of the collecting of Classical antiquities as exemplified by the activities undertaken in the late nineteenth century by Edward Perry Warren (1860-1928) under the auspices of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. This examination will consider the significance of Warren's activity from a variety of perspectives, and will depend in this consideration on information gathered from several theoretical models. The disparate motivations and purposes of collecting and collections render them resistant to rigidly unilateral consideration, encouraging such a conflux of methodological approaches. Emphasis will be placed on the notion and articulation of desire as manifested in the systematic amassing of artifacts, with the purpose of distinguishing between the aims of the private collector and those of the public or institutional collection. The historical narrative of Warren's practice will be situated in the broader context of collecting of Classical art as a part of the nineteenth-century American impulse to compile representative institutional collections of Classical antiquities, as exemplified by that held at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

For my grandparents, James and Betsy Stewart,
whose love and support have meant more to me than I could ever express, and
for Arkin, whose meaningful example has taught me
all I know on earth, and all I need to know.

Ah, happy, happy boughs! that cannot shed
Your leaves, nor ever bid the Spring adieu;
And, happy melodist, unwearied,
For ever piping songs for ever new;
More happy love! more happy, happy love!
For ever warm, and still to be enjoy'd,
For ever panting, and for ever young;
All breathing human passion far above,
That leaves a heart high-sorrowful and cloy'd,
A burning forehead, and a parching tongue.

John Keats (1795-1821)

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Introduction

O Attic shape! fair attitude! with brede
Of marble men and maidens overwrought,
With forest branches and the trodden weed;
Thou, silent form! dost tease us out of thought
As doth eternity: Cold Pastoral!
When old age shall this generation waste,
Thou shalt remain, in midst of other woe
Than ours, a friend to man, to whom thou say'st,
'Beauty is truth, truth beauty, — that is all
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.'

John Keats¹

This thesis will offer perspectives on the notion of collecting as exemplified by the activities of the American expatriate Edward Perry Warren (1860–1928) in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Often referred to as “The Golden Quarter,” this period of American history is distinguished by a remarkable increase in personal and corporate affluence in the United States. These circumstances were attended by an immense growth in American activity on the European antiquities market; and the new encyclopedic museums that increasingly dominated the architectural and social landscape of urban centers in the Eastern United States were instrumental in this enterprise of art collecting. The year 1870 saw the official formation of two such institutions: the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

The present study will be limited to an examination of aspects of the collecting of ‘authentic’ examples of Greek and Roman statuary and other Classical artifacts, including vases, coins and gems, for the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and its association with Edward Perry Warren. The existing Greek and Roman collection at the Museum of Fine

Arts is largely the result of the efforts of Edward Warren (Figure 1), engaged by the institution in the capacity of contractual buying agent or consultant. While Warren's relationship with the museum spans nearly thirty years from beginning to end, his most significant period of collecting is generally considered to be the decade from 1895 to 1905; and thus that period of time will be the focus of this examination.

Warren was a Bostonian by birth, but he chose to live the majority of his adult life in England where, from his house at Lewes, East Sussex, he undertook the amassing of a large and impressively comprehensive collection of classical antiquities. Looking at certain of Warren's purchases for the Boston Museum, and considering their history within the context of his *œuvre* as well as the specific history of the Museum, this thesis will aim to unearth aspects and details of the American, and specifically Bostonian, compulsion to collect and publicly display antiquities during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. I will rely on various historical considerations of Classical objects and the processes through which these developed, the significance of the displayed object in the museum setting, as well as theories concerned with value, authenticity, desire, and the implications of passivity and cultural imperialism.

This bricolage of meanings, in the context of the antiquities collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston at the close of the nineteenth century, will demonstrate clearly the differences between the administration's institutional mandates and the interests of one of its most significant collectors, in the person of Edward Warren. Other specific details of the collections, including the relatively short period of time in which they were amassed, hemmed in on one end by the American Civil War and on the other by the First World War, as well as certain of the significant personalities involved in this

process, will also figure in determining the significance and meaning of the collections.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Each of these will aim to develop some particular aspect of the antiquities collections at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and how we look at it, relative to Edward Perry Warren. It was he who encouraged the Museum administration, when formulating its acquisitions policies, to “keep in mind the student of say fifty years hence who, if I could do what I wanted would then find ready to hand a small but valuable collection.”²

Chapter One will serve to introduce the concept of collecting. It will also demonstrate some of the ways in which we think about and define collecting. The particular historical circumstances that enabled institutions such as the Boston Museum of Fine Arts to embark on the wholesale collection of antiquities will also be considered.

Chapter Two offers an overview of some nineteenth-century American, and specifically Bostonian principles related to the value of art, the importance of collecting, and the explicit duty of members of the upper classes to act as leaders and teachers of the “less fortunate” public in matters both moral and aesthetic.³ The civic-mindedness of Boston’s elite, and their conflation of moral and social rightness with erudition will be seen to have a profound impact on the types of objects deemed desirable — and thus necessary — in the collection of an institution like the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Chapter Three relates the specific history of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, taking into account the evolution of the institution from its earliest beginnings in 1807 to the elaborate planning and erection in 1912 of its present neo-classical edifice on the Fenway. It will also include an abbreviated examination of another collection being compiled concurrently in Boston at Fenway Court, under the auspices of Isabella Stewart

Gardner with the assistance of Bernard Berenson.

Chapter Four will offer an examination of Edward Warren himself, as well as of his collecting practices as related directly to the Boston Museum, and a consideration of the placement of his *œuvre* within the precincts of that institution. Warren's personal understanding of exactly who and what a collector is will be invoked, and measured against theoretical readings of collecting, and will demonstrate Warren's refusal to conform to the preconceptions and prejudices of his peers.

Chapter Five will comprise an analysis of five individual or grouped artifacts, collected by Warren, and which continue to figure prominently in the collections of the Museum. These are: the *Torso of Hermes*, the *Chios Head*, the *Bartlet Head*, the *Boston Throne*, and Warren's important collection of gems.⁴ Each of these, while important and worthy of investigation by virtue of their individual merit, forms a part of a collection reflective of the very personal aims of one Bostonian, as well as one intended to serve the sometimes conflicting ambitions of the Museum of Fine Arts.

Chapter One

Collecting: Meanings and Implications

To collect, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, and in the generally accepted understanding of the term, is a transitive verb implying “to gather into one place or group; to gather, get together.” If we continue down the list of meanings provided, however, we come to an obsolete application of the word as an intransitive verb meaning: “to sum up, infer.” While the transitive verb requires a collected object of the type we see laid out in museum galleries and vitrines, the intransitive frees us to look at these objects removed from the constraints of the collective impulse that governed their gathering and which has to some degree prevented them from signifying as individual objects.⁵

We are sometimes confused in the attempt to understand the nature and meaning of collecting by its conflation with the rarified and sometimes surreal spheres occupied by the elite of society.⁶ Access to objects of great or inflated value is an irreducible part of life as experienced by the upper classes of society. This truism is attested to by centuries of private collections, amassed and held by powerful individuals, families and institutions through history. If emphasis is time and again placed on expense or value when considering collections, their true value and meaning can be subsumed.⁷ By focusing primarily on expenditure, and the collector’s ability to meet this demand, we risk reframing significant collections of art as little more than the freakishly expensive follies of individuals, families, or organizations distinguished primarily by the size of

their pocket books.⁸

Collections can be more accurately evaluated by virtue of the effort expended in their gathering. They represent work, and are evidence of the collector's experience. Once in the gallery, these considerations are sometimes sacrificed to the particular set of limitations imposed by the space, or the curatorial ambitions, or the purpose of the exhibition. The difficulty in indicating the passage of the collecting time necessitates its exclusion, and the viewer is presented with the "Collection" which exists anachronistically, or in a neatly and artificially reconstructed chronology purportedly reflective of that of the original makers. The time and effort necessary to collecting is carefully avoided or sacrificed in this endeavor to provide for the viewer a comforting temporal linearity that perhaps offers an explanation of the collected object in isolation but not its circumstances within the context of the collection, and by no means in relation to the collector himself.⁹

The developing understanding of the art of Classical Greece has to a large degree dictated the form and direction of western art history as a discipline. In much the same manner as our political and social value systems are based on an understanding of the political and social philosophies of ancient Greece, our understanding of the value and meaning of art is dependent on the study and assigned/imported meaning and implied permanence of Classical art.¹⁰ In the fourth edition of his *Greek Art*, John Boardman attempts:

to place Greek art back into Greece and away from galleries and art books, to try to recapture what it meant to its makers and viewers, and so better value what it has meant to later artists in the western world. The original intentions and the way these masterpieces are viewed today are often leagues apart. But foremost my aim has been to explain what Greek art looks like, how to look at it, how to enjoy it as something beyond the tourist's Parthenon or a broken museum marble....¹¹

The last quarter of the nineteenth century marks a tremendous phase of growth and development in the foundation of new disciplines and avenues of academic investigation. In relation to the history of art, these developments followed other, earlier scientific, academic and social changes in relation to the understanding of Classical antiquity. Among these was the finding in 1849, of a Roman marble copy of a lost Greek bronze original — the *Apoxyomenos*.¹² The discovery of this statue gave the first real, practical evidence of the usefulness of historical textual references to the study of Greek art. Similarly, the development of typological classification systems, largely stimulated by Charles Darwin's scientific investigations, also had a profound impact on the study of art history. Giovanni Morelli (1816-1891) adapted these scientific methods to the study of art, at the same time as he discouraged the continued exclusivity of a working knowledge of this history. It should come as little surprise that such developments and advances in the scientific study of art and art history were not immediately understood or accepted by many of the individuals and organizations then governing museums and educational institutions, Boston being no exception.

The availability, and to a large extent the desirability, of genuine Greek antiquities was the result of new and exciting archaeological developments in Greece and Italy. While collections of antiquities were by no means a new phenomenon (the *Apollo Belvedere* being mentioned in the collections of the Vatican as early as 1509), discoveries of hitherto unimagined interest and quantity powered a new interest in the Classical artifact in the nineteenth century. This would ultimately enable the Boston Brahmins to bring together, on a relatively large scale, artifacts for the edification of their citizenry that would at once elevate the public's consciousness as well as encourage an acute

awareness of the justified nature of the elite's claims to social superiority.¹³ This profound importance of public art collections, related to the self-image of a city and the associated importance of private collectors in their formation, is addressed by Janet M. Brooke in the introduction to *Discerning Tastes: Montreal Collectors 1880-1920*,¹⁴ and is as relevant to the Boston of the period as to Montreal.

When physical evidence of Aegean civilization came to light in the nineteenth century, it was enthusiastically embraced as further proof of the excellence of western cultural heritage. This enthusiasm is attested to by the eminent and universal marketability of Classical artifacts:

Private collections and museums were formed not only in the countries in which the objects were found, but throughout the civilized world. From this enrichment of our common patrimony grew the modern science of archaeology, that is, the logos of *archaia*, the study of things ancient. This intensive research, in which scholars of all nations have participated, has resulted in the reconstruction of a consecutive history of Greek art.¹⁵

While classical artifacts may have indeed enabled a (re)construction of Greek history, they have also been (sometimes) carelessly appropriated to serve the construction of our own desired history, as well as our future. We consciously base the precepts and values of western thought and society on those of Greece, and have for centuries looked to the art of the Greeks for justification of these. Choosing, looking at, and most particularly, displaying the past implies a desired-present and future. Donald Preziosi and Louise A. Hitchcock, in *Aegean Art and Architecture* acknowledge this:

We have attempted to show how it might be possible to place Aegean artistic representations within a context of historical event, not only within those that we might be able to reconstruct from antiquity, but also within our own recent modern contexts and concerns — which have always and will continue to frame all of these endeavors. It is important to remember as we read the past, that it is written about and represented to the public by individuals living in the present. Furthermore, we construct our past and our present in relationship to each other

so that choosing a past also implies choosing a likely or desirable future.¹⁶

The incorporation of Classical statuary in great collections of art predates even the formation of the earliest prototypical Western museum institutions: The Louvre and the British Museum.¹⁷ We see from records of earlier collections of art that the inclusion of Classical fragments and copies was an accepted and even encouraged practice. (Figures 2 and 3) These inclusions were emblematic of the owner's culture, inherited by virtue of his Classical ancestry, and that he had in turn cultured through erudition, and the amassing of art(ifacts). By the eighteenth century, these artifacts had to some degree become mere mementoes of the Grand Tour — a necessary aspect of education for every well-bred European of the Enlightenment — bearing silent and eloquent witness not only to the individual's character, but also to the collective properties and prospects of his nation.

For the cultured upper classes in the eighteenth century the classical era was no more than an object of study for antiquated pedantry or something of a random collector's piece, nothing more than a decorative background for operas, processions, and garden parties. It could, of course, also serve to provide quotations or as material for didactic and moralizing works for the edification of young generations or to embellish political treatises.¹⁸

By the nineteenth century, when American museum institutions became involved in the purchase of the artifacts in question, these objects were central to a dynamic and intensely competitive commercial market. There was then a respectable and well-established precedent for making collections of Classical art, but one that needed to carefully be kept unsullied by attachment to commerce. This ultimately unavoidable attachment to commercial consideration was very likely a determining factor in the nature of Edward Warren's dealings with the Museum in Boston, just as much as it may be implicated in affecting his relationship with his family.

Chapter Two

Boston in the Nineteenth Century

There never was an artistic period. There never was an art-loving nation... If art be rare today, it was seldom heretofore. It is false, this teaching of decay... False again, the fabled link between the grandeur of Art and the glories and virtues of the State...

Walter Pater¹⁹

Before beginning any analysis of the meanings and implications of the Classical collections at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, a brief examination of the city and society of Boston itself during the last half of the nineteenth century will be useful. This overview will help to situate the Museum within the context of the urban environment that created and sustained it, enabling a more complete understanding of its formation, development and ultimate direction. The perspective taken will be on those events specifically related to the aspects of social and cultural life in Boston during the latter part of the nineteenth century that can be seen to impact most directly on the foundation and development of the Museum.

The complex inter-relationships between developments in economic, cultural, social, and religious aspects of everyday life had a profound impact on collecting. This is particularly true of the late-nineteenth century in Boston, when we witness a marked conflation of these varied aspects of society by the relationship of the profoundly self-aware Boston Brahmins to their Museum of Fine Arts. Paul DiMaggio discusses the real and constructed significations of Boston's ruling class in "Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth Century Boston: The Creation of an Organizational Base for High Culture in America."²⁰ DiMaggio offers an insightful consideration of the means by which the

Brahmins took and asserted their primacy, and he encourages the reader to understand Boston as a city obsessed with culture, and with the degree to which it was perceived it embodied and upheld this amorphous concept. While some of their efforts, such as their literary aspirations were largely unsuccessful,²¹ other of their forays into the realm of the cultural were decidedly more lasting and effective. One excellent example is the strident support of Henry Lee Higginson (1870-1919) for the Boston Symphony Orchestra, which he envisioned as a cohesive and exclusive body of musicians devoted solely to the performance of classical music, which was accomplished at great personal expense and initially to the great dissatisfaction of many of his contemporaries.²² Much like Edward Warren, Higginson was able to effect this change simply because of the accident of his birth, but not without some difficulty, as he also chose to operate against the beliefs and values of his equals in Boston.

According to E.L. Godkin, it was in Boston, more than in any other of the major New England centers where “wealth and the knowledge of how to use it are apt to coincide.”²³ (However, we must acknowledge that not every wealthy citizen of Boston possessed the same knowledge.) Boston was further distinguished from the other great New England financial centers, New York and Philadelphia,²⁴ in that it possessed “a vivid faith, expressing itself at many levels of individual and corporate action, in the possibility of achieving a high quality of life in a community as a whole, and of expressing that quality....”²⁵ This expression is evidenced by the endowment of organizations and institutions such as the Boston Museum, the Symphony Orchestra and the Opera House, and Harvard University. Such manifestations are not in themselves unusual for similar foundations bear witness to the hopes, aspirations and autonomously

constructed histories of municipal populations the world over.²⁶ Boston, however, placed a particular significance on this singular aspect of civic duty. Samuel Eliot Morison, from his memoirs published in 1962, clarifies:

When a family had accumulated a certain fortune, instead of trying to build it up still further, to become a Rockefeller or Carnegie or Huntington and then perhaps discharge its debt to society by some great foundation, it would step out of business or finance and try to accomplish something in literature, education, medical research, the arts or public service. Of course there were families like that in other cities, but in Boston there were so many as to constitute a recognized way of life.²⁷

Boston “was considered the Athens of America and one of the aesthetic capitals of the world.”²⁸ This was a formidable position for so young a city and society to occupy, yet one which they seem to have relished. In his discussion of the ruling class of Boston in the nineteenth century, Martin Green asserts that the degree to which Boston’s elite minority understood and strove to fulfill their role as philanthropists and leaders of society was perhaps unrivalled in America. F.R. Leavis states in *Mass Civilization and Minority Culture*: “Upon this minority depends our power of profiting by the finest human experience of the past; they keep alive the subtlest and most perishable parts of tradition.”²⁹ In nineteenth-century Boston, this past was inescapably European; the finest experience of which was universally accepted to be the Greek.³⁰ As luck would have it, the subtlest and most perishable parts of that tradition were becoming more readily available in a rapidly developing European market in antiquities.

There was a profound emphasis in nineteenth-century Boston on the commodity of knowledge and its possession. This commodity was held to be key to social and moral order as it was understood to be the means to undertake, justify, and execute this ordering.³¹ The emphasis on erudition within Boston’s elite led to a fusing of the upper classes with educational and didactic public institutions. The great families of Boston

including, but not limited to, the Lowells, the Cabots, the Eliots, and to a lesser extent, the Warrens³² were all intimately involved in the administration, funding and guidance of Harvard University, the Athenæum, the Symphony Orchestra and other social/educational foundations, an involvement they took most seriously. The tightly interwoven fabric of these families and subsequently of the institutions they supported, led to an immutable connection in Boston between the cultural and the pedagogical. The role of the upper classes of Boston was clearly and explicitly understood to be that of mentor to the less fortunate. The Athenæum, founded in 1807, was the leading cultural institution of the first half of the nineteenth century in Boston, with a mandate to promote knowledge by virtue of their ever-increasing collection of texts, and by providing a forum for speakers, both Bostonian and foreign. Its chosen name reflects the aims and aspirations of the founders, who held learning in such high esteem. It was the generosity of the Athenæum (Figure 4), in granting greatly expanded space in their Beacon Street building that enabled the first major expansion of the fledgling art collection that led ultimately to the Museum as it now stands. Susan Clark Warren, Edward's mother, was a dedicated supporter of the Museum throughout her life. A seasoned and formidable collector of art in her own right, at one time competing with Isabella Stewart Gardner for Titian's *Rape of Europa*, Susan Clark Warren is frequently given mention in the Museum's *Annual Reports*, including that for 1894, where it is noted that she has donated twelve specimens of Phoenician and Syrian glass.³³

Participation in the formation of the Museum's collections was a birthright of the Brahmins, provided this right was not misused. No member of the Boston upper classes was much interested in publicly acknowledging ignorance in matters of Classical art, the

established history and meaning of which they had in their own estimation learned by rote. They were made equally uncomfortable by the idea of an intra-institutional confrontation brought about by the often unpredictable, and occasionally unconscionable, genuine artifacts that Edward Warren seemed intent on providing.

The resulting potential for conflict is salient in that the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, while maintaining its fundamental position as public institution, made frequent and continued use of private collectors in the building of its collections. This was effected not only in the inclusion of pre-collected groups of objects accepted as gifts or loans, a practice common to all museum institutions, but more importantly in the contracting of various individuals as buying agents in the field, such as Warren. This can be dismissed as an expedient necessity, as the Museum administration could hardly have been expected, nor could they afford to have maintained official representatives in Europe to search for and negotiate the purchase of antiquities as they came on the market. If we consider for a moment, however, the conflicting nature of private interests with institutional demands and the constructed meaning of Classical antiquities within the American museum of the nineteenth century, this activity takes on a new significance.

The Brahmins firmly upheld their authority regarding the types of objects suitable for display within the precincts of Boston, and played no favorites when exercising this authority. This includes the rejection of the gift of a fountain sculpture from the eminent New England architect Charles McKim to the Boston Public Library in 1896, on the vague assertion that it was “morally unsuitable.”³⁴ The Boston Museum Collection certainly grew — even grew consistently — as funds were procured to support Warren’s collecting. It accreted, however, in accordance with the prevailing wishes of the

members of the Committee on the Museum, and as a result was rendered incapable of maturing into the manner of collection that Warren perhaps envisioned.

Chapter Three

The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

The history of the institutional development of the Boston Museum itself begins with its status as an adjunct of the Boston Athenæum on Beacon Street, continues in its first independent manifestation, situated in a squat neo-gothic edifice dominating Copley Square (Figures 5 and 6), and culminates in the gleaming neo-classical structure on the Fenway, which defined the then-limits of the rapidly expanding city of Boston. These situational and architectural developments reflect the changing role and significance of the Museum in the civic landscape, both in contrast to and in conjunction with the collections that occupied its galleries. However, before tracing the history of one institution, it may be helpful to look at another.

The Fogg Art Gallery at Harvard, also formed at the close of the nineteenth century, is the prototypical American academic art historical institution. Donald Preziosi credits its design as the first attempt to house the entire disciplinary apparatus of art history — classrooms, laboratories, offices, and archival materials — in one space.³⁵ Here was amassed an exhaustive visual archive of the history of art, as well as a not insubstantial collection of casts made from important examples of antique sculpture. In 1893, Charles Eliot Norton, Professor of the History of Art at Harvard, writes to Edward W. Hooper, a Harvard Law alumnus involved in the foundation of the Fogg, about the proposed designs submitted for the art gallery by the prominent New England architect Richard Morris Hunt, faulting them for their inability to meet the needs of the serious student as they neither afforded the vast collection the necessary room, nor did they serve

to clearly distinguish between the authentic and the reproduction. The Fogg must be distinguished from institutions like the BMFA for the reason that it was implicitly understood to serve the needs of Harvard students, a message repeated as late as 1974. This differentiation can also be seen to impact the types of collections deemed important to each institution.³⁶ In contrast, the Boston Museum was expected to meet not only the needs of the student of history, but also the elevated demands of the elite as well as providing the raw material for the edification of the poor. In spite of this differentiation, both of Norton's concerns at the Fogg are relevant to an investigation of the Boston Museum, with the second being the more interesting. The need for clear distinction between the "authentic" object and the reproduction became an increasingly contentious issue as the Boston Museum developed, a reality that ultimately led to the adoption of a bifurcated model for the Museum aimed at keeping its two principal audiences — the initiated upper classes and the uninitiated working classes — physically separate. By 1893 then, there are some subtle yet important changes being invoked in the American museum world that would have powerful and lasting repercussions on the subsequent collection, study, and indeed the meaning of Classical antiquities. By 1899, the famous (and authentic) *Torso of Meleager* had been added to the collection of the Fogg, and a clearer, more widely understood and accepted, distinction was being meticulously drawn between the value of a cast and an original sculpture. Relative to the Boston Museum, Edward Warren is profoundly implicated in these changes and their attendant distinctions, as will be demonstrated.

The Fogg is emblematic of the desire for concrete, scientific knowledge that motivated much nineteenth-century investigation. The empiricism of the nineteenth

century gave rise to the systematic, scientific investigation of the earth, its history and pre-history, and the seemingly infinite worlds offered up for careful study by the camera.³⁷ One of these newly ordained disciplines, which greatly benefited from new systems of investigation and technology, was the history of art. The invention of photography was instrumental in the development of art history as a discipline. It enabled the scholar and the layperson a hitherto unimagined freedom of access to images otherwise too widely dispersed to encourage comparison. Interestingly, in a 1905 edition of *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, we come across an instance of the use of photography intimately related to the present topic: the export and appropriation of Classical antiquities from Italy.³⁸ A Signor Boni, then director of the excavations in the Roman Forum, here makes a global appeal to every institution holding Classical antiquities to aid in the formation of a photographic archive with the aim of maintaining a record of Italy's rapidly dissipating Classical patrimony. This recognition is telling in that it clearly disproves the general consensus, which held that appropriated Classical artifacts were being rescued from the ignorant and destructive ground in which they were lately concealed. Adolf Furtwangler also relied heavily on photographic technology in demonstrating the potential for identifying individual Greek artists, an approach later referred to by many as an archeology of style.

Despite these encouraging developments, the study of art history was not highly developed at American colleges and universities through the end of the nineteenth century. Even by 1912, it was not generally offered as a specific course of study, and was most often taught as an adjunct to other disciplines. We see from a report published in that year by Princeton University that "out of a total of fourteen thousand four hundred

and thirty four instructors one hundred and seventeen are exclusively teachers of the History of Art. In other words but eight-tenths of one percent of the teaching body is devoted to Art or Archaeology.”³⁹

Although the academic underpinnings of the history of art were still developing in America, there was no question that American museums were rapidly distinguishing themselves in an increasingly competitive world market in antiquities.⁴⁰ The then-director of the Boston Museum, General Loring, not only held the distinction of being a decorated Civil War officer and Harvard graduate, but possessed the added allure of having been introduced to Egyptology while stationed in Egypt, a valuable and unusual asset for the fledgling institution.⁴¹ There may not have been a large representative body of art historians at American colleges, but the formation of an impressive archive was nonetheless well under way across the New England states. This is attested to by the dependence on museum collections of the few courses offered at Universities and college institutions.

There were, however, strides being made toward a better understanding of Classical and other artifacts. Charles William Eliot, as president of Harvard University, instituted a series of open lectures, headed by such notable figures as Charles Eliot Norton in art history, appointed the first Lecturer on the History of the Fine Arts as Connected with Literature at Harvard in 1875.⁴² The public lectures on the history of art offered by Harvard were extremely popular from their outset, with eight to ten thousand people applying for tickets to individual courses.⁴³ In a city with a population of just over a quarter of a million by 1870, this may not seem high, but the nature of this population must be taken into account. It was only the upper and middle classes who

really possessed the freedom to participate in cultural activities of this nature. Despite the fact that it was widely understood, in the elevated social circles in which Eliot and Norton moved, that the introduction of the less fortunate to the forms and precepts of the Classical would go a long way to developing not only their minds, but also their morals, the majority of the working class were simply in no position to undergo such tutelage.⁴⁴ Growth in industry had necessitated the introduction of scores of unskilled laborers, many of them Irish Catholics, a necessity that had also witnessed the rise of poverty, disease and other social ills not easily remedied by lectures on art. The popularity of these lectures is thus more clearly demonstrative of the desire of the middle classes to assert their greater cultural proximity to the upper classes relative to the working poor than of anything else.

In addition to the open public lectures, Norton initially offered three official art historical courses at Harvard. These were: “The History of the Fine Arts and their Relation to Literature;” “The Rise and Fall of the Arts in Athens and Venice;” and “Roman and Medieval Art.”⁴⁵ This curriculum speaks volumes about the aims and values of art historical scholarship in the nineteenth century, as does Norton’s involvement in the collections held at the Fogg Art Gallery at Harvard, notwithstanding his inclusion in the Committee on the Museum at Boston.

Boston needed a fine collection of antiquities, for antiquities were powerfully emblematic of culture, and the Brahmins were loath to relinquish their claims to national superiority in this matter.⁴⁶ This is not to imply that the collection fell easily into place, or that it did not meet with continued resistance from members of the various committees involved in the running of the institution, considerations and examples of which I will

return to shortly. What the acknowledgement of this recognized need does accomplish, especially in light of the systematic resistance to its being met, is to cast the understanding of the Boston Museum as represented in the introduction to *Great Boston Collectors* in a raking new light. Carol Troyen, in her introduction to the centenary exhibition at the Boston Museum, confidently relates: “the Museum of Fine Arts is a living history of Boston’s taste. From the founding of the Museum in 1870, Boston’s great collectors...have been seekers of knowledge as well as beauty — explorers of new fields.”⁴⁷ It would perhaps be better to acknowledge that this occurred provided that these explorers did not attempt to venture too far a-field.

It is worth noting that the majority of individuals involved at the Museum in Boston, those serving on the committee, as well as those providing the necessary funds for purchasing, were not long used to the privileges of wealth. Dimaggio points out “in 1840, Boston had but a handful of millionaires. By 1890, after post-Civil War booms in railroads, mining, banking and communications, there were 400.”⁴⁸ Their resulting lack of familiarity with art did little to discourage them in its purchase, and may be cited in their inability to adopt a more critical approach to the artifacts they initially included in the Athenæum.

On the official founding of the Boston Museum Society in 1870, three by-laws were invoked with the aim, one supposes, of marking off the boundaries of these “new fields” to be explored. These by-laws were: to make local collections available to the public; to become a representative museum of fine arts in all their branches; and finally, to provide instruction in the fine arts. These are aspirations common to nearly every museum institution of the time, and as such are not particularly noteworthy. What serves

to highlight their specific significance for Boston, are the varying degrees to which the administration strove to meet these regulations in relation to different departments. Troyen is justified in her assessment of the Boston Museum as reflective of Bostonian ideals, as the Brahmins maintained the institution solely through private conscription,⁴⁹ and that it clearly reflected their limited knowledge and interests.

The history of the Boston Museum, however, predates this official inception of the Museum Society in 1870. From 1807, the Boston Athenæum on Beacon Street housed a collection of paintings and casts of Classical antiquities in a third floor series of galleries, which drew largely on the generosity and private collections of individual patrons for exhibition material. (Figure 7) The Athenæum was considered to be the most influential cultural institution of the first half of the century in Boston.⁵⁰ It was from this solid and notably academically-based foundation that the Boston Museum would quite rapidly expand to join the mythologized ranks of encyclopedic American museums in the slightly indignant European imagination, given voice in the assertion that it was: “here the millionaire deposits the object his wealth has enabled him to acquire, so that others may have the benefit of its ennobling and elevating influence.”⁵¹

When the Boston Museum Society was officially founded in 1870, one of the first orders of business was to cull from the list of works proffered by its generous patrons all the blatant forgeries, as well as the correction of overly enthusiastic attributions. Some of these examples represented the first forays into the art market of private collectors in Boston, who sometimes lacked the discerning powers necessary to make informed purchases. Also implicated were the unscrupulous dealers who took advantage of this circumstance. A general *naïveté* in the dealings of the art world is evidenced in Boston

Society, a circumstance that has been linked to the immediate experiences of the Civil War and a general, latent distrust of the *ancien regime*, which tended to discourage travel to England and Europe.⁵²

In addition to these sets of circumstances, the copy was, at this time in America, widely understood and accepted to be equally as inspirational as the original. If art was meant to invoke emotional response and thus inspire and/or educate the viewer, what distinction in value could justifiably be drawn between the original and the copy? This belief was ultimately found to be antithetical to the foundation of a serious art museum, but not without some little conflict.⁵³ It was essential to the success of this new type of institution that it put as much distance as possible between itself and the popular collections of curiosities and oddities, which shared the name of museum in the nineteenth century. Troyen begins the introduction to her catalogue with an engaging demonstration of this need. The advertisement for the opening of the new Boston Museum of Fine Arts appeared in the same column as one for a vaudeville theatre actually called the Boston Museum, along with another for a variety theatre called the Boylston Museum.⁵⁴ Here is introduced within the museum institution, at its outset, the overriding concept and overwhelming value of authenticity. The degree to which this concept governed the formation of museum collections, however, was far from consistent. The benefits and increased credibility associated with the “authentic” object proved markedly easier to demonstrate to Boston art patrons with regard to paintings, for example, than in relation to Antique sculpture and other ancient artifacts. Many Bostonians, and in particular those on the Committee of the Museum, found the pointed accumulation of genuine antiquities an unnecessary and extravagant expense. This was

still the general consensus as late as 1896 when Martin Brimmer, then Director of the Boston Museum intimates a slowly evolving understanding of the value of the “authentic” artifact:

no opportunity should be neglected to procure for our museums works of original and permanent value. The fact that such works of the older painters and sculptors are daily becoming more rare and costly, as they are gradually being gathered into public collections of Europe, should be rather a stimulus than a discouragement, for at the rate they are now being absorbed, they will, in another generation, be almost unattainable....⁵⁵

Collections of casts, from the finest museum collections in Europe, were still at this time widely and more readily available than originals. Edward Robinson, the first official director of the Classical Antiquities Department at the Boston Museum, reports in 1896 that since 1876, the collection of casts at Boston had increased from one hundred seventeen to eight hundred exhibits. As relatively few Americans were able — or willing — to travel to Europe and were thus unfamiliar with authentic examples of Antique sculpture, reproductions or casts seemed more than adequately suited to the needs of an American museum in its mandate to provide for the public an introduction to the forms of Greek and Roman art as represented through statuary. In the five years from 1891 to 1896, however, Edward Robinson also reports that only thirty-six new casts were purchased, which evidences a marked decrease in this type of acquisition. Significantly, this period coincides with the beginnings of Edward Warren’s official involvement with the Museum.

In 1876, only six years following the 1870 inception of the Boston Museum Society, the Museum had moved from the Athenæum on Beacon Street and into the considerably more prominent, purpose-built structure on Copley Square. The Museum would remain housed in this squat neo-Gothic building for thirty-four years, during

which time it would undergo only one major renovation, in 1899 (Figure 8), until the completion of its final (and present) location on the Fenway. The Copley Square building's increased exhibition space was undoubtedly at once the result of and an encouragement for the growth of the cast collection, which could not have been accommodated at the significantly smaller Athenæum. Its increased stature, however, would also be instrumental in the movement away from collections of casts and toward the authentic artifact.

There are few accidents in the careful planning of municipal buildings; each of their components is profoundly significant. The aims and goals of Boston's Museum Committee are clearly read in the Museum's architecture, and are underscored by the mandates of the "Boston Plan" of 1905, put forward by Samuel Dennis Warren, Edward Warren's eldest brother and President of the Museum from 1901 to 1906.⁵⁶ It is not by chance, or simple caprice of fashion, that Warren's collection is now ensconced in a building directly referencing Classical Attic architecture. While the choice for the Museum of a Classical architectural model provoked no controversy, the "Boston Plan" forms the foundation of one of the lengthiest and most acrimonious debates in the history of Boston's Museum — that which centered on its dual — and somewhat conflicted — responsibility as educational resource and public institution. The conflation of the Museum's social and cultural considerations with those more closely tied to education and edification would result in the widely admired and much discussed plan.⁵⁷ The Plan, supported by Samuel Warren and his like-minded Committee, was to a great extent devised alongside the architectural laying-out of the new Museum building on the Fenway, and can be seen in many ways to be central to its intended form. The original

plans called for the by-that-time extensive collection of casts to be housed in a separate, purpose-built facility, which separated the Museum proper from the Museum school. (Figure 9) In this way, they can be seen to have signified to the planners as a metaphorical bridge between the privileged “authentic” space of the Museum and the more practical, educational arm of the institution. This decision to divide the Museum collection at Boston according to the perceived and irreconcilably different needs of the scholar and the lay person would eventually be instrumental in the resignation of Edward Robinson, Edward Warren’s first and greatest advocate at the Boston Museum, as well as one of Warren’s protégés and (ironically) one of the Plan’s most vociferous supporters, Matthew Pritchard. The cast room, interestingly, was never realized, the casts being consigned initially to the basement of the Museum and, ultimately, from thence to oblivion. This facet of the Museum’s history, indicative of more than banal financial constraints that probably curtailed the realization of the plans in their entirety, is demonstrative of a significant shift in policy and emphasis at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Samuel Warren was appointed a Trustee of the Museum in 1892; the years he served on this board are among the most significant and dynamic of the early history of the institution. They also happen to coincide almost exactly with Edward Warren’s activities as collector for the Museum. As President of the Board of Trustees and Chairman of the Building Committee, Samuel Warren was instrumental in nearly every aspect of the design and realization of the ambitious plans to relocate the Museum to the palatial neo-classical complex on the Fenway in 1910.⁵⁸ This move was made possible through a vigorous appeal to Boston society and again stands as testimony to the

aspirations and financial prowess of the Brahmins. This appeal also decreased the amount of money easily available for purchasing, and would thus impact Edward in his endeavors. The most immediate impact of this eventuality was not the cessation of Warren's collecting, as he was by this time already accustomed to the staunch flow of funds. The Museum's repeated failures to supply money in a timely fashion led Warren to borrow from his capital and against his shares in the Warren Family Trust, at one time resulting in his being some \$77 000 overdrawn on his personal bank account.⁵⁹

The vastly increased exhibition space offered by the new Museum on the Fenway necessitated continued, and even elevated, purchasing, despite complicating access to funding. The land on the Fenway provided the requisite space for a structure capable of housing the rapidly expanding collections of the Museum: The Classical Department in the Copley Square building measured 6 664 square feet, while that in the proposed new building would comprise 18 806.⁶⁰ These figures do not include space allocated for casts, which increased in the planning phase from 10 732 square feet, to 12 034. The ratio of increases in room sizes demonstrates clearly the shift in emphasis, as does the plan to situate casts in a separate building more closely attached to, and affiliated with, the Museum school.⁶¹

Edward Warren was very interested in the plans for the new building, and made repeated attempts to involve himself in their development. These efforts were to be consistently and pointedly ignored by Samuel and the Building Committee. Notable among his efforts was an offer to obtain for the new building various antique architectural elements, the incorporation of which Edward was certain would be "very effective."⁶²

This offer received no response from either Samuel or the Committee, as they had a very different vision of how the Museum building was to take form.

Boson's new Museum was to be, above all else, a model of technological achievement. Three full years of carefully documented on-site research were undertaken to determine optimum lighting arrangements, ceiling heights, and room configurations for the various collections of the Museum.⁶³ This was a radically innovative approach to institutional museum design, and one that held the museum world in thrall.⁶⁴ Although the original plans for the Museum have never been realized in their entirety (Figure 10), it remains a singularly impressive example of American public museum architecture.⁶⁵ As previously stated, this architectural model is reflective of the perceptions of Boston's elite regarding the civic function of their Museum. And as previously discussed, this civic function of the Museum was largely didactic, a relationship embodied completely in the style and organization of the physical Museum structure. The Boston Museum was heralded as representing a significant step forward in museum planning, and as providing a rational new model for the public museum in general.

In the interest of providing a comparative model, it will be of value to consider briefly the planning, and building of another, private museum enterprise being realized concurrently, nearby on the Fenway. The neighboring, and powerfully contrasting collection of Isabella Stewart Gardner housed at Fenway Court will serve to demonstrate the essential differences in the composition and function of the private, as compared to the public, collection, by considering the buildings fabricated to house them. The particular history of Fenway Court is beyond the scope of this investigation,⁶⁶ but is invoked here to support an interpretation of the general timbre of Bostonian aspirations of

the late-nineteenth century. Stewart Gardner's centrality to the society of Boston, her rapacious collecting habits, as well as the temporal and physical proximity of her collection to that of the BMFA are invaluable comparative tools in a consideration of the formation of the collection at the Boston Museum. The estimation of the subtle nature of the difference between the private and public museum will serve well to highlight the autocratic realities of American museums, a factor which played a consistent role in complicating Edward Warren's dealings with the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: "In the nineteenth century, particularly in the United States, the distinction between private and public museums began to fade. The motivation for establishing a museum became not so much the need to house a collection as the desire to provide an opportunity for the general edification of the public."⁶⁷

Fenway Court is, and was always intended to be, a museum built expressly for the purpose of housing a very specific collection and, more notably, one that never successfully allowed for the general edification of the public. The implied "fading distinction" is rendered less ephemeral when considering Fenway Court and the Boston Museum together. This warrants consideration here for a number of reasons: most importantly, it stands as a clear reminder that museum institutions in the nineteenth century were not as democratically grounded as their supporters protested. Even Edward Warren, in a letter to the Museum Committee discussing plans for the proposed new building's grounds, evidences this. When considering the possibilities for setting up sculpture gardens to surround the new building, he clearly states that this "garden should not be a public garden."⁶⁸ American museums, and indeed most American institutional bodies, were firmly based on an older, plutocratic European model.⁶⁹ This form was

inextricably bound up in the concept of *noblesse oblige*, an obligation enthusiastically taken up by the new nobility of America, both in the person of the individual benefactress of Fenway Court, and in that of the Committee to the Boston Museum.

Even the choice of location for both these institutions is a salient and telling consideration. At the close of the nineteenth century, they were both safely located just beyond the sullied bustle of the rapidly growing city and its unsettling masses of citizens. In the seventy years from 1800 to 1870, Boston's population had boomed from ten thousand to approximately a quarter of a million. The effects of this urban growth and its attendant activity had been a great concern over the Copley Square location of the BMFA, one that the generous parcel of land designated on the Fenway guaranteed against. The fear was that the proximity of practical activity would in some way compromise the elevated calling of the Museum and its contents.

The very notion of removing to the outskirts in the interest of maximizing the potential for refined contemplation was by no means revolutionary, a fact that renders it no less, and perhaps even more, significant: "The Roman gentry...retired to a country house for its pastoral surroundings, horticulture, and unhurried quiet. The design was concentric, with the house in the center of the garden and a park beyond. All rooms opened onto a terrace and were themselves gardenlike."⁷⁰ Following this excellent example, the Boston gentry placed their new Museum in a "natural" pastoral setting, albeit one that had been subject to a rigidly imposed, exhaustive battery of tests in the interest of ensuring the requisite orientation and adequate lighting. Both institutions, the BMFA and Fenway Court, incorporate enclosed galleries designed to enhance the visitor's experience. Both house impressive and diverse collections that stand testament

to the abilities and aspirations of collectors, be they individuals or groups. This is effectively the extent to which these institutions remain indistinct, both in form and function, for one remains explicitly public and the other inherently private. There is no confusing Stewart Gardner's Italianate villa with the severe neoclassical façade of the Boston Museum, just as there is no difficulty in assessing the differences inherent to the two institutions by looking at their administrative and purchasing policies. The Boston Museum was ostensibly designed with the public interest in mind, a fact that served to a large degree to dictate details of the exhibitions and their collection, as well as the form of the building itself. This implies, among other things, considerations based on moral grounds, such as those which saw the intentional exclusion from exhibition spaces of many objects collected by Warren, including a grave stele depicting a nude youth with a too-prominent phallus, and a group of vases depicting various explicit homosexual and bestial acts, donated by him in 1908, but not accessioned or publicly displayed until the 1950s. Stewart Gardner made no such concessions, and her collection at Fenway Court is wholly representative of her (tutored) personal taste. Her collection is also subject to other limitations related to personal ownership and the translation of the personal to the public, considerations ultimately less applicable to the Boston Museum. As she desired no physical indications that Fenway Court was anything but a graciously appointed residence, in the manner of the Italian Renaissance, difficulties with security were immediate, and ultimately served to severely curtail public access to the site. These peculiarities serve to demonstrate that while certain of the distinctions which had served to distinguish the public from the private museum were indeed becoming fainter, this may be more an indication of the explicitly public institution's suitability in the American

perception than anything else.

In contrast, Warren's purposeful collecting expressly for the Boston Museum, in conjunction with the purchasing funds provided by various of his contemporaries, has resulted in the preservation of a collection which demonstrates both the significations and the short-comings of antiquities within the context of the nineteenth-century public museum. Culture, collections, and the collector are all interdependent terms, and the revision of one of these elements necessitates that of the others. When the Committee to the Boston Museum set their mandates, they were reflecting the general tone of the city (if only of one class), which valued social awareness and duty. Stewart Gardner, in her undertakings with Bernard Berenson, can perhaps be understood to have erroneously judged the degree to which plutocratic models withstood the passage of time and civilization. That said it is worthwhile to note that the collections at the Boston Museum, including those artifacts gathered by Edward Perry Warren, while more accessible than those at Fenway Court, were never so useful in the introduction of the masses to the forms and feelings of art as they were perhaps intended to be. Schemes designed to maximize access to the Museum were only marginally successful, as even the greatly enlarged and improved public transit systems put in place by the city of Boston were largely incapable of conducting a greater volume of visitors, had these even materialized to the extent anticipated. Added to this is the fact that, even while days of free public access were allotted by the Museum Committee, one is left with the distinct feeling that they were given grudgingly and that their ineffectiveness caused no great consternation on the part of the members of said Committee.

Certain of the points of contention between Edward Warren and the Museum

Committee, particularly those dealing with the types of artifacts deemed worthy of inclusion in the Museum, also serve to highlight the discrepancies between their differing ideas of exactly how a museum should serve as a democratic model of instruction.

Warren envisioned the Museum acting as a cohesive entity, one that would educate not in the pedantic manner favored by his brother and the various committees affiliated with the Museum, but in a manner which at once encouraged and rewarded the love of the antique object, which he fostered in himself and demanded of his assistants.

Chapter Four

Edward Perry Warren: (re)Collecting the Connoisseur

Kaspar pivoted the figurine in the flickering candlelight and ran his pudgy fingers, lovingly, over the glaze and brilliant enamels. He had found his vocation: he would devote his life to collecting -- rescuing as he came to call it....⁷¹

Collecting is a curious enterprise. It implies desire, is reliant on financial means, and necessitates a discerning ownership; most significantly, it demands an active participation. Sir Martin Conway, writing in 1914, links collecting to “some deep-seated instinct in man.”⁷² When making meaning of collecting, however, we are left to rely more often on the accreted, physical evidence of this instinct — the range of collected objects — than on these motivating and practical factors that drive the action itself. Collecting affords limited recognition relative to the challenges it sets, often serving ultimately to displace the person of the collector with the aggregate of his endeavor. The accumulated, static result of this endeavor becomes the collector’s cipher, rather than maintaining its natural position as symptom or mere result of his desire. We are at once fascinated and repelled by collections, and comforted by the somewhat simplified, re-contextualized positions imposed on them in the museum setting. Classified and codified, accessioned and rendered accessible, presented and eminently presentable, arranged logically and linearly, collections have often been presented to preclude investigation, rather than to inspire curiosity. They have been made out to represent truth, exemplified and justified through ‘completeness’ mingled with the implied authority of the collector, or the institution housing them, as represented in the term: *The Warren Collection of Gems*. This naming, once conjoined with the Boston Museum’s

authority and subsequent scholarship, has in this specific case served to evidence Edward Warren's position of authority, though implicitly related solely to antique gems.⁷³ It also effectively, and unfortunately, brushes aside the complex and maddening realities which accompanied repeated Warren's attempts to have the gems in question included in the collections at Boston.

Collected objects, whatever their other qualities, form narratives, which are seldom, if ever, objective. They should communicate information about the individual or group who caused their accumulation just as much, if not more than about their maker.⁷⁴ The collector has at various times through history been presented as the conquering hero, the noble savior, the suspect looter, and the contrite post-colonial. The motivations for collecting are vague and sundry: its mechanics haphazard, its metonymic credibility debatable, and its precise meaning ultimately fleeting. But then as already mentioned, it is principally reliant on desire, not the most exacting or constant of emotions. Where in the system of meaning surrounding collecting do we fit desire — wanting to have — along with the active participation of the individual who articulates this desire? There is an intrinsic gap between the act of collecting and “the Collection” which necessitates more than a cursory consideration of the constantly changing impetus to gather similar (or dissimilar) objects together. It must be more than the continuation of some childish preoccupation.⁷⁵ Collections cannot always be representative of fetish,⁷⁶ and they should seldom be simply dismissed as vainglorious exercises in ownership. These various explanations, each of which may have its individual applications, serve most clearly to demonstrate that collecting, and the collector, defy exact and lasting definition. It will be

instructive here to consider in its entirety the explanation Edward Warren himself makes for the nature and personality of the collector:

A collector is thought to be a dreamer on days gone by, a loafer in idle lands, who culls a vase from a shelf or chooses among many objects in a shop. By many he is supposed to live a life of disinterested nonchalance, gloating over beautiful things, free of his time, lavish in his expenditure, a leisurely grandee.

This impression is a mistake. He is a commercial traveler, a forager. He usually loses his money; he always loses his time. He is in the thick of danger. He daily sees forgeries and futilities, which he must on no account buy, while leaving to the owner a satisfied sense which will bring him again with other things; he daily weighs lie against lie to elicit the truth; and if he is enthusiastic he allows a pure chance of a find to outweigh the sure discomfort of a journey; he stays months in a place and acquires little, then in getting out of a carriage or hurrying to a train *the* object turns up and all his plans must perhaps be changed. He receives with equal complaisance the idle intriguer, the petty huckster, the foolish and faithful adherent, the empty-headed grandee, the agent on the make, the cheating dealer, and the man whose object is to get money for not preventing a purchase—with equal complaisance but with carefully graded differences of manner. With one he is adroit, with another soothing, with a third frank, with a fourth inscrutable. He uses men according to their values, remembering a service to the third or fourth year, rectifying and condoning mistakes, acting through one while avoiding giving offence to another or being known to a third. He takes an interest in private affairs, illness and financial trouble, he sends salutations and writes constantly to those from whom he obtains one or two things a year. His letters must do him no commercial harm if shown, his agreements no harm if known. He must lie in wait for a cat-like pounce, send over seas at a rumour, arrive tired but smiling and patient. He must carefully examine what he would like to kick out of the window, and endure men he would like to murder, expect nothing and be ready for anything. When an object is offered he sometimes has a cold chill. It is either worth a thousand dollars, if genuine, or five cents, if false, and if it is genuine he probably hasn't the money at the bank and is informed that another appropriation is improbable. If the object is good he is probably sure it will not be popular, if inferior, he may have to take it for courtesy and give it away. He lives in a shower of letters and telegrams, serious, foolish, ignorant or imperative—according to the connoisseuring powers of those who report objects. He hears that a treasure is found near Ancona when he is promised in Naples. If he doesn't hurry he may lose it, and it is twelve hours by rail and the trains don't connect. The report is probably a lie, but it may be the one thing of the winter.... You must be in all places at all times, and pacify four people reporting the same purchase, and every one ready to offer it to someone else unless he sees his commission. You must remember that while it is quite proper to proceed on the assumption that your friend is lying, yet it is discourteous to tell him so, or to consider him less a friend on that account. You hunt and buy and have patience and have secured nothing. At the end of an exhausting season you return home surprised that the few purchases which you after all did make and with which you were fairly

content are sufficient to make an excellent sending, and that in spite of all the money you have spent they cost so little.⁷⁷

One of the most telling points Warren makes here, aside from the evidence that he wholeheartedly enjoyed the various experiences offered to him by his chosen profession, is relative to expenditure. This was a constant concern over Warren's career, and one that almost certainly had an impact on the way he was perceived by the elite of Boston. As previously stated, many of his contemporaries could not condone lavish expenditure on fragments of marble or bronze, or even less on pots and gems. Warren, however, did not share the cold, academic perspective of his compatriots relative to the Antique. This was a reality that sometimes led to frustrating and expensive refusals of artifacts on the part of the Museum, and repeated, often ignored admonitions on the part of Warren. The Bostonian impulse to shut out anything deemed unworthy of promoting the moral improvement of the city is repeatedly evidenced in Warren's relationship to the Museum. John Boardman's attempt in his *Greek Art* to engender a complete understanding of Classical Antiquities mentioned earlier fairly echoes Warren's intention nearly a century ago. Warren, though not recognized as a tremendous scholar, did enjoy minute study, and devoted much of his energy to the consideration and translation of the real meaning of Classical artifacts. One of the unpaginated notebooks in the Beazley archives at Oxford, where Warren's papers are held, includes pages of reflection on one specific Greek word used to describe the eyes of a Classical statue, which Warren ultimately translates as "limpid."

Despite the aforementioned American reluctance to communicate with Europe, there were members of Boston society who traveled to Europe with some frequency, Edward Warren being one of them. From childhood, family trips overseas offered him a

welcome escape from the confines of Boston Society, an escape he made with some finality once he left Harvard University for Oxford in the 1880s. After completing his degree in Classics from Oxford in 1892, Warren leased School Hill House in the East Sussex town of Lewes, from whence he would engage in the collection of Greek and Roman antiquities, and which would become known as Lewes House.

The first mention of Edward Perry Warren as buying agent for the collections of the Museum, though not yet in any official capacity, is found in the first official annual report of the Department of Classical Archaeology to the Committee on the Museum in 1887, delivered by Edward Robinson. In the report it is noted: “Mr. S.D. Warren⁷⁸ has enriched the museum by the gift of a figurine of the best type of Greek terra-cottas, purchased by Mr. Edward P. Warren, in Athens.”⁷⁹ We read therein: “the acquisitions in that department during the last year, though not numerous, are important...”⁸⁰ This first purchase was a small depiction of Helios — the sun god. (Figure 11) According to myth, Helios “was a deity, or at least a demi-god or demon, who had an existence and a personality peculiar to himself alone. Helios was portrayed in mythology as the servant of the gods, a type of official, as it were, whose duties were confined to those of a luminary.”⁸¹ Ironically and unwittingly Warren had, in his first acquisition for the Museum, simultaneously defined the nature of his position within the institution. No matter how he strove to enlighten the members of the Purchasing Committee, headed by his brother Samuel, regarding the types of acquisitions most beneficial to them, his recommendations were almost consistently overwhelmed by the wishes of the administration that he served. Although in later years, Edward and Samuel’s relationship faltered over disagreements related to the Museum as well as to the Warren Family Trust

set up by their father, Samuel was earlier quite supportive of Edward's endeavors. In a letter to then Museum Director Martin Brimmer from August of 1893, Samuel encourages Brimmer to ensure the Committee's approval for the purchase of unspecified "marbles," indicating that this would "arouse interest in the subject of classical marbles... whenever subsequent opportunities occur..."⁸²

It is in the early 1890s that Edward Warren begins to gain importance as a collector. The most significant date in his early career is 1892 — as it is then that he distinguishes himself at the van Brantegham auction in Paris, landing an important collection of Greek pots as well as the increased attention of the art world. By 1893, both his mother and Edward Robinson are making an effort to exert some influence on the Museum Trustees regarding Greek pots and their inclusion in the Museum. As early as 1888, in his report to the Committee, Robinson had begun to encourage its members to support the activity of "our friends, to [whom] we have been so indebted in the past." Robinson attempted to demonstrate that the Museum should concentrate on building a good collection of Greek pots, as the existing one "is lamentably deficient," and they are more easily to be found than authentic sculpture.⁸³ Edward Robinson's 1894 visit to Lewes House, and his first real introduction to Warren in his *milieu* had drastically changed his outlook and aims for the institution.⁸⁴ Robinson and Warren had initially met in 1891, but with no profound impact either on Robinson's opinion of Warren, or on Warren's aspirations for working with the Museum. Previous to 1894, Robinson had been hard-pressed to resist the recommendations of the Committee, whose opinions and judgments remained exemplary of the prevailing sentiment regarding Antiquities. Osbert

Burdett and E.H. Goddard, Warren's first biographers, record an anecdote demonstrating this:

One of its members once said: "I have something here which will help you in your selection, if not give you your selection ready-made; a list of casts made for the Louvre of which the greatest number of copies is sold," of another who asked: "I want to ask you for my own information — and I'll take your word for it — whether an original statue is in any way more valuable than a cast;" of another, a doctor, who caused the rejection of a fine terra cotta on the ground that "no healthy woman could be formed at the hips like that."⁸⁵

Edward Warren was destined to hold a different, and more central position relative to the Museum, than did his mother, or indeed any other individual collector. While her contributions were sporadic and relatively meager, his efforts would ultimately provide the very backbone of the Classical collection at the Museum. It is difficult to ascertain exactly how many artifacts he either directly or indirectly provided to the Museum, but that the vast majority of the objects regarded by the institution as most significant within the collection were his, and that these represent only a fraction of the yearly sendings to the Museum organized by Warren is demonstrative of his role and lasting importance. As previously intimated, Warren was not sympathetic to the "social and intellectual pretensions of the Bostonian elite, and developed instead a passion for ancient Greece and its manly virtues...."⁸⁶ This passion, and the questionable nature of said virtues, however vaguely asserted, would prove problematic for Warren in the realization of his aspirations related to the collections at the Boston Museum, as they went against both the established social values of his contemporaries and the very foundations of Classical scholarship then being laid in the "new Athens." These foundations, as previously demonstrated, tended merely to favor the physical form of the Classical, often choosing to include copies or casts in the collection rather than absorb the

expense of the authentic artifacts that were the object of Warren's investigations, and the physical manifestation of his passion.

An object in a museum case must suffer the de-natured existence of an animal in the zoo. In any museum the object dies — of suffocation and the public gaze whereas private ownership confers on the owner the right and the need to touch. As a young child will reach out to handle the thing it names, so the passionate collector, his eye in harmony with his hand, restores to the object the life-giving touch of its maker.⁸⁷

This “right and need to touch” referred to by Bruce Chatwin in his novel *ut* was central to Edward Warren's collecting activity: Warren experienced, and indeed fostered, such an intimate attachment to the artifacts he bought and ultimately delivered to the Boston Museum, as evidenced in a telling photograph taken in the garden of Lewes House, picturing him cradling the *Torso of Hermes* in his lap the day before it was sent to Boston. (Figure 12) While this brand of intimacy is of course impracticable in a public institution, this image nevertheless remains emblematic of the contrast between Warren's approach to antiquities and the often impersonal, dryly academic institutional understanding of artifacts within the Museum setting. Over the course of his involvement with the Boston Museum, Warren repeatedly admonished the Committee concerning the manner in which they were building their collection. Boston society in the late nineteenth century, for all its learned intervention in the moral and social development of the less fortunate was unwilling, or perhaps ill-equipped is more fair a judgment, to heed these warnings. Warren repeatedly offered the Committee the opportunity to enrich their collection with the meaningful, authentic objects his investigation unearthed, and was often met with resistance, as his understandings were at odds with the general aims of the individuals who controlled the institution. Herein lies one key to understanding Edward Perry Warren's peculiar positioning within the Boston Museum, as a necessary, but not

altogether welcome adjunct. While it was convenient that Warren was willing and able to supply the Museum with the necessary artifacts, the fact that he was theoretically in advance of his compatriots on whom he relied for financial and moral support, complicated this supply.

As an example, upon receipt from Warren in the late 1890s of an archaic Greek Terme, which was distinguished by a prominent phallus, the Museum diplomatically suggested to Warren that this type of artifact was not wholly appropriate to public display. Their surprising solution to this problem was simply to remove the offending appendage; unfortunately no response from Warren to this suggestion remains.

This attitude relating to the sexually explicit nature of certain of Warren's purchases would be repeated. In 1913, an unidentified silver bowl sent to America by Warren was held at US Customs on grounds of decency. It is likely that this vessel is the *Warren Cup*, now on display at the British Museum, which features high relief chased scenes of explicitly homosexual acts. (Figure 13) In sending these artifacts, Warren was challenging outdated and pedantic Classical scholarship, as well as heralding the first few tentative steps toward the development of more vital and truly interdisciplinary investigation into the origins, meanings and modern implications of Classical artifacts. This was no easy task.

While Warren was a most beneficial anomaly in the makeup of the Museum, ultimately conferring on the BMFA the distinguished position of repository of an exceptional collection of Antiquities with few equals, this contribution was fully recognized only by a very few (if significant) individuals. Among the more vocal and touchingly idealistic of these supporters was Charles Eliot Norton, Professor of Art

History at Harvard.⁸⁸ In a letter dated July 26th, 1895, Norton appeals to Martin Brimmer, President of the Museum Association at Boston, on behalf of Warren:

Warren told me very fully of his plans for securing Greek antiquities of the highest class, and of the opportunities which the present time offers him for doing so. He is unquestionably in a position to obtain the best things of this sort.... I have no doubt that he would before long make [the BMFA] one of the important museums in the world. But as I said to him, he needs for this *not less than a million dollars* (Italics mine). It is a pity he cannot have free disposal of such a sum... Perhaps it might be well for you to ask him to make a statement in writing of what he would like to do for it, provided the means were put in his hands from time to time. I do not believe that the Chicago museum would let Warren appeal in vain...⁸⁹

The sum of money mentioned by Norton, which by modern standards is not especially remarkable, is astonishing by those of the nineteenth century. To clarify, Edward's inheritance from his father's estate, an income which he never augmented with a salaried occupation, and with which he lived for nearly forty years in not inconsiderable style and comfort, was approximately \$1.8 million. Also to be noted is the actual amount for art purchases that Warren was eventually awarded by the Committee — \$50 000 per annum for three years. This was to have been in addition to a \$100 000 appropriation, which never materialized and which Edward ultimately supplied personally by borrowing from S.D. Warren and Company, his father's paper company. In a letter sent by Samuel Warren to his brother Fiske in 1903, discussing Edward and the Museum, Samuel insists that while the Museum did not want to break relations with Edward, they could not possibly support such expenditures. Nevertheless, over the following decade and at great personal expense, Warren would be primarily engaged in collecting antiquities for the Boston Museum,⁹⁰ although never with such a fantastic sum of money as Norton called for. So while Norton's financial acumen remains questionable at best, the efficacy of his blatant threat and underhanded appeal to the pride of the Boston Museum administration

is beyond reproach. Ultimately, and considered in relation to the invaluable archive they present, collections, both public and private, can indeed be held to have cost, in the words of Warren, “very little.” It is worth noting that at the time he made this assessment of the value of collections, Warren had spent nearly \$40 000 of his capital, a clear indication that he had no intention of allowing the meager financial support of the museum to curtail his activity.

This perspective is echoed in the obituary written for Warren by J.D. Beazley, Professor of Classical Archeology at Oxford: “It is popularly held that the great American collections are entirely the result of regardless expenditure; a comfortable doctrine, far from the truth. The sums spent by Boston were not very large, and would have been idle without the devotion of [Warren].”⁹¹

While grateful for his efforts, we are sometimes frustrated and somewhat disturbed by the actual collector himself. Who is he? What drives his desire? Where do we situate his personality? When did he do this? Why? Some of these simple questions are more easily answered than others. From an institutional perspective, it may be much easier to collapse the collector’s meaning into that group of objects he has so obligingly left behind. Edward Warren attempted to avoid this eventuality by requesting that the objects he collected for the Museum not be officially identified with him, the result of this being that the objects simply became known by the appellations of the various contributors’ whose money enabled their purchase, such as the *Bartlett Head*, or the location in which they were found, such as the *Chios Head*. Michael Baxandall tells us that there are “at least” three distinct personalities at play in the articulation of meaning through a displayed object: that of the maker, that of the displayer, and that of the

viewer.⁹² It is through a complex interchange that these three “individual” personalities define the displayed object.⁹³ Warren’s requests to the institution to sublimate his connection to the collected artifacts may perhaps be an attempt on his part to preclude the second of these personalities, rendering the remaining two, those of the maker and the viewer, that much closer. In this he was unsuccessful, for the public always likes to know how something came to be where it is, and is generally supplied with this information in some form or another. Warren, by virtue of his request, simply rendered his “self” invisible, which was perhaps a not entirely unwelcome circumstance for the Museum Committee. His collected objects have been rendered as possessions garnered by the Museum through the largesse of its supporters. While possessing is an intrinsic and indeed unavoidable part of the collecting process, it should not necessarily be seen as the definitive element. This is particularly true relative to Edward Warren, who clearly does not fit in the rubric of the collector as hoarder. Werner Muensterberger differentiates between the dealer and the collector thus: “the dealer expects to part with an object, while a collector cannot.” By this definition, Warren is not a collector at all, a conclusion which is insupportable and which encourages the establishing of a manifold understanding of the implications and meaning of collecting.⁹⁴

Desire is not based on, nor is it maintained through presence, but through absence. Absence is what compels the collector to continue in his endeavor. The completion of such an endeavor — the addition of the “final” piece — results in a new identity for the range of objects, which are now more accurately described as a set, as well as for the collector, who now may be better described as owner. Warren, while he indeed loved and cherished the objects he collected, was loathe to consider himself their owner and

through the whole of his involvement with the BMFA, never once considered that he had managed to put together a definitive or complete set. He promised the Museum only that they could, if they labored together, put together an enviable and important collection.⁹⁵ Once the absent has been (re)placed — the collection made whole (and at once obsolete) — the collector becomes redundant, something Warren cannot in all fairness be called. At the close of collecting, when the collection is “finished”, the collector must affect his own absence and be subsumed by the new meaning taken on by the range of accumulated objects, which now stand as static symbol and testament to his efforts.⁹⁶ By this process, any understanding of the collector is limited to the schematic: Edward Perry Warren becomes little more than a homosexual aesthete with a particular interest in Greek gems, while Isabella Stewart Gardner is evoked as a lately gregarious millionaire recluse eating porridge in an effort to fund the lavish appointment of her museum/home. Herein lies another, and somewhat more interesting, possible explanation for Warren’s mysterious requests to the Museum for anonymity relative to his collecting. While his name is not prominently associated with any of the other objects in the Boston collection, it remains central to the identification of his group of Classical gems. The implications of this will be further expounded in Chapter Five in a discussion of the gems and their value within the framework of the Museum and in Warren’s private estimation. It will suffice here to note that Warren never allowed for the completion of his task relative to the Museum, just as much as he never allowed the Museum to define him in relation to any of the objects he procured for them.

As previously noted, Warren’s purposeful collecting expressly for the Boston Museum, in conjunction with the purchasing funds provided by various of his

contemporaries, has resulted in the preservation of a collection which demonstrates both the significations and short-comings of antiquities within the context of the nineteenth century museum. By looking at the development of this collection and the institution designed to house it, in relation to the prevalent moral and social objectives framing them, it is hoped that something of the scope of Warren's continuing contributions to the study and understanding of Antiquities will be revealed.

As an individual, Warren was somewhat of an anomaly. While he was in many superficial ways the quintessential son of nineteenth-century Boston's elite society — moneyed, learned, keenly moral and socially aware — he resolutely would not participate in the perpetuation of the norms central to this society, and was thus largely prevented from enjoying his inheritance. This is relevant on two levels. First, like Henry Lee Higginson, champion of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, he was never to enjoy the wholesale approbation of his peers, even as they were, to varying degrees, aware of and grateful for his contributions to the Museum. Second, Edward and the rest of his siblings were, upon the death of their father, subject to the complex terms and conditions of a Trusteeship, which controlled their income, and would later be seen to have largely deprived them of it. This Trusteeship was drafted and directed by Samuel Warren, Edward's eldest brother, and would ultimately be central in an acrimonious legal battle culminating in the suicide of Samuel.

So while Edward Warren did have money, even if his access to it was sometimes complicated, he insisted on spending it with little or no consideration for a return on his investment or respect for his capital. This was anathema to the moneyed class of Boston, whose respect for knowledge was eclipsed only by respect for the capital that insured it.

As a scholar Warren was only adequate, which he would most likely not have been faulted for had he not insisted on applying the benefit of his Classical education to the study of aspects of Greek civilization and philosophy not exactly fitted to the imperatives of his contemporaries, and which were to their minds best left buried.⁹⁷ It is noteworthy that, again like Higginson, Warren did not graduate from Harvard, choosing instead to complete his studies abroad at Oxford. An appropriate quote from Santayana, who might indeed have been referring exactly to Warren, refers to

The luckless American... who is drawn to poetic subtlety, pious retreats, or gay passions, nevertheless has the categorical excellence of work, growth, enterprise, reform, and prosperity dinned into his ears; every door is open in this direction and shut in the other; so that he either folds up his heart and withers in a corner — in remote places you sometimes find such a solitary gaunt idealist — or else he flies to Oxford, or Florence, or Montmartre to save his soul — or perhaps not to save it.⁹⁸

Finally, though Warren may indeed have been engaged in the worthy cause of collecting for the Boston Museum objects which were intended to aid in the edification of the less fortunate, his personal interests and values all too often influenced this activity to ill-effect. This was greatly to the dismay of the Museum administration.⁹⁹ Nonetheless, his skills and invaluable experience as a connoisseur/collector earned him a continued, if ultimately marginal, presence in Boston and its Museum of Fine Arts. As previously stated, Warren was deeply influenced in his endeavors by his own, highly personalized conception of the Greek ideal, and the degree to which this ideal was given form in sculpture, conceptions that certainly colored his approach when purchasing for the Museum. Warren also recognized, perhaps more than did the Museum administration, the significance of the differences between his private interests and those of the public, “which after all, the museum must to some extent consider.”¹⁰⁰ In the interest of making

some sense of these differences, and at least of clarifying Warren's own personal interest in the Classical, a consideration of certain aspects of his life will be useful.

It is very difficult to consider Warren removed from the objects he spent his life collecting, which is indicative of the importance he attached to his calling. Throughout his life and career, Warren exhibited a real and self-aware interest in the practical perception of the collector, as evidenced by his lengthy discourse on the subject quoted earlier. In a letter to the Director of the Cleveland Art Museum, dated May 21, 1915, he further speculates on the nature of the collector, effectively conflating it with that of the connoisseur: "A collector *is* a connoisseur.... His province is genuineness, beauty and market value. His qualifications are alertness and dexterity in the handling of men and a quick eye."¹⁰¹ Most considerations of the collector and the connoisseur draw a clear distinction between the two functionaries. This is derived from the understanding that the collector is motivated by a desire to have or own, while the connoisseur is driven by the desire to understand. In Warren both these desires are wonderfully present, and are ultimately articulated in his deep desire to command understanding above all else. This desire enabled him to subordinate his baser need for ownership, which nevertheless did not prevent his profoundly intimate relationship with artifacts as they passed through Lewes House on the way to Boston, as well as in the amassing of his famous gem collection.

Edward Warren was born into a situation that offered him the perfect opportunity to develop these qualities necessary, in his estimation, to the making of a collector. By the time he was born, his family's wealth was considerable, having been greatly augmented by his father's foresight. The Warrens were in the paper making industry,

which before the American Civil War, was reliant for its raw material on rags imported from Europe. When the war curtailed their importation, Samuel Warren Sr. was among the first paper manufacturers in America to develop wood pulp paper. This gave him a strong lead in the industry and effectively made his fortune. Inside of one generation, the Warrens entered into the elite circles of Boston, which saw them take up residence in a large townhouse on Beacon Street, and which freed Mrs. Warren and her children to undertake wholeheartedly the more genteel pursuits better suited to their new social position. The house was soon enlarged, and was fitted out to reflect the tastes and means of the family. While Edward did not necessarily approve of the manner in which the house was furnished, recalling it as dark and somewhat overstuffed, it was undoubtedly here that he received his first tutelage in the appreciation of decorative and fine art. It has already been noted that his mother was a collector of some distinction, and the autobiographical segment of Edward Warren's first biography completed and published by Burdett and Goddard, bears some anecdotal witness to his youthful emulation of his mother.

By the time Warren departs to England for Oxford, his collecting has taken a turn. Influenced by his interest in Classical literature, Warren turns his attention to Greek and Roman artifacts, their accumulation and study. As previously mentioned, it is in 1892, at the important van Brantegham auction in Paris, that he first makes his mark in the international antiquities market. Over the following decade, he would be a formidable force in this market.¹⁰²

The commercial nature of the antiquities market, referred to (in an attempt to diminish this aspect of it) by Warren when he says that the collector is thought to "cull a

vase from a shelf,” might go some way to explaining his family’s lack of support for his ventures. The questionable social value of having a family member involved in trade may have complicated their allegiance to Edward. This seems a logical assumption, as by any other measure he should have been subject to their wholesale approbation, involved as he was in the Museum, its collection and philanthropic aims. One must recall that at this time many perfectly reputable scholars had miserable commercial reputations. As the late editor of *Burlington Magazine*, Benedict Nicholson, pointed out, a great many scholars of Berenson’s (and Warren’s) generation became involved with the trade and only a few, “to their eternal credit, refused to do so, because it was wrong.”¹⁰³ This assessment can be seen to place Warren in a suspect and disadvantageous, if ultimately indispensable (from the Boston Museum’s perspective) position.

In a letter to General Loring dating from 1898, Warren makes the estimation that “we might...at the end of ten years time be able to reckon the BMFA among the few museums that are important for quality.”¹⁰⁴ The boldness of this claim is countered by a consideration of what Warren was indeed able to accomplish over the following decade. The Classical collection at the Boston Museum is largely the result of his endeavors.¹⁰⁵ In the ten years to which Warren refers, more than four thousand genuine Classical artifacts were added to the collections of the Boston Museum. While these were not all provided by Warren personally, their number can be understood to bear witness to his perseverance and quietly eloquent, subtle influence on the institution and its purchasing policies.¹⁰⁶ Walter Muir Whitehill, writing of the Copley Square Museum in 1970, half a century following Warren’s activity, emphasizes: “Most of the finer marbles were installed in the next two rooms; here were the *Bartlett Aphrodite*, the *Perkins Hermes*...

and the recently arrived *Chios Head*. (Figure 14) The fifth Century Room was arranged to lead up to the great *Boston Throne*, which had only the previous year finally come from Lewes House.”¹⁰⁷ The very centrality to the Classical collection of these artifacts, all collected by Warren, bear eloquent witness to his importance as a collector, both in his own right and in his attachment to the Museum.

Chapter Five

Five Artifacts Extracted from the Boston Collections

It was never Edward Warren's intention that the artifacts collected by him for the Boston Museum should be labeled for posterity as "The Warren Collection," although he did recognize and, in a letter to General Loring of 1898, protest their increased usefulness if they were allowed to stand together.¹⁰⁸ It will be demonstrated in this chapter that only one group of artifacts at the Museum — *The Warren Collection of Gems* — is implicated in this manner, a reality which offers an excellent opportunity for considering the resonating effects of this long-accepted museological practice. As discussed earlier, Warren had a somewhat unusual desire for anonymity. This desire seemingly goes against the very grain of a collector's psyche, one that impels the collector to amass artifacts in the hope that they will represent him in posterity. It is my contention that this is the very reason Warren did not want his name attached to the artifacts, because he could not support the mandate of the Museum, and the manner in which they subjected Classical artifacts to support this mandate. As early as September 30, 1892, in a letter to General Loring, then director of the Museum, Warren writes: "I shall be obliged if you will not allow my name to appear in connection with any gift or loan, either on the object or in the report."¹⁰⁹ In another letter, however, he qualifies this statement, informing Loring that the Museum may name him as donor in connection with an unidentified Durer he had recently donated to Boston, and any other "modern" things.¹¹⁰ We also find Robinson, in *The Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, referring to a "Boston gentleman at present living in Europe, — whose name is withheld at his request...." The absurdity

of assuming everyone in Boston would not easily discern exactly who this “gentleman” was probably led to Warren’s subsequent request that they not even name an “anonymous donor” in connection to his gifts.¹¹¹

It will benefit here to consider this peculiar aspect of Warren’s personality related to his collecting practice from perspectives related to, and dictated by, the topics introduced and expanded in the preceding chapters. These are: the social and moral imperatives prevalent in Boston in the nineteenth century; the needs and demands of the rapidly evolving Boston Museum; and finally, Warren’s personal experience of, and reaction to, these combined influences. These three perspectives will, in any event, offer adequate insight into Warren’s activity as a collector, as well as the meaning attendant on the objects he brought together. The sheer volume of artifacts collected by Warren, and the highly individualized nature of their signification within the context of the Boston Museum, necessitates the extraction of a selection of objects from his *œuvre* in the interest of offering a more cohesive model. With this acknowledgement, and always mindful of the connotations and complications inherent to the drawing of arbitrary boundaries, Warren’s activity will be represented in this chapter by the consideration of five specific collected objects. Each of these, with the exception of the antique gems, was considered, at the time of purchase, to be well suited to the needs and aims of the institution, each was bought from funds given to the Museum by various individual donors, and each continues to hold a place of particular significance in the collection. The objects are: the *Bartlett Head*, the *Torso of Hermes*, the *Chios Head*, the *Boston Throne*, and the *Warren Collection of Gems*. As previously mentioned, the gems are interesting as they are distinct from the other artifacts by virtue of their appellation,

rendering them demonstrative of the impact of this practice.

The privileged manner in which these authentic artifacts were displayed from the moment of their arrival at the Museum stands in stark contrast to the exhibitions of casts, which were crowded into galleries with no consideration for anything but the constraints of space. (Figures 15 and 16) This clumsy practice, born mostly out of necessity, was proving problematic even by 1890, when Robinson, in his annual report, objects to the “fact that the Porch of the Maidens from the Erechtheion and the selection from the reliefs of the Great Altar at Pergamon are brought into the same room.” Robinson is basing his objection on the universally endorsed, and easily understood, chronological placement of exhibits in the museum space. This yearly report goes on to clearly emphasize the limited time left for the collection of authentic artifacts. This change can be read in a number of ways, but it does seem to indicate a gradual increase of Warren’s influence on Museum policy as worked through Robinson’s intervention.

The *Torso of Hermes* (Figure 17) was accessioned in 1895, and was purchased out of the Catharine Page Perkins Fund. This was a wholly unrestricted purchasing fund derived from a \$102 000 bequest made to the institution.¹¹² Warren once had cautioned both Robinson and Loring against forming a collection composed for the most part of headless torsos, for he felt that the public would pass by them, and it is for perhaps for this reason that he was rightly proud in offering the Museum this nearly full figured object.¹¹³ Sculpted of delicate white marble and dated to the fourth century BC, the *Hermes* was a great favorite of Warren’s, as evidenced by the previously mentioned photograph of him at Lewes holding it like a child in his lap. Luckily for the Museum, the elegant torso, though badly etched by some amateur attempt to clean it, (one assumes

this attempt predates its sojourn at Lewes House) had not suffered the loss of its head. It was Warren's contention that heads and more complete torsos were a better investment for the Museum, as interest in these was doubtless to be found greater. This opinion perhaps goes some distance to explaining his purchase of two fragmentary heads that figure prominently in the Boston collection, the *Chios Head* and the *Bartlett Head*. Warren strongly felt that the head was so clearly demonstrative of the character not only of the sculpted figure, but also of the nature of the sculptor, that he drew a conclusive distinction between heads devoid of their bodies and bodies missing their heads. Rather than fill out the collection with relatively complete but lifeless plaster casts, or badly executed inaccurate restorations however, Warren was enthusiastically willing to seek out such fragments on the behalf of the Museum.

The head of Aphrodite now known as the *Bartlett Head* (Figure 18) was considered by Warren to be an example of the work of the pre-eminent Fourth Century sculptor Praxiteles, and upon his acquisition of it, was the subject of a detailed and lengthy comparison with the celebrated statue of Aphrodite then in the collection of Lord Leaconsfield. The *Bartlett Head* was purchased with money from the Francis Bartlett Donation of 1900, and was accessioned by the museum in 1903. This placed the funds directly in Warren's hands at a time when he was experiencing serious financial difficulties, which ultimately resulted in his returning to Boston in 1901 to personally present his case to the Museum. Unfortunately, as with many of the artifacts collected for the Museum by Warren, the provenance of this object remains unknown. No specific indications are made in Warren's papers concerning exact sources, a symptom, one supposes, of Warren's reluctance to implicate any of his sources in dealings that might be

considered unethical.

Also worthy of mention is the fact that Warren had, by this time, devised a scheme for getting around the committee's occasional reluctance to purchase artifacts he personally found to be desirable, by which he would put together what he called a "sending" for the Museum. These crates of artifacts were generally composed of at least one object of which Warren was sure the Committee would approve. This object was meant to draw attention away from other artifacts included in the sending which might otherwise be refused upon arrival. In a letter dated September 10, 1898, Warren casually refers to the value represented by the next sending, placing it at six thousand pounds, and reminding General Loring that this represents the amount he had already laid out from his own accounts.¹¹⁴

The head of a young girl, called the *Chios Head* (Figure 19) was purchased by an unknown dealer on the island of Chios in 1887, where it had previously been unearthed during the Crimean war, circa 1853. The Parian marble fragment is Greek, dated to the Fourth Century B.C. Its publication in the *Athenische Mittheilungen*¹¹⁵ in 1888 led to its re-purchase by Warren. It later attracted much attention and admiration upon being exhibited by the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1904. Among its most ardent admirers was Auguste Rodin, the French sculptor, who offered Warren a trade for a piece of his own work in exchange for the fragment. Rodin was unable to secure the head in this manner and Warren ultimately presented the artifact to the Boston Museum in 1910, in memory of his brother Samuel who had recently committed suicide. It is noted in the *Museum Bulletin* of that year as an "anonymous gift" in memory of Samuel D. Warren.

The *Boston Throne* (Figure 20) presents an interesting position as locus of authority and/or authenticity within the Museum, as well as the implicit and explicit meaning attendant on this authority, as perceived and aspired to by Boston in the nineteenth century. The history of the *Boston Throne*, and its value as the crowning glory of the Boston Museum's collection will be examined historically, from its discovery on the heels of the devastating loss of the similar *Ludovisi Throne* to the Museo delle Terme in Rome, and to its present contentious positioning within the Museum.¹¹⁶ As well, a formalist reading of the iconography of the *Throne* will be included, if only to offer a strangely prescient mythological interpretation of the role and position of the connoisseur/collector within the framework of the western museum.

The *Boston Throne* was purchased out of the Henry Lillie Pierce fund. Henry L. Pierce was the Museum's single greatest benefactor of the nineteenth century, his total bequest being calculated at \$780 000.¹¹⁷ The *Throne* was accessioned in 1908, and was exhibited for the first time in 1910 at the new Museum on the Fenway where it was the focal point of the fifth-century room and one of the Museum's most prized, and problematic artifacts. While it has come to be known as the *Boston Throne*, there is some lingering doubt as to its intended function, and its very authenticity. This name is partly in reference to the physical qualities of the artifact, its three sides forming what could be taken as a seat of some kind. More significantly, the name is evocative of another, very similar object now in the Museo delle Terme in Rome — the so-called *Ludovisi Throne*. This other three-sided relief was part of a collection Warren had earlier competed for against other significant collectors such as the Danish beer magnate Carl Jacobsen.¹¹⁸ In 1901, Warren writes to General Loring: "The Ludovisi collection, including the so-called

throne is lost to us.” The Italian government, concerned over the widespread exportation of antiquities, had passed legislation that sought to curtail this activity and Warren intimates his perception that the throne was made a *sine qua non* in the subsequent purchase made of the collection by the Italian government. He proceeds to lament not having worked, “in the early years,” with this eventuality in mind, for had he done this the Museum might not have lost the opportunity of the Ludovisi collection. In summation, he places the lion’s share of the responsibility on the Italians, who might have supported the purchase if they “had been in the least practical and capable.”

Some scholars have since suggested that the Italians were profoundly practical and capable in matters of forgery, indicating that the *Boston Throne* is a fake, constructed from the sawed-off end of a sarcophagus. Boston has always maintained its authenticity, but this position is somewhat undermined by the fact that the last time it was made subject to investigation was in the 1960s, when its own Museum laboratories declared it authentic, a situation which remains unchanged today.¹¹⁹ The contested authenticity of this artifact is not central to this investigation, but it is worth acknowledging, as the Museum has for so long given the throne pride of place in their collections, which by inference serves to guarantee its authenticity. There are some compelling reasons to consider that the throne may not be authentic, not the least of which is the strange coincidence of its appearance in relation to the loss of the *Ludovisi Throne*. If, as is conjectured, the two “thrones” served as opposite ends for an altar or some other structure, how did one end up in so prominent a collection, while the other languished in the ground? They both came from Greece, as indicated by analysis of the marble, which was demonstrated to be from the Greek island of Thesos, and presumably they should

have been brought to Rome at the same time. It seems unusual that the *Ludovisi Throne*, and not its Boston counterpart should have so much earlier been absorbed into a Roman collection. From the “Correspondence between Edward Perry Warren and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,” in the Archives of American Art, and dated September 1913, a letter related to the “Throne” describes its shady history. According to this document, it was found in a garden near to where the Ludovisi example had been found. It then outlines the passing of the artifact from hand to hand until it was sold to Warren for seventy thousand lire and smuggled out of Naples. No concrete provenance has ever materialized, even one supportive of this vague history.

The second reason to question the authenticity of *The Throne* is conjectural, and is reliant on a reading of the iconographical properties of the artifact, which favors the archaic Greek mythology related to Eros over the Classical. The generally accepted reading of the front panel of the throne is that it depicts Eros in the act of weighing the souls of two men.¹²⁰ The scale, which had been attached by means of a mortise has broken away, and Eros is depicted flanked by two women. According to Diotime, Eros was a demon halfway between god and man. He was born from the union of Expediency (Poros), and Poverty (Penia) in the garden of the gods, after a colossal feast to which all of the divinities had been invited. He owed some significant characteristics to his parents: he was always busy in search of his objective, like poverty, and he could always think of some way of attaining it, like Expediency; but far from being an all-powerful god, he was a perpetually dissatisfied and restless force.¹²¹ This renders Eros an almost perfect metaphor for the collector as embodied by Edward Warren — as a being constantly in search of something for which he will do almost anything. It is a

remarkable coincidence, but it is unfortunately one that would require either Warren's complicity in a plan to deceive the Museum, or his ignorance regarding forgery in order to follow it through. I cannot imply that Warren would have been involved in such a deception, and hesitate to question his abilities, but this possibility does make for an intriguing story, something that the Italians and Warren shared a love for.

The *Warren Collection of Gems* (Figure 21) is representative of an interesting episode in the history of Warren's enterprise, as well as that of the Museum. The collection of gems was the result of Warren's insistence that the institution neither question nor complicate his dealings with various dealers. He often purchased gems in the interest of maintaining ties with dealers, an expense which he expected the Museum to meet, as to his mind it was in their best interest to do so. Twenty-five of the gems had initially been purchased as a lot at the Tyszkiewicz auction in 1892 in Paris. Count Michael Tyszkiewicz, a Russian expatriate, and his gems were an inspiration to Warren as a collector, and in emulation of his mentor, Warren continued to add to this initial purchase until the 1920s, when he began negotiations with the Boston Museum for the gems' transferal to the institution's collection.¹²² These negotiations were trying at best, and very nearly proved impossible. It is quite possible that the Committee had reservations because of the uncertain provenance of many gems, whose popularity in the eighteenth century had given rise to countless skilled counterfeiters. Warren was unable to convince the Committee of the combined importance of the collection, which he initially offered to them, including three unnamed marbles, for \$200 000. This was for one hundred and fifty-one gems, even at that time widely held to be representative of the finest available. Despite the support of the heads of the Museum departments, who wrote

to then-director Arthur Fairbanks in unanimous support of the purchase in November of 1920, this offer was declined by the Museum¹²³ It was the Financial Committee who vetoed the purchase, advising against the outlay of such a sum, which would infringe on the capital of the institution. The Museum ultimately countered with an offer to purchase a “selection of these engraved gems for \$30 000.” This money was to be taken from the Francis Bartlett Fund of 1912, a fund distinct from the previously mentioned Bartlett Fund of 1900. Bartlett presented the 1912 donation with the unusual and refreshing proviso that for the three years from 1912 to 1914, the funds be used solely for the purchase of Classical antiquities. The Committee nonetheless remained firm in its decision, going so far as invoking the authority of the Museum’s responsibility to the public from the 1870 by-laws as support for their refusal. This was in January of 1921 and by February Warren had the news from Arthur Fairbanks, President of the Museum Association. In response, Warren calculatedly reminds Fairbanks that it is indeed possible for the Museum to make purchases of selected lots from the gems, but that this would end up being far more costly. He demonstrates his willingness to reserve the gems for the Museum, but also alludes to the possibility of another, less difficult buyer. This buyer was in all probability Mrs. Radeke (the founder and benefactress of the Rhode Island School of Design), who had recently entered into dealings with Warren to bring together a collection of Classical antiquities at the Rhode Island School of Design, near Providence. Warren closes the letter in a post-script, which is impatient in tone, ending with his “rather hoping that you will find some benefactors to finish the undertaking after it has been started.”¹²⁴

The gems were published in 1920 by John Davidson Beazley, who estimates them second in quality only to the collection held at the British Museum.¹²⁵ Warren's gems were ultimately purchased *en masse* for an undisclosed sum through the Francis Bartlett Fund of 1912, but Warren never had the satisfaction of knowing they would be represented in their entirety at the Boston Museum. They are published, "now for the first time... in [their] entirety" in the same issue of the Museum Bulletin that contains Edward Warren's obituary. The Trustees here single out a few of the "choicest examples" in the hope of demonstrating how appropriate it is "that this collection of gems, representing [Warren's] crowning achievement, should find a permanent home here."¹²⁶

It is indeed appropriate that the gems should have found a permanent home at Boston, though perhaps not in the way the Museum understood. When one considers that Edward Warren spent a lifetime putting together the collection at the BMFA, it is interesting that the only artifacts that officially bear his name are the very ones he valued so highly, and the Museum not at all. His attachment to these gems was something the Museum Committee never supported or understood, and yet it is the only attachment they have ensured for him in posterity. Warren was painfully aware of the fact that he never quite measured up to his social peers in Boston, a fact that may have led him in the first place to involve himself wholeheartedly in the formation of the BMFA. At the same time, his feelings of exclusion might have led to his desire to take his place in the Museum on the value of a collection which those on the committee could not understand or even effectively feign interest in.

Conclusion

The civilization, which flourished on the mainland of Greece...is the basis of the world in which we live today. The Greek ideals of beauty, of balance and of logic, have become our ideals.

Francis Henry Taylor¹²⁷

Whatever else art involves, it characteristically begins with material transmuted from one category of use to another.¹²⁸ Much the same assessment might be made of a collection of artifacts, and it is therefore difficult and perhaps foolish to make any categorical statement regarding collecting, collections, or the collector. To each individual and in varied contexts, such terms mean something entirely different. The most satisfactory solution to this dilemma is to acknowledge that these meanings are entirely constructed and are ultimately most distinguishable by virtue of this fact. A collection can easily be manipulated to suit the perceived/desired narrative demands of new and varied audiences, and this will almost certainly always be the case.

In the specific example of Edward Perry Warren, we can see how this collector was the product of a society that valued knowledge and civic responsibility above all else. It is also abundantly clear that his inability or lack of desire to conform to the wishes of his contemporaries resulted in a limited recognition and exclusion from participation in what Benedict Anderson refers to as a totalizing classificatory grid:

Interlinked with one another, then, the census, the map and the museum illuminate the late colonial state's style of thinking about its domain. The "warp" of this thinking was a totalizing classificatory grid, which could be applied with endless flexibility to anything under the state's real or contemplated control: peoples, regions, religions, languages, products, monuments, and so forth. The effect of the grid was always to be able to say of anything that it was this, not that; it belonged here, not there. It was

bounded, determinate, and therefore — in principle — countable.¹²⁹

The message repeated by museum institutions from the nineteenth century to the present, and particularly in places like Boston, which purposefully emphasized the didactic aims of its policies, was principally concerned with demonstrating in this manner what America was and where Americans belonged. In the 1930s, the Boston Museum hosted a series of radio programs, the aim of which was to determine the ‘use’ of art. These were broadcast under the provocative title, “What Use is Art Anyway?” The titles of the six broadcasts are listed here with the purpose of demonstrating that for the Boston Museum in the early part of this century, art had already been assigned a very clearly defined use. It is no accident that only the first two lectures are posed as questions, with the remainder of the collection aimed at answering these, counteracting any lingering doubts in the public mind by relying on the authority of the “essential”:

- I. What use is art anyway?
- II. Art for Art’s Sake?
- III. The Four Artistic Essentials.
- IV. Essential Purpose in Art.
- V. Technical Essentials.
- VI. Essential Imagery in Art.

The administration of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts imposed very rigid definitions on Art, and expected nothing less from the men like Edward Perry Warren who assisted them in the gathering of objects, for the essence of their institution was defined as the aggregate of their noble ideas and intentions. However, they perhaps failed to consider that: “Philosophy is not a mere collection of noble sentiments. A deluge of such sentiments does more harm than good. Philosophy is at once general and concrete, critical and appreciative of direct intuition.... It is a survey of possibilities and their comparison with actualities.”¹³⁰

It is abundantly clear that the philosophy that drove the administrative arm of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts was less than appreciative of the brand of intuition Edward Warren was capable of offering. Neither were they much interested, as previously stated, in considering the survey of possibilities relative to the artifacts he provided. By this estimation, then, it might be said that the philosophy of the Boston Museum in the nineteenth century was indeed little more than a collection of noble sentiments that valued constructed and established social responsibility and philanthropy over earnest investigation. A consideration of Warren's position in relation to the Museum and its administration demonstrates that the story of Eros as an entity eternally seeking fulfillment as read on the front panel of the *Boston Throne*, quite accurately reflects that of the collector. Warren himself, in his impassioned definition of a collector, calls the reader's attention to the perpetual dissatisfaction and restlessness inherent to that role.

In "On the Preconditions, Circumstances and Consequences of Collecting," Christine Stelzig and Katrin Adler examine the physical and logistical challenges involved in collecting in the context of the gathering of "ethnographic artifacts." The authors point to the many difficulties encountered by the collector, from the arduous packing and transporting of collected artifacts, to their often-frustrating attempts to meet the demands of the institutions employing them.¹³¹ Stelzig and Adler conclude by observing that the structural conditions set by the institutions involved, the "multiplicity of complex... reasons,"¹³² continue to influence the direction of research into collecting. They ultimately conclude: "Many trials and errors are to be expected before the levels of narrative can be identified with certainty."¹³³ This conclusion remains in all likelihood the only supportable stance regarding collecting, the collector and collections.

Just as there are innumerable factors and considerations that determine the very formation and nature of a collection,¹³⁴ any examination of collecting as practice will benefit from the inclusion of an ever-broadening variety of critical perspectives. A multiplicity of narrative levels and perspectives inevitably come into, and out of, any consideration of Edward Perry Warren and his relationship with the Boston Museum. There is no definitive answer as to why Warren made the efforts he did on behalf of the Museum, although he made no great secret of the fact that much of what he did was provoked by his contempt for his brother Samuel and the Museum Committee. We can attribute qualities to Edward Warren the collector, considering his social standing, the prevailing cultural imperatives of his time, and his resultant opportunities, but at best we are left making vague assumptions regarding his motivations. Paul DiMaggio tells us that motivations are culturally determined, just as are activities such as collecting. Thus, in the case of Edward Perry Warren it may be most logical to conclude that he was motivated by an antipathy to the prevalent social and cultural beliefs of nineteenth-century Boston and that he saw in the opportunity to participate in the formation of the Museum, however marginally, his best opportunity to effectively subvert these beliefs.

While each collection functions at different times and in different places to varying effect, the hope is that a clearer understanding of the essential nature of the process, apart from the psychological foundations upon which it has its basis and financial considerations on which it developed, can be made out in the jumble of stone and clay left in the wake of Warren's activity. Warren, in his efforts to bring together a representative collection of Classical antiquities for the Boston Museum, had in mind exactly what John Boardman has set as the goal of his *Greek Art*, more than a century

later: to explain what Greek art “looks like.” Edward Warren’s understanding of the focus and aims of Classical scholarship can, in this way, be seen as the genuinely innovative legacy of an individual possessed of a desire to collect, in the truest and most complete sense of the word.

¹ John KEATS, "Ode on a Grecian Urn" in M.H. ABRAMS *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, volume 2 (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1968).

² Edward Perry Warren to General Loring, Lewes, 2 Jan. 1893, *Director's Papers*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

³ Martin GREEN, *The Problem of Boston* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1966). Green offers an excellent assessment of this perception in his reading of the particular set of social and economic factors that aided in the development of the city of Boston.

⁴ These objects have been singled out of the wide range of artifacts collected by Warren over the duration of his career in the interest of clarity. While it would indeed be fascinating to consider his collection in its entirety, this is complicated by many factors, not the least of which is the fact that Warren himself resisted the synthesis of these objects in this manner.

⁵ That the objects held in collections are to some degree taken as 'the sum of their parts' is not an unreasonable assertion.

⁶ *The Warren Cup*, a large, silver drinking vessel purchased by Warren circa 1912, and now in the collection of the British Museum, provides an example of this. We naturally assume this object to have been made for consumption by the upper classes of Hellenistic society, by virtue of the material, which may or may not be accurate. While this is not necessarily a good indicator of its original value, it does tell us something about Warren, who was wont to establish connections through his collecting with the nobility of the ancient civilization of Greece, as well as the romanticized notions he held regarding ideal love.

⁷ See Werner TRIESCHMANN, "Collecting a Life: John and Robyn Horn," *American Craft* 60 (Dec. 2000/Jan. 2001): 46-53. Trieschmann encourages a sycophantic appreciation of the collector when noting that his subjects, the Horns, "appear quite comfortable in jeans and flannel shirts."

⁸ The connection of the collector and his pocket book is addressed in Janet M. BROOKE, *Discerning Tastes: Montreal Collectors 1880-1920* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts Publications Service, 1989).

⁹ See Susan STEWART, *On Longing* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).

¹⁰ Francis Henry TAYLOR, *Fifty Centuries of Art* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954). "The civilization which flourished on the mainland of Greece...is the basis of the world in which we live today. The Greek ideals of beauty, of balance and of logic have become our ideals. The Greeks were the first to grasp the facts and implications of the material world and to relate themselves to it. There is ever present in Greek art a unity of

concept, a harmony of the masses, a finish of detail and distinction to the whole which governs every work of architecture, sculpture and painting.”

¹¹ John BOARDMAN, *Greek Art*, fourth edition (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996).

¹² Edward Perry WARREN, Unpaginated Notebook. Edward Perry Warren Papers. Oxford University Library, Beazley Archive. In addition to this discovery, archeological excavations in the last quarter of the century, including Heinrich Schliemann’s highly contested discoveries at Mycenae, and those undertaken at Olympia in 1877, and on the Acropolis in 1886 combined to give a new face to the understanding of Greek art and classical scholarship. Warren credits these archeological discoveries with effecting this change in perception, as previous to this, knowledge of Greek statuary was limited to what could be inferred from Roman copies.

¹³ This self-perception is marked by a false humility, and is articulated in relation not only to the less fortunate classes in America, who were to benefit from his [the art collector’s] efforts, but also to the elite of Europe, who were no match for his flawless selflessness. This is given evidence in Henry James, *The Golden Bowl* (New York: Penguin, 1984): 146. “He was a plain American citizen...but no pope, no prince of them all had read a richer meaning, he believed, into the character of the Patron of Art.”

¹⁴ BROOKE, *Discerning Tastes*, 14.

¹⁵ Gisela M.A. RICHTER, *A Handbook of Greek Art: A Survey of the Visual Arts of Ancient Greece* (London: Phaidon, 1987).

¹⁶ Donald PREZIOSI and Louise A. HITCHCOCK, *Aegean Art and Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

¹⁷ While the American museums of the late-nineteenth century are widely considered to have been revolutionary in their encyclopedic approach to collecting, this model was first adopted by the museum at Alexandria, as witnessed in Book XXXVI of Pliny the Elder’s *Natural History*.

¹⁸ Ludwig Curtius as quoted in Jeffrey MORRISON, *Winckelmann and the Notion of Aesthetic Education* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

¹⁹ Walter Pater as quoted in Raymond WILLIAMS, *Culture and Society 1780-1950* (New York: Anchor Books, 1960).

²⁰ Paul DIMAGGIO, “Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organizational Base for High Culture in America,” *Media, Culture and Society* 4 (1982): 33-50.

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- ²¹ GREEN, *The Problem of Boston*, 51. While it may not have been tremendously successful in producing literature with any lasting impact, Boston does hold the distinguished position of being the only American city in the early nineteenth century to hold two collections of books numbering more than ten thousand. In 1819, there were only three American libraries that could make this claim: the City Library in Philadelphia; the Harvard University Library; and the Boston Athenaeum.
- ²² DIMAGGIO, "Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston," 42.
- ²³ GREEN, *The Problem of Boston*, 22.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 44.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.
- ²⁶ Victoria D. ALEXANDER, *Museums and Money: The Impact of Funding on Exhibitions, Scholarship, and Management* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996). The influence of individual, wealthy philanthropists is clearly evidenced in nineteenth-century American art museums. It was the upper classes who, in one way or another, paid for them, and it was they who dictated their contents and context.
- ²⁷ GREEN, *The Problem of Boston*, 68.
- ²⁸ Angela DYER, *Rodin in Lewes* (Lewes: Sculpture Co., 1999).
- ²⁹ GREEN, *The Problem of Boston*, 34.
- ³⁰ This was an immutable connection, set up by Winckelman in the eighteenth century, and maintained through a long and unquestioned adherence to his principles, methods, and pronouncements.
- ³¹ Johannes FABIAN, *Time and the Other* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983). Fabian here considers the commonplace "Knowledge is Power," demonstrating the set of social and cultural conventions summed up in the phrase. The intimate connection of knowledge to power is neatly evidenced in the Boston of the nineteenth century.
- ³² Martin GREEN, *The Mount Vernon Street Warrens* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989). The Warrens were never in the first circle of Boston society, as they were less moneyed, and perhaps still too closely associated with manufacturing. Edward Warren was very aware of this upon going to Harvard, where he was not included at the table implicitly reserved for the best of Boston. He carried this awareness, and its associated bitterness, with him all his life, a fact that might have some bearing over why he chose not to live in Boston, but to enrich her museum in the manner he did.

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- ³³ *The Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 1895), 14.
- ³⁴ GREEN, *The Problem of Boston*, 87.
- ³⁵ Donald PREZIOSI, *Rethinking Art History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).
- ³⁶ ALEXANDER, *Museums and Money*, 116.
- ³⁷ See Kate FLINT, *The Victorians and the Visual Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) for a powerful consideration of the impact of new types of vision that provoked these investigations.
- ³⁸ *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* vii (April to September, 1905): 151.
- ³⁹ Craig Hugh SMYTH and Peter M. LUKEHEART, *The Early Years of Art History in the United States* (Princeton, N.J.: Dept. of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, 1993), 13.
- ⁴⁰ This was strongly enough felt to warrant a reflection on the pages of *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* xi (April to September 1907): 203.
- ⁴¹ DIMAGGIO, "Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston," 42.
- ⁴² GREEN, *The Problem of Boston*, 139.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, 53.
- ⁴⁴ Henry ROTH, *Call it Sleep* (New York: Avon Books, 1964), 147-50. Roth demonstrates beautifully the inability of the working poor to easily access and appreciate the foreign realm of the museum, and even of the environment in which it was to be found. This environment was even more remote theoretically from their reality than it was physically distant from the slums in which these laborers lived.
- ⁴⁵ Denys SUTTON, "Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University" in *Apollo* 195 (May 1978) and no.196 (June 1978). Norton was an extremely influential American scholar, and was intimately involved in Warren's activity, as well as in the formation of Isabella Stewart-Gardner's collection at Fenway Court.
- ⁴⁶ BROOKE, *Discerning Tastes*, 15. See Brooke for a brief, but contemporaneous example of the wholesale purchasing of culture.
- ⁴⁷ Carol TROYEN and Pamela S. TABBAA, *The Great Boston Collectors: Paintings from the Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 1984).

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- 48 *Ibid.*, 39
- 49 ALEXANDER, *Museums and Money*, 15. Alexander offers an explanation of the organization of museum institutions, culminating in the assertion that they do the things they do because “that’s how museums do it.” She also acknowledges that museums can be government sponsored, but that this is an older model. As such, it may seem to a contemporary mind unusual to praise Boston for its accomplishment, but in the context of the nineteenth century, this becomes more salient.
- 50 Robert F. PERKINS and William J. GAVIN III, *The Boston Athenæum, Art Exhibition Index 1827-1874* (Boston: The Library of the Boston Athenæum, 1980).
- 51 TROYEN and TABBAA, *The Great Boston Collectors*, 8.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 3.
- 53 ALEXANDER, *Museums and Money*, 14-15.
- 54 TROYEN and TABBAA, *The Great Boston Collectors*, 11.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 13.
- 56 For a contemporary reading of the “Boston Plan” see Frank MATHER, “Art in America,” *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* xi (April to September 1906): 62-63.
- 57 *Ibid.*
- 58 “Samuel Dennis Warren,” *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 10 (1910): 31.
- 59 Samuel Warren to Fiske Warren, Boston, 19 Feb. 1903, Unpaginated Notebook. Edward Perry Warren Papers. Oxford University Library, Beazley Archive. In this letter from Samuel to his brother Fiske, we read that Edward, when unable to obtain an appropriation of USD 100 000, chose to borrow it personally from the family trust.
- 60 Edward Perry Warren to Samuel Warren, Lewes, 5 Feb. 1899, *Director’s Papers* Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. In this letter, Warren advises the Museum regarding ideal display methods for classical statuary, which allows for each object to be seen in its entirety. Warren states “Art is evident not only in an object, but in its placing.”
- 61 *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 27 (June 1907): 32.
- 62 Edward Perry Warren to Samuel Warren, Lewes, 24 Aug. 1901, *Director’s Papers*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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- ⁶³ See Frank MATHER, "Art in America," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* xvi (1909): 293. The new museum building was designed by the architect Guy Lowell (1870-1927).
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 293-96.
- ⁶⁵ Ishbel ROSS, *Taste in America* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967). Ross offers a sketch of American architectural trends, which are perfectly mirrored in the changing manifestations of the Boston museum from neo gothic to neo classical. Ross places the death of the neoclassical in America somewhat earlier (1870) than the erection of the Boston museum, but then it served a more timeless function than mere taste.
- ⁶⁶ For more comprehensive readings of this history see Mahonri SHARP YOUNG, *The Golden Eye* (New York: Scala Books, 1983), and Charlotte GERE, *Great Women Collectors* (London: Harry N. Abrams, 1999).
- ⁶⁷ J. Mark DAVIDSON SCHUSTER, *The Audience for American Museums* (Washington: Seven Locks Press, 1991).
- ⁶⁸ Edward Perry Warren to Samuel Warren, Lewes, 5 Feb. 1899, *Director's Papers*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- ⁶⁹ Barbara ROSE, *American Art since 1900* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1967).
- ⁷⁰ As quoted in Dorothy J. HOWELL, *Environmental Stewardship* (London: Bergin and Garvey, 1997).
- ⁷¹ Bruce CHATWIN, *utz* (New York: Penguin, 1988).
- ⁷² Sir Martin CONWAY, *The Sport of Collecting* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1914). Conway, and many other writers, endeavor to link collecting to episodic childhood experience, an effort I find to be largely wasted. Childhood collecting can serve to initiate the individual to the thrill of discovery and the intricacies of classification, but beyond this they have little bearing on later activity. Most people, collectors and non-collectors alike, would draw clear distinctions between the deliberate and systematic collecting undertaken by Warren as an adult, and that which marked his childhood. These distinctions may be only in degree, but it is this degree that has served to guarantee the importance and solidity of his collection at the BMFA. His small collection of china, made when he was a child, if it truly existed, remains only as a narrative detail.
- ⁷³ This is a well-deserved authority, as Warren was hard-pressed to convince the Committee of the value and interest of said collection. Boston's holdings, due to his efforts, are widely considered to be second in quality only to those at the British Museum.
- ⁷⁴ Werner MUENSTERBERGER, *Collecting, An Unruly Passion: Psychological*

Perspectives (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994). Taste and preference in collecting are bound to be influenced by the environment and the socio-historic circumstances.

⁷⁵ See Betty KRONSKY, "Psychology of Art," *American Artist* 510 (January 1985): 97. Kronsky attributes this reading of collecting to Freudian analysis, which "concludes that anyone childish enough to choose a certain activity would not have the adult skills to succeed in it." Kronsky encourages the view that humans are driven more by creativity than by hidden pathological defenses. The fact that Freud himself amassed a large collection of Egyptian figurines, with which he decorated his office, begs a reconsideration of his assertion.

⁷⁶ See Victor MARGOLIN, "Micky Wolfson's Cabinet of Wonders: From Private Passion to Public Purpose," *DesignIssues* 1 (Spring 1997): 67. Susan Pearce allows three categorical divisions within collecting: systematic, fetishism, and souvenir collecting. These aid in the preliminary consideration of the process, but beyond this they fail to communicate the subtleties inherent to the collected object as related to the collection and the collector. Pearce seems to locate these distinguishing functions solely within the realm of the museum, and in particular in the role of the curator.

⁷⁷ Edward Perry Warren, as quoted in Osbert BURDETT and E.H. GODDARD, *Edward Perry Warren: Biography of a Connoisseur* (London: Christopher, 1941).

⁷⁸ Samuel Warren was named to the Committee to the Museum in 1892. He served the Museum in various capacities until his resignation in 1910.

⁷⁹ Edward ROBINSON, "Report of the Department of Classical Archeology," *The Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* (1887): 13.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁸¹ Pierre GRIMAL, *The Dictionary of Classical Mythology* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998).

⁸² Samuel Warren to Martin Brimmer, Boston, 3 Aug. 1893, *Director's Papers*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

⁸³ Edward ROBINSON, "Report of the Department of Classical Archeology," *The Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* (1888): 22-23.

⁸⁴ Edward Robinson to Martin Brimmer, Boston, 15 Sept. 1894, *Director's Papers*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

⁸⁵ BURDETT and GODDARD, *Edward Perry Warren*, 192.

⁸⁶ DYER, *Rodin in Lewes*, 28.

⁸⁷ CHATWIN, *utz*, 20.

⁸⁸ GREEN, *The Problem of Boston*, 139. Green judges Norton's influence to be in many ways destructive, placing him resolutely on the losing side in the battle for American culture.

⁸⁹ Burdett and Goddard, London, 3 Feb. 1903, Warren Papers, Oxford University Library, Beazley Archive.

⁹⁰ The great period of collecting according to Harry Asa Thomas, Warren's last private secretary and executor of his last will and testament, was this period from 1895 to 1905.

⁹¹ J.D. BEAZLEY, "Edward Perry Warren," *The Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 30 (1929): 43. Beazley actually credits both Warren, and his partner John Marshall, who was instrumental in much of Warren's work for the Boston museum. Marshall has been excluded from this investigation in the interest of clarity and to focus attention on Warren's relationship to Boston and its Museum.

⁹² Michael BAXANDALL, "Exhibiting Intention," in Ivan KARP and Steven D. LAVINE, *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (New York: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990).

⁹³ Walter BENJAMIN, "The Task of the Translator," *Illuminations* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968), 69-82. Benjamin begins his assessment with the assertion that "in the appreciation of a work of art or an art form, consideration of the receiver never proves fruitful." This may at first seem a harsh judgment, but one that bears up under consideration. Museum exhibitions serve more to form the perceptions of the viewer than to reflect them.

⁹⁴ MUENSTERBERGER, *Collecting, An Unruly Passion*, 13.

⁹⁵ Edward Perry Warren to General Loring, Lewes, 10 Sept. 1898, *Director's Papers*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

⁹⁶ In his novel *utz*, Bruce Chatwin makes central the difficulty inherent to the placing of externally determined qualifications on the activity of the collector, as well as his accumulated artifacts.

⁹⁷ E.M. FORSTER, *Maurice: A Novel* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1971). Forster gives us some contemporaneous insight into the academic approach to these aspects in *Maurice*, where we witness an admonition to a group of students engaged in reading *The Symposium*, to "ignore any reference to the unspeakable vice of the Greeks."

⁹⁸ GREEN, *The Problem of Boston*, 145.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 107. Green offers a “highly schematic” consideration of the relationship between a society’s perceived position, and the types of art they seek out, which offers the irony inherent in Boston’s clearly articulated comfort with “easy, safe and tame kinds.”

¹⁰⁰ Edward Perry Warren to General Loring, Lewes, 10 Nov. 1898, *Director’s Papers*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

¹⁰¹ Edward Perry Warren to Director of Cleveland Art Museum, Lewes, 21 May 1915, *Director’s Papers*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

¹⁰² Warren employed a variety of people over the course of his career, but his earliest (and most lasting) business relationship was with his colleague from Oxford John Marshall. Marshall has been excluded from this study for three reasons: firstly, because existing investigations of their collaboration tend too often to speculate on the “true” nature of their relationship, and thus taint the validity of the research with sexual innuendo, something I desired to avoid: and secondly, because of the difficulty in distinguishing between their two voices during the time they worked together, as well as the fact that it was Warren who envisioned and funded their endeavors, with Marshall occupying the paid position of “secretary.” Marshall later distinguished himself with a long and illustrious career at the Metropolitan Museum in New York

¹⁰³ Meryl SECREST, *Being Bernard Berenson: A Biography* (New York: Penguin, 1979).

¹⁰⁴ Edward Perry Warren to General Loring, Lewes, 10 Nov. 1899, *Director’s Papers*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

¹⁰⁵ BURDETT and GODDARD, *Edward Perry Warren*, 281. Warren is quoted as saying that he made this effort in a direct challenge to Boston and his brother Samuel.

¹⁰⁶ See Walter MUIR WHITEHILL, *Museum of Fine Arts Boston — A Centennial History 2* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970). Whitehill estimates that purchases made as late as 1958, thirty years following Warren’s death, would have met with his whole-hearted approval.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 237.

¹⁰⁸ Edward Perry Warren to General Loring, Lewes, 10 Nov. 1898, *Director’s Papers*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston..

¹⁰⁹ Edward Perry Warren to General Loring, Lewes, 30 Sept. 1892, *Director’s Papers*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

¹¹⁰ Edward Perry Warren to General Loring, Lewes, 15 Aug. 1893, *Director’s Papers*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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- ¹¹¹ Edward ROBINSON, "Report of the Department of Classical Archeology," *The Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* (1891): 15.
- ¹¹² WHITEHILL, *Museum of Fine Arts Boston...*, 85. As with other of warren's purchases for the Museum, it is very difficult to determine the exact amount paid out for this specific object, as they arrived by crate loads, which were intentionally rendered difficult to itemize.
- ¹¹³ Edward Perry Warren to General Loring, Lewes, 10 Sept. 1898, *Director's Papers*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- ¹¹⁴ Edward Perry Warren to General Loring, Lewes, 10 Sept. 1898, *Director's Papers*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- ¹¹⁵ German scholarship in art history prevailed through the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. This is related again to Winckelmann and his continued influence, as well as the Germanic heritage of the British royal family.
- ¹¹⁶ *The Boston Throne* has never securely held its claims on authenticity, and is even now decried by many critics as a blatant forgery. It was last examined and declared authentic in the 1960s, by the laboratories at the BMFA. These labs were founded in the 1920s by one of Warren's protégées — William J. Young.
- ¹¹⁷ WHITEHILL, *Museum of Fine Arts Boston...*, 85.
- ¹¹⁸ The collection amassed by Danish beer magnate Carl Jacobsen (1842-1914) is now housed in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen.
- ¹¹⁹ Many interesting investigations into the authenticity of the Throne continue, among which is found at the website: www.hatii.arts.gla.ac.uk/multimedistudentprojects/96-97/934136t/project/htmtimeb.htm.
- ¹²⁰ RICHTER, *A Handbook of Greek Art*, 106.
- ¹²¹ GRIMAL, *The Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, 152.
- ¹²² David SOX, *Bachelors of Art* (London: Fourth Estate, 1991). Sox culminates his brief overview of the auction in Rome with the facile equation of this pivotal move to Warren's 'boyhood obsession — in Boston he had collected tiny rocks and stones which he carries around in his pockets.' This comparison is rendered even less interesting when it is considered that Warren is here truly establishing himself in an international market with tremendous and far-reaching impact. Warren came away from the sale with the gems because he had successfully outbid the agent sent by the Czar of Russia. This accomplishment surely earns him more than such a dull parallel.

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- ¹²³ Museum Department Heads to Arthur Fairbanks, Boston, 26 Nov. 1920, *Director's Papers*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- ¹²⁴ Edward Perry Warren to Arthur Fairbanks, London, 19 Feb. 1921, *Director's Papers*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- ¹²⁵ J.D. BEAZLEY, *The Lewes House Collection of Gems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920). Beazley, Professor of Classical Archeology at Oxford, is widely considered to have taken up Warren's work. He developed a method, which he published in 1922, for recognizing, through a 'system of forms,' the work of various vase painters of the antique.
- ¹²⁶ *The Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, 30.
- ¹²⁷ TAYLOR, *Fifty Centuries of Art*, 6.
- ¹²⁸ James H. BUNN, "The Aesthetics of British Mercantilism," *New Literary History*, 303-20.
- ¹²⁹ Benedict ANDERSON, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983).
- ¹³⁰ A.N. Whitehead as quoted in Alma S. WITTLIN, *The Museum, its History and its Tasks in Education* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited, 1949).
- ¹³¹ Christine STELZIG and Katrin ADLER, "On the preconditions, circumstances and consequences of collecting," *Journal of the History of Collections* 2 (2000): 161-76.
- ¹³² *Ibid.*, 172.
- ¹³³ Roland BARTHES, "An Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narrative," *Journal of Arabic Literature* v (2000): 237-72.
- ¹³⁴ MUENSTERBERGER, *Collecting, An Unruly Passion*, 12.

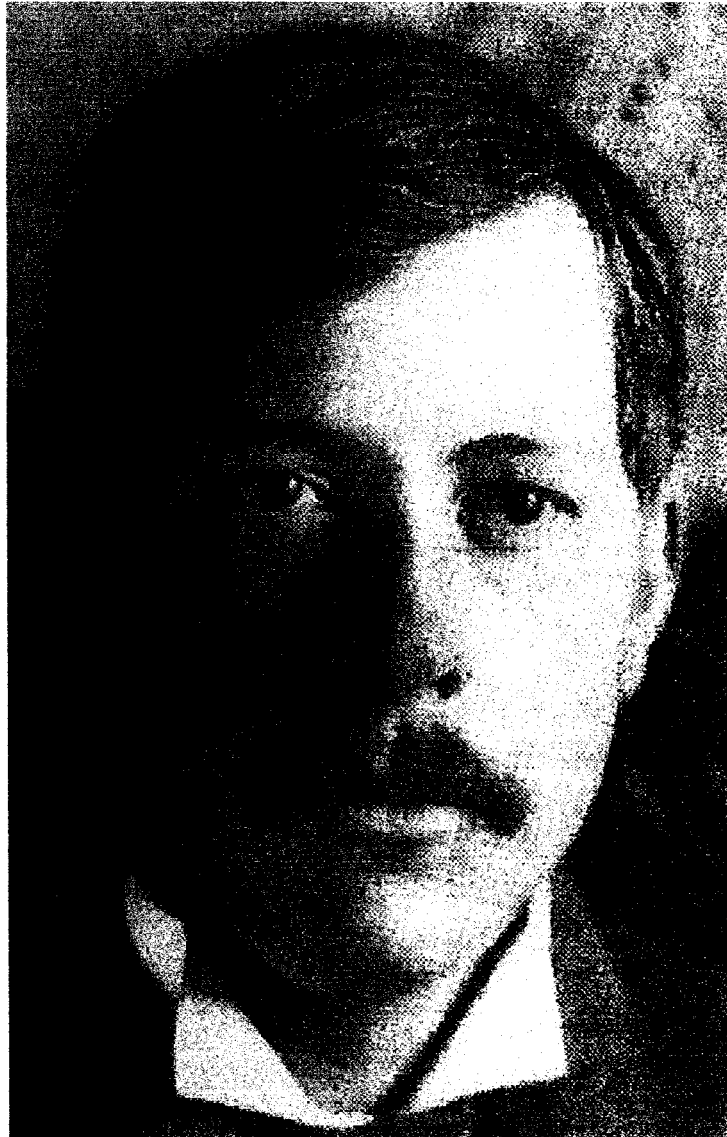


Figure 1. Photograph of Edward Perry Warren, age 30, circa 1890. Reproduced in David Sox, *Bachelors of Art* (London: Fourth Estate, 1991).

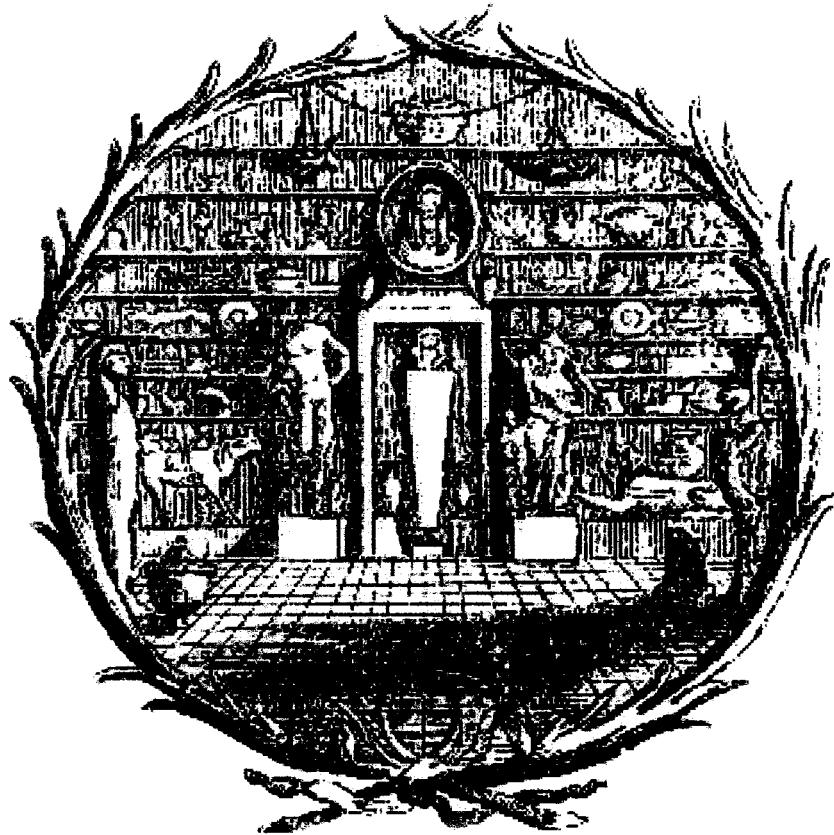


Figure 2. Engraving illustrating the general arrangement of a collection of specimens of Classical archaeology belonging to Count Caylus, the French eighteenth century scholar and traveler. Reproduced in James Yoxall, *More About Collecting* (Boston: The Cornhill Publishing Company, 1921).



Figure 3. Roman Picture Gallery, Giovanni Paolo Pannini, painted in 1756-57 for the Duc de Choiseul, and purchased by the Boston Athenaeum in 1834. Reproduced in Walter Muir Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts: A Centennial History* Volume 1 (Cambridge MA: The Belknap Press, 1970).

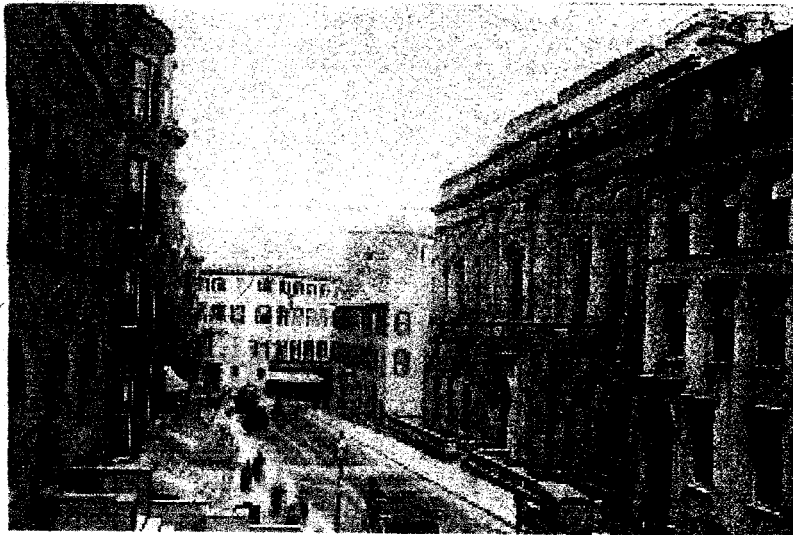


Figure 4. Photograph of Beacon Street in Boston, circa 1885, showing the Boston Athenaeum at center right. Reproduced in Walter Muir Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts: A Centennial History* Volume 1 (Cambridge MA: The Belknap Press, 1970).

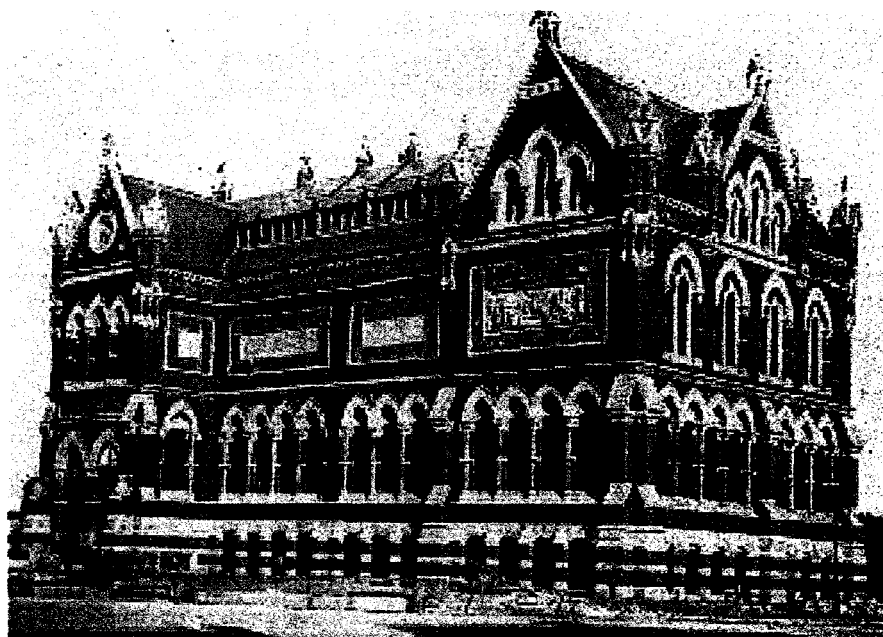


Figure 5. Photograph of the Copley Square Museum of Fine Arts building, Boston, late nineteenth century. Reproduced in Walter Muir Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts: A Centennial History* Volume 1 (Cambridge MA: The Belknap Press, 1970).

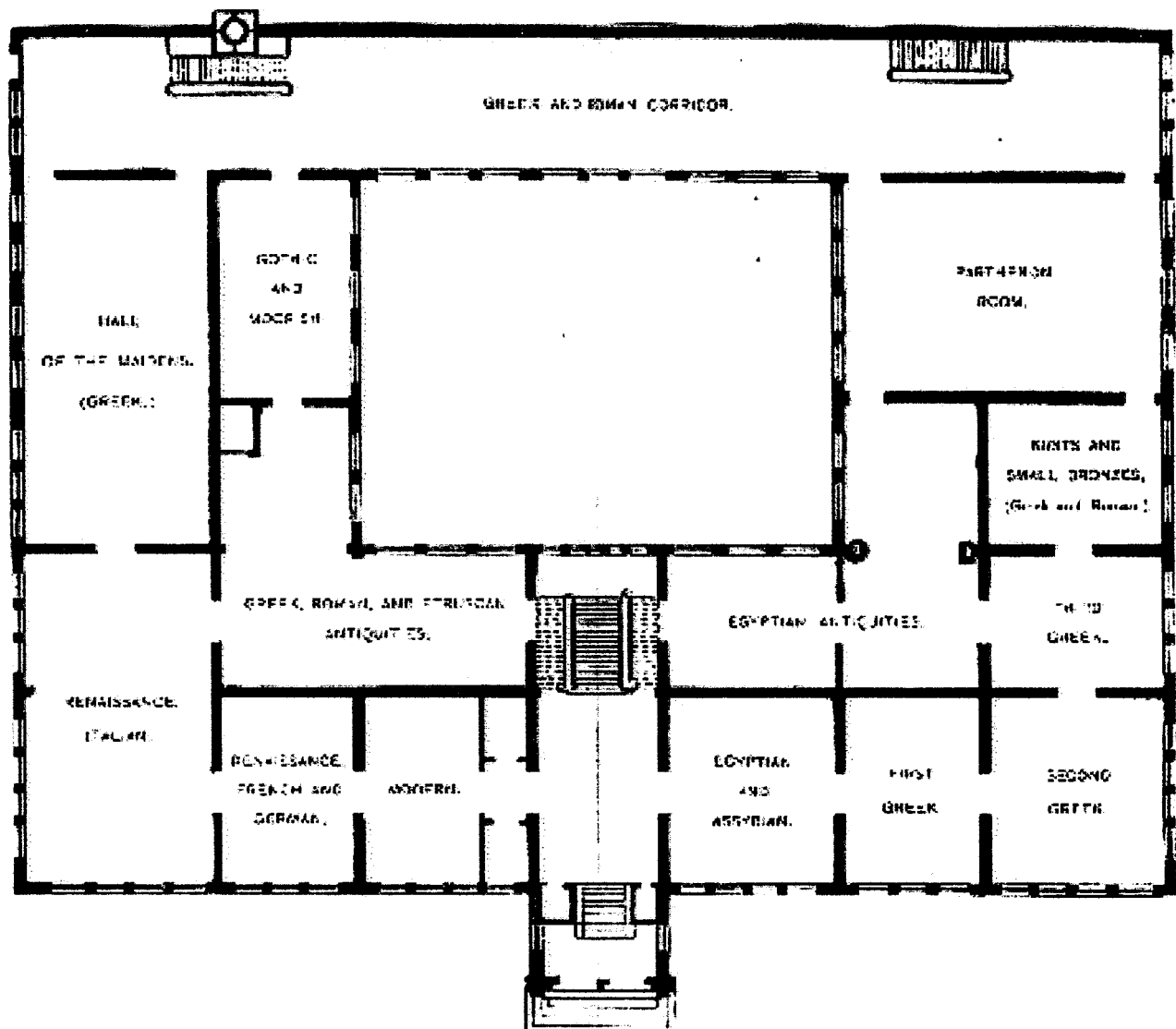


Figure 6. Floor plan of the Copley Square building before the 1899 renovations. Reproduced in Walter Muir Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts: A Centennial History Volume 1* (Cambridge MA: The Belknap Press, 1970).

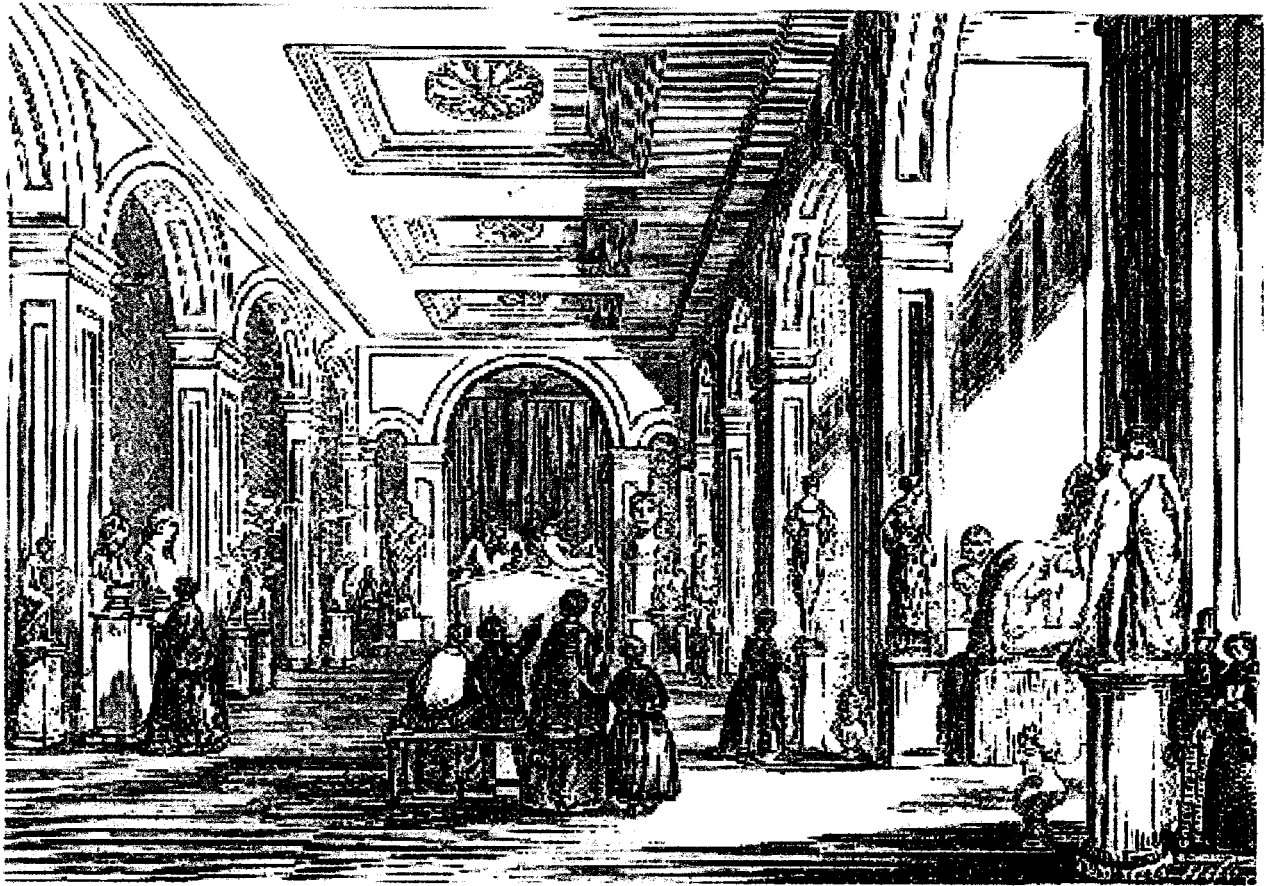


Figure 7. Engraving of the Statuary Room of the Boston Athenaeum, from *Ballou's Pictorial* Volume 8, March 31, 1855, p. 201. Reproduced in Walter Muir Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts: A Centennial History* Volume 1 (Cambridge MA: The Belknap Press, 1970).

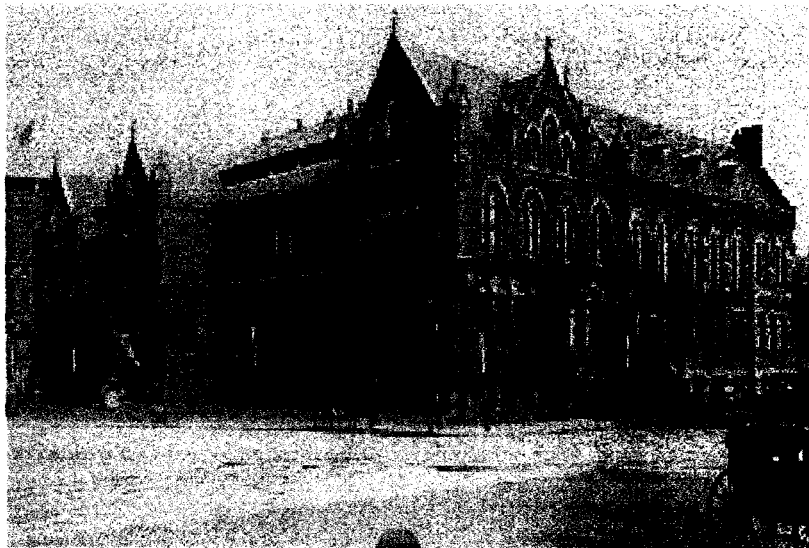


Figure 8. Photograph of the Copley Square building following the 1899 renovations. Reproduced in Walter Muir Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts: A Centennial History Volume 1* (Cambridge MA: The Belknap Press, 1970).

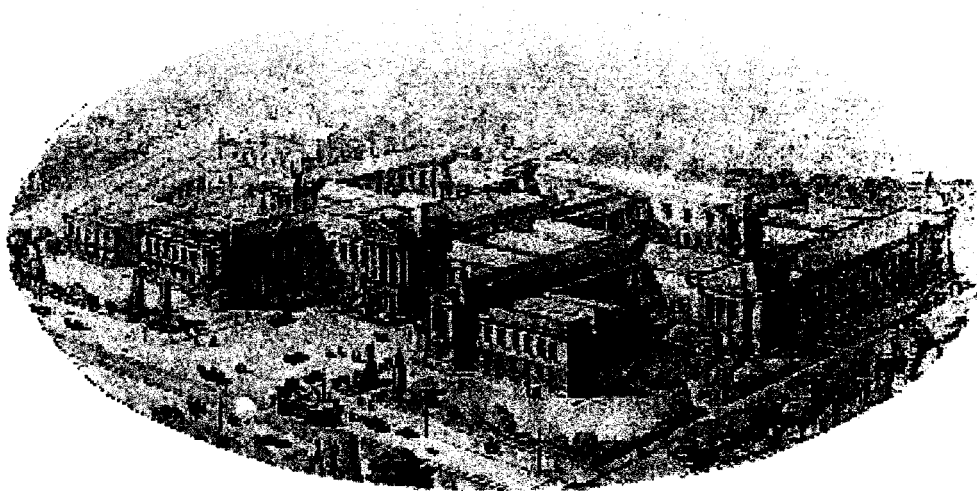


Figure 9. Engraving of The Completed Museum, being an artist's conception of the new museum on the Fenway. Reproduced in *Museum of Fine Arts Illustrated Handbook*, 27th edition (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1946).



Figure 11. Photograph of small terra-cotta depiction of *Helios*, purchased for the Boston Museum on behalf of Samuel Dennis Warren by Edward Perry Warren. Reproduced in Walter Muir Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts: A Centennial History* Volume 1 (Cambridge MA: The Belknap Press, 1970).



Figure 12. Photograph of John Marshall, Edward Perry Warren and Lewes House workman, with Warren holding the *Torso of Hermes* in his lap. The statue was shipped to Boston the following day. Reproduced in David Sox, *Bachelors of Art* (London: Fourth Estate, 1991).



Figure 13. Photographs of *The Warren Cup*, sides A and B. Reproduced on <http://www4.artnet.com/Magazine/news/artnetnews/artnetnews5-6-1.asp>.



Figure 14. Photograph of one of the Classical Statuary galleries at Copley Square, circa 1904. Reproduced in Walter Muir Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts: A Centennial History* Volume 1 (Cambridge MA: The Belknap Press, 1970).



Figure 15. Photograph of plaster casts at Copley Square, late nineteenth century. Reproduced in Walter Muir Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts: A Centennial History* Volume 1 (Cambridge MA: The Belknap Press, 1970).



Figure 16. View of plaster cast galleries at Copley Square following the 1899 renovations. Reproduced in Walter Muir Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts: A Centennial History* Volume 1 (Cambridge MA: The Belknap Press, 1970).



Figure 17. *Torso of Hermes* as photographed in the garden of Lewes House by Edward Reeves. Reproduced in David Sox, *Bachelors of Art* (London: Fourth Estate, 1991). Now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 18. *Bartlett Head*. Reproduced in *Museum of Fine Arts Illustrated Handbook*, 27th edition (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1946): 45.



Figure 19. *Chios Head*. Reproduced in *Museum of Fine Arts Illustrated Handbook*, 27th edition (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1946): 44.

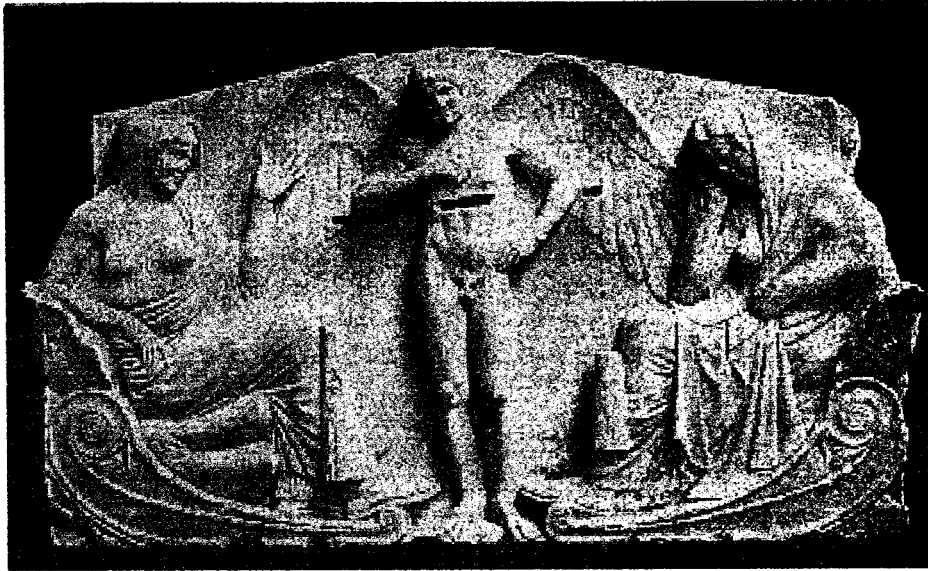


Figure 20. Front and side views of *The Boston Throne*. Reproduced in *Museum of Fine Arts Illustrated Handbook*, 27th edition (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1946): 37.



Figure 21. Three casts of gems selected from *The Warren Collection of Gems*. Reproduced in *Museum of Fine Arts Illustrated Handbook*, 27th edition (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1946): 41.

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