



RECASTING THE PAST COLLECTING AND PRESENTING ANTIQUITIES AT THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Karen Manchester with an essay by Karen B. Alexander

The Art Institute of Chicago Distributed by Yale University Press, New Haven and London Recasting the Past: Collecting and Presenting Antiquities at the Art Institute of Chicago was published in conjunction with the opening of the Mary and Michael Jaharis Galleries of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Art at the Art Institute of Chicago, November 11, 2012.

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First edition

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Manchester, Karen.

Recasting the past : collecting and presenting antiquities at the Art Institute of Chicago / Karen Manchester; with an essay by Karen B. Alexander. — First edition.

pages cm "Recasting the Past : Collecting and Presenting Antiquities at the Art Institute of Chicago was published in conjunction with the opening of the Mary and Michael Jaharis Galleries of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Art at the Art Institute of Chicago, November 11, 2012." Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 978-0-300-19191-2 (hardcover : alk. paper) 1. Art, Ancient—Exhibitions. 2. Art— Collectors and collecting-Illinois-Chicago-Exhibitions. I. Art Institute of Chicago. II. Title. N5335.C49A786 2012 709.3'07477311-DC23

2012038852

Published by The Art Institute of Chicago 111 South Michigan Avenue Chicago, Illinois 60603–6404 www.artic.edu

Distributed by Yale University Press 302 Temple Street P.O. Box 209040 New Haven, Connecticut 06520–9040 www.yalebooks.com/art

Produced by Publications Department, the Art Institute of Chicago, Robert V. Sharp, *Executive Director*

Edited by Maia M. Rigas

Production by Sarah E. Guernsey and Joseph T. Mohan

Photography research by Lauren Makholm

Proofreading by Christine M. Schwab

Indexing by Kate Mertes

Designed and typeset in Adobe Jenson Pro, Alright Sans, and Heroic Condensed by The Grillo Group, Inc., Chicago, Illinois

Map by Mapping Specialists, Ltd., Fitchburg, Wisconsin

Separations by Professional Graphics, Inc., Rockford, Illinois

Printing and binding by Classic Color Broadview, Illinois Photography Credits Erika Dufour, Chicago: pages 1–3, 6, 8, 10, and 40–109.

Unless otherwise stated, photographs of all artworks appear by permission of the private or institutional lenders or owners identified in their respective captions.

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FROM PLASTER TO STONE ANCIENT ART AT THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Karen B. Alexander

It is no surprise that the Art Institute of Chicago began its collections with ancient art. Many of Chicago's civic leaders had come from East Coast cities where museums were a necessary component of culture, and on the edge of the prairie they aimed to replicate the institutions they had left behind. At the end of the nineteenth century, Classical art was widely considered the premier example of man's artistic accomplishments, as well as the paradigm from which all subsequent Western art had evolved. To the founding fathers of the Art Institute, Greek and Roman antiquities, even in the form of plaster casts, had moral as well as aesthetic value: "Every day ... the people gather and view ... reproductions of the marbles which established ancient Greece as the world's ... artistic center ... It is impossible to estimate the effect of thus constantly showing, day after day ..., the beautiful and the artistic, to the citizens of Chicago."1 "The true mission of art is to discover and represent the ideal," said Charles L. Hutchinson, who made this statement in his role as president of the Board of Trustees of the Art Institute.² Believing that culture must benefit the citizenry, he gave lectures to business groups on the moral value of art.³ He was involved with Hull-House, a settlement house providing assistance to recent immigrants and the poor. He gave talks there and organized loans of artworks from the museum's collection intended to reassure new arrivals from Europe that the old world and the new shared a cultural heritage.⁴

This valorization dates to the Renaissance. Although Classical learning had never fallen into complete obscurity, humanists in Italy and refugees from the Byzantine Empire after Constantinople's fall in 1453 reenergized the broad study of Classical languages and literatures throughout Europe. This was fueled as well by the discovery of ancient manuscripts in monastic libraries and the recovery of art objects—primarily sculptural and architectural fragments. (The Hellenistic figural group of the Laocoön was discovered in 1506, for example.) Even in the earliest period of United States history, the American colonists, although far removed in time and space from remains unearthed in Italy, shared a bond with the cultures those artifacts represented. While organized education was thin on the ground in the new world, the curricula of colleges such as Harvard (founded 1636), William and Mary (1693), and Yale (1701) emphasized the study of the Classical past as well as Latin and Greek.

By the mid-eighteenth century the continental grand tour was a commonplace rite of passage for aristocratic and educated Britons. Some months or years of study or touring, primarily in France and Italy, led many to collect ancient sculptures, vases, and other artifacts to enhance their city and country houses, which were often built in fashionable Neoclassical style. An entire antiquities market emerged to service this demand. The architectural works of writers like Andrea Palladio and Vincenzo Scamozzi enhanced the popularity of this aesthetic. Buildings and publications by Lord Burlington and the Adam brothers, among others, provided a sympathetic context for antiquities collections.

Following the lead of the founder of art history, Johann Joachim Winckelmann, connoisseurs gradually shifted their focus away from Italy and Roman art in favor of Greece as the origin of pure Classical forms. The Society of Dilettanti, an exclusive club of British gentlemen, sent surveyors to Greece to document art at its source. The result, *Antiquities of Athens* by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett (1762–1816), illustrates this new orientation (and by 1767 the library of the Athenaeum of Philadelphia owned a copy). Similarly, the discoveries of the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum and their publication in the late eighteenth century also aroused interest worldwide.

For Americans, all this was quite distant.⁵ Travel to Europe was uncommon in the pre-Revolutionary period, and knowledge of artistic developments there was limited. When the artist John Smibert came to America in 1728, he brought the casts of ancient sculptures he had acquired during his travels in Italy, but their influence was limited. The Boston-born painter John Singleton Copley (who drew from Smibert's casts) was apparently the first American to see a Greek temple (at Paestum, near Naples, in 1775). His portrait of his traveling companions, the Izards of South Carolina, includes a clearly identifiable Greek vase. But the turmoil of the American Revolution led Copley to move to England, after which his influence in America was modest. It was only with the accumulation of some wealth and the intercourse required by political developments that Americans like Benjamin Franklin and in particular Thomas Jefferson were afforded the opportunity to gain firsthand knowledge of Classical art. Jefferson traveled in France and as far as northern Italy in 1787 and was deeply impressed by the Roman temple at Nîmes, the Maison Carrée. The new American Republic was consciously modeled on that of Rome, and the appropriation of Roman forms was freighted with political significance. Jefferson's own architectural interests were profound, and a Classical Greek influence is visible in his designs, including his home, Monticello (1772), the Virginia State Capitol (1785–92), and the University of Virginia (1822–26). Another classically inspired work of the period is the Massachusetts Statehouse (1798), designed by the Boston-born Charles Bulfinch, which reflects the more Roman idiom drawn from his tour of Italy in 1784-87 and the work of the Neoclassical architects he saw in England.

The fine arts in the new country found their first audience in the established, affluent cities of the East Coast—Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. Various attempts to bring casts of Classical sculptures to America for display in "museums" or art schools had modest success in the first half of the nineteenth century. Perhaps the most famous of these early endeavors was the Peale Museum (Philadelphia, 1783, moved to Baltimore, 1814), which featured the bones of an American mastodon, Charles Willson Peale's portraits of Revolutionary War heroes, and assorted animal, mineral, and ethnographic specimens. Various commercial "museums," notably those of P. T. Barnum, followed suit, displaying art together with all sorts of oddities. The first art school of substance, the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (1805, housed in an Ionic-inspired building [1806] designed by John Dorsey), imported plaster casts for student use. Casts were also on view at the Boston Athenaeum, primarily a members-only lending library. During his diplomatic posting in Paris, Philadelphian Nicholas Biddle-who in 1806 had been one of the first Americans to visit Greek sites—acquired casts for the Pennsylvania Academy from the extraordinary collection of art objects, including hundreds of Classical works, that Napoleon had seized in Italy in 1798 and that were on display in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, until 1815.

Two other events raised American consciousness of the broader ancient world: the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt (1798–1801) and the Greek war for independence (1821–32). Napoleon's military campaign in Egypt included a vast corps of scholars who set about appropriating ancient objects. Their finds included the Rosetta Stone, the deciphering of which led to the translation of hieroglyphs. The scientific fruits of this expedition, published as Description de l'Égypte (1809–29), created worldwide interest in ancient Egypt. In the 1820s through 1840s a number of Egyptian Revival structures were built, such as Grove Street Cemetery in New Haven, Connecticut, by Henry Austin (1845). On a more popular level, the importation, display, and commercial exploitation of Egyptian mummies were frequent occurrences beginning in the 1820s.⁶ Although the United States was not directly involved in the Greek uprising, popular sympathy lay strongly with the rebels, both as fellow republicans and as shared heirs of a Helleno-Romantic mindset. Greek Revival architecture, such as Chicago's Clarke House (1836), flourished in the 1830s and 1840s.

American museum culture entered a new phase following the Civil War (1861–65). Newly created wealth, primarily in the Eastern cities but also in Chicago and San Francisco, enabled a more mass-market tourism to emerge, broadening cultural awareness. The confidence that accompanied brisk postwar growth was challenged, however, by rapid demographic change as European immigrants flooded into the country. The awakening civic awareness of change and challenge that this elicited viewed cultural institutions as a means to cultivate shared values. At the same time, in the aftermath of London's Great Exhibition of 1851 a real sense of competition and threat emerged among industrialized and rapidly industrializing nations. The perceived inferiority of English manufactured products at the exposition led to the establishment of art schools across Britain and art collections at the South Kensington Museum (later the Victoria and Albert Museum) that shared the avowed aim of elevating the taste of craftsmen and the working and lower classes to facilitate the production of better, more tastefuland more competitive—products. This educational role defined the intentions of American museums founded after the Civil War, notably the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1876), and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1870). The ideas of art critic John Ruskin about the virtues of craft and the truth of materials played an important part in this debate as well. Although Ruskin idealized the medieval guild and admired Gothic architecture, his theories concerning the transformative powers of art carried over into all spheres of the museum movement.

Bostonian Charles C. Perkins, writing in the *North American Review* in 1870, defined the purpose of an art museum as "collecting materials for the education of a nation in art, not making collections of works of art." After an extended discussion of state-supported art institutions in England, France, and Bavaria and their collections of ancient originals, Perkins insisted on the utility of casts and reproductions: "A good cast of an antique statue, the impress of a coin or a gem in plaster or sulphur, is a facsimile as far as form is concerned."⁷ Both the Museum of Fine Arts, which received the cast collection of the Boston Athenaeum, and the



FIG. I Drawing class, 1890s. Archives, the Art Institute of Chicago.

Metropolitan Museum went on to amass vast numbers of reproductions of Greek and Roman objects, primarily sculpture and architectural fragments.⁸ As late as 1920 the Metropolitan Museum printed a second edition of its cast-collection catalogue, which included 2,600 items.⁹ Many other museums and educational institutions, such as the Cincinnati Art Museum and the Slater Memorial Museum in Norwich, Connecticut, followed suit. At the dedication of the Slater Museum in 1888—which drew Edward Robinson from the Museum of Fine Arts and Charles Eliot Norton, the pioneering art history professor at Harvard—Daniel Gilman, president of Johns Hopkins University, discoursed on the ideological bases for Classical art study in America, including the Ruskinian ideal of refined taste and the need for America to produce competitive goods of higher aesthetic value.¹⁰

The Art Institute was another iteration of this imperative. Its progenitor was the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts, whose primary purpose was to teach studio art.¹¹ As a result, the first Classical material that entered the museum was a set of plaster casts of Greek and Roman sculpture. In 1885, \$1,800 was raised by subscription from "a party of gentlemen who recognize the need of the Art School and The Galleries"¹² to purchase the casts from European manufactories. The trustees received \$7,000 in 1887 from Mrs. A. M. H. Ellis to expand the cast collection, installing it in four rooms of the new Art Institute building, located at Van Buren Street and Michigan Avenue. The casts were used not only for art students to practice "drawing from the antique," but also as subject matter for a series of lectures built around the collection (see FIG. 1).¹³ Eventually numbering over five hundred at a value of \$17,000, the casts were selected in consultation with Lucy M. Mitchell, the author of *A History of Ancient Sculpture*, which was used as a handbook in the galleries.¹⁴ More casts were donated in 1889 by the Inter-State Industrial Exposition of Chicago.¹⁵ These two generous gifts, coupled with some paintings purchased at a sheriff's sale of the defunct Chicago Academy of Design, constituted the museum's initial holdings.¹⁶

It is hard to overestimate the influence of Charles L. Hutchinson, first president of the Art Institute, on the character of the new museum. The son of a mercurial grain trader who gained and lost a fortune, the young Hutchinson applied himself equally to his professional concerns and his growing vision for the museum, with "uncommon powers of focus and execution, and the habit of hard work."¹⁷ He believed that art must be based on tradition, to which end he funneled purchase funds into plaster casts, and he chided modern art, calling its freedom "selfish and erroneous."¹⁸ Guided by such a strongly held premise, the museum's next step was inevitable. Hutchinson and William M. R. French, the first director of the newly named Art Institute of Chicago, determined that reproductions fulfilled only part of the institution's aims, and that the fledgling museum needed to begin collecting original antiquities. To this end, its first purchase—as the museum's Day Book and Old Register recorded in flowing script—was a group of 186 Greek terracotta statuettes and fragments (1889.256-420) and 636 ancient coins sold by Francis H. Bacon of Boston in 1889 for \$479.17.19 Trained as an architect, Bacon had accompanied Joseph Clarke on an exploration of the Aegean coast of Turkey in the late 1870s. Clarke was funded by a grant from the newly founded Archaeological Institute of America and was charged with selecting an excavation site.²⁰ The young pair sailed the rivers of Europe to the Black Sea and down the coast of Anatolia, where they chose Assos (modern Behramkale). Located south of Troy and north of the island of Lesbos, Assos was an area of prolific terracotta production during the Hellenistic period. The excavated material from the dig itself was divided between the Ottoman government, which had begun to recognize the value of its Greek antiquities, and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Bacon had every opportunity to amass a private collection during his stay, setting out on "horseback odysseys to various sites in Asia Minor."²¹ These private gleanings, then, are the source of the Art Institute's first purchase, mostly fragments of statuettes, primarily heads; the rarest piece is an Attic figure of a seated girl (FIG. 2). They represent the production of the great Hellenized cities of Asia Minor as well as that of Athens, and range in time from the fifth century B.C. through the Roman period A.D.

In March 1889 Hutchinson and French set off for Europe on a buying trip. By May, they had negotiated the purchase of casts in London, Paris, and Rome; had acquired books and periodicals on antique art for the museum's art library; and with the help of Roman archaeologist Rodolfo Lanciani as well as Pio Marinangeli and Augusto Alberici, antiquities dealers recommended by Lanciani, had acquired the first Greek vases and Roman sculpture for the Classical collection.²² Hutchinson and French were authorized by George Armour, treasurer of the Board of Trustees, to spend up to \$1,000 on "objects."²³ French kept a journal of their trip, which he illustrated with excellent sketches of objects seen and acquired. In April, French recorded their first tentative purchases from Alberici and Marinangeli, which exhausted their allowance.²⁴ Personal donations from Hutchinson and Philip D. Armour increased the budget to \$3,000, and with this a cache of antiquities, including vases from the collection of Judge Augusto Mele (1889.10–27), was obtained.²⁵ They sent 600 francs to the Reverend J. C. Fletcher in Naples, whom they used as an agent to "effect" the purchase.²⁶ From Paris a month later, Hutchinson offered Marinangeli 2,500 lire for additional vases from

Mele's collection (1889.93–105).²⁷ Hutchinson also bought two Greek vases for his private collection (1929.698–99), which appear in the portrait of him painted in 1902 by Geri Melchers.²⁸ Finally, French spent \$1.94 of his own money to buy two portions of Roman lead pipe for the museum (1889.124–25, withdrawn).²⁹

Unbeknownst to Hutchinson and Armour, among the vases purchased during the April–May trip was a stamnos (mixing jar) that would later become the name vase of the so-called Chicago Painter when Sir John Beazley catalogued Greek vase painters in the 1950s (FIG. 3).³⁰ Other artists represented in the museum's first buying trip were the Achilles Painter (1889.17) and the Penthesilea Painter (1889.27). These Athenians were popular with ancient buyers in Italy, as suggested by the large number of vases attributed to them that were unearthed in Italian tombs. As a result, many early vases that entered the collection were catalogued as "Etruscan" despite the fact that as early as the late eighteenth century collectors such as Sir William Hamilton argued that the vases were Greek in origin.

Because of the museum's heavy investment in plaster casts of sculpture, Hutchinson and French did not focus on acquiring original sculptures with the same fervor that they expended on vases. They purchased only a few fragments, which came with romantic provenances supplied by the dealer Alberici, ranging from a brewery near the Colosseum to Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli.³¹

The trip yielded more than the foundation of a collection. French filled his journal with notations on museum display of vases and statues, gallery seating for visitors, and grand staircase design.³² Both the president and director were looking to the future with plans for a new building "on the lake front."³³ Upon their return, in a flush of pride, the tenyear-old museum published its first collection catalogue.³⁴ In the 1890 annual report, French concluded that "these antique objects [i.e., the 1889 purchases] with the fragments of figurines bought of Mr. Bacon last year, and the prehistoric pottery from New Mexico, presented by Mr. Ellsworth, form a good foundation in the department of antique art."³⁵

The growing collection required staff, and in 1890 Alfred Emerson, a German-trained archaeologist and professor of Greek at Lake Forest University (now College), was hired by the Art Institute as "curator of classical antiquities." Curatorial functions included "the classifying and cataloging of the cast collections and antiquities," indicating the importance of casts within the museum's holdings.³⁶ In 1890 the trustees even authorized the purchase of a Von Dechend machine, which was used for "hardening and preserving the surface of the new casts, and for cleaning old ones."³⁷

Contemporary collecting habits are reflected in two loan exhibitions that came to the Art Institute in 1890. *The*



FIG. 2 Statuette of a Seated Girl, 330/320 B.C. Greek, Athens. Terracotta; 10.5 × 5.2 × 6.2 cm ($4 \frac{1}{6} \times 2 \frac{1}{16} \times 2 \frac{1}{16}$ in.). The Art Institute of Chicago, Museum Purchase Fund, 1889.407.



FIG. 3 Attributed to the Chicago Painter. *Stamnos (Mixing Jar)*, c. 450 B.C. Greek, Athens. Terracotta, decorated in the red-figure technique; $37 \times 41.9 \times 26$ cm ($14\frac{5}{8} \times 16\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.). The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of Philip D. Armour and Charles L. Hutchinson, 1889.22a–b.

Ellsworth Collection contained twelve gold and silver antique coins, as well as forty-three vases excavated in 1865 in Apulia, southern Italy. A second show, the collection of William J. Gunning, displayed "idols" from various cultures, including Egyptian funerary figures and a "Greco-Phenician [*sic*]" medallion of Astarte.³⁸

Thus by 1890 the primary departmental functions—collecting, publishing, and exhibiting—were launched. An administrative infrastructure and a curator were in place, and the pattern of funding had been established. No sooner were these matters settled, however, than Emerson resigned to teach at Cornell University.³⁹ He maintained an advisory status from afar for twenty-five years, overseeing and reporting on the collection. In 1892 he brought to Chicago The Polychrome Exhibition: Illustrating the Use of Color Particularly in Graeco-Roman Sculpture, organized by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. It included a group of plaster casts from Boston, polychromed with tinted wax and gilding. For the Chicago venue, Emerson added three original Roman sculptures from the Art Institute's collection (1889.105, 1889.107; 1889.108, withdrawn). Acknowledging that "it would have been indiscreet to try wax on the original antiques ... belonging to the Institute," Emerson instead colored the sculptures in pastel, and even with pastels, great care was exercised to avoid "danger of staining the marbles."⁴⁰ Included in the exhibition were a number of marbles and terracottas that showed vestiges of original color and a larger group of plaster casts either colored or "bronzed" by the curator and assistants.⁴¹

The third member of the triumvirate of Art Institute founders was Martin A. Ryerson, who soon joined his friends Hutchinson and French as a trustee and participated, with vigor, in the heady early years of building the collections. He brought generous amounts of money to the pursuit as well as excellent taste and an expansive vision. The son of a self-made fur trader and lumber baron, Ryerson studied in Paris and Switzerland in the 1860s–1870s and went on to graduate from Harvard Law School in 1878. His cosmopolitan education may have afforded him a more discerning eye than his partners. From his father Ryerson also inherited the tradition of philanthropy, a commitment shared with Hutchinson, and he devoted himself to supporting Chicago institutions after his retirement from active business in the early 1890s. As neither the Ryersons nor the Hutchinsons had children, the couples' immortality lay instead in their civic achievements.

The year 1890 marked the first of many Hutchinson-Ryerson European buying tours. In Paris the Eugène Piot collection of antiquities went on sale at the end of May.⁴² Piot had amassed a handsome private collection; when he died, he bequeathed the best works from his eclectic holdings to the Musée du Louvre and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and authorized the sale of the rest. As he was dying



FIG. 4 Ushebti, Dynasty 26 (685/525 B.C.). Egyptian. Terracotta, with blue-green glaze; 21.9 × 6.6 × 4.7 cm ($8 \% \times 2 \% \times 1 \%$ in.). The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of Miss Amelia B. Edwards, 1890.30.

he had remarked, "What a pity that one cannot watch one's own sale after one's death."⁴³ With funds donated by nine museum supporters, the Art Institute purchased its first pieces of ancient glass.⁴⁴ Through the Paris dealers Rollin and Feuardent, who had acted as experts in the Piot sale, Hutchinson and Ryerson bought a terracotta mask (1891.21) and a Tanagra figurine (1891.23, withdrawn). Emerson later observed that the two pieces were "forged, probably by George Gayas of Piraeus . . . I know him and his work well . . . Rollin and Feuardent have retailed quantities of his stuff to their much advantage."⁴⁵

The first recorded accession in the Egyptian collection was a ushebti (FIG. 4), a mummiform statuette from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, given by Amelia B. Edwards, the British novelist who in 1882 founded the Egypt Exploration Fund in England.⁴⁶ An American branch of the fund was established soon after this, which Hutchinson joined as vice president. The stated purpose of the fund was to excavate sites in Egypt, acknowledging that "the law of Egypt requires, as condition upon which permission for the excavation of ancient sites may be granted, that half a share of all objects found shall remain the property of the State. The remaining portion becomes the property of the excavators."⁴⁷ This accorded with the traditional system of partage, which was used in the nineteenth century to build museum antiquities collections by funding and carrying out archaeological excavations.

Hutchinson's interest and position in the American branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund brought the Art Institute into the complex world of Egyptian archaeology. For a sum of \$750 the Chicago chapter of the fund could partake in the division of "spoils."48 Excavated material was divided up at the end of each season.⁴⁹ Boston, being the most active American supporter of the fund, received the lion's share.⁵⁰ The portion of Egyptian antiquities that Chicago received was divided between the Art Institute and the burgeoning Haskell Oriental Museum (after 1919, the Oriental Institute) at the University of Chicago, founded in 1896, four years after the founding of the university itself. James H. Breasted, the first American awarded a University of Berlin doctorate in archaeology, was soon hired as a professor and quickly became the power behind the Chicago chapter of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

One of the most charming objects that the Art Institute acquired from the Egypt Exploration Fund was from the Abydos site, excavated by William Matthew Flinders Petrie. It was a flask in the form of a duckling, sadly sold and now lost (1911.451, withdrawn). Another delivery, in 1897, included three wooden figures of Anubis, Isis, and Nephthys dated to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and excavated at Dier el Bahri (1897.280–82, withdrawn).⁵¹

Such dividends did not tempt enough Chicagoans to pay their dues to the fund, and the local organization faltered. In a letter to Hutchinson, Breasted requested that the Chicago chapter's delinquent dues be paid, with the inducement that "the accumulated accessions will really form a noteworthy collection."52 Breasted and Hutchinson looked for revitalization in a merger with the Philosophy and Science Department of the Chicago Women's Club, whose interests ran parallel, and called the new organization the Chicago Society of Egyptian Research.⁵³ This body produced a prospectus, put out one publication that included four photographs of the holdings of the Haskell Oriental Museum, and collected dues, which were sent to Petrie. The organization continued to dwindle; however, the city's position in Egyptian archaeology flourished as a result of Breasted's scholarship and vigorous dedication to the field.

Rather than fund excavations in Egypt, the Art Institute chose instead to enter Egypt's labyrinthine antiquities trade on its own, buying Egyptian artifacts on the open market. In 1892, with money from donors such as Henry H. Getty, Ryerson, and Hutchinson, the museum bought a large and representative collection of Egyptian antiquities consisting



FIG. 5 Canopic Jars of Amunhotep, Dynasty 18 (1550/1292 B.C.). Egyptian. Terracotta; max. h. 41.5 cm (16 ¾ in.). The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of Henry H. Getty and Charles L. Hutchinson, 1892.38a–b; gift of Henry H. Getty, Charles L. Hutchinson, and Norman W. Harris, 1892.36a–b, 1892.39a–b, 1892.37a–b.

of statuettes, canopic jars, stone cosmetic vessels, jewelry, papyri, ushebtis, and boxes of amulets and scarabs.⁵⁴ The museum purchased objects from many sources, including M. Kyticas and Mohammed Mohassab, dealers in Cairo and Luxor, respectively.⁵⁵

Another figure involved in these transactions was the fascinating Emil Brugsch, an expatriate German employed by the Ghizeh (Bulaq) Museum, which was part of the Egyptian government's Service of Antiquities.⁵⁶ The acquisition of antiquities in Egypt in the late nineteenth century was shockingly unorthodox by current standards. With or without government sanction, Brugsch was selling excess excavated material that was then inundating Egyptian museums. Among the objects he sold the Art Institute was a mismatched mummy and mummy case (1893.14–15), the mummy later determined to be five hundred years younger than the case.

These "back door sales"⁵⁷ supplied many museums with authentic Egyptian antiquities, but it was not always clear who pocketed the profit. Brugsch was known as "an intriguer; with one hand he worked for the Service of Antiquities, with the other did secret business with antiquities dealers."⁵⁸ The curatorial staffs of Egyptian museums were sparse and ill paid, conditions that exacerbated the potential for illicit trade. The museum's business dealings with the German consular agent in Luxor, Mohareb Todros, were also questionable. Todros's father, who had held the position before him, was a silversmith and an expert at metal forgeries. Even in the best of conditions, excavations at the Egyptian sites were so porous that it was possible to simply pick up objects at the sites and walk off with them. The museum's Old Register records objects (1892.46–47) that were "taken from a tomb by Mr. H." at Assisot.⁵⁹

Many of the museum's early supporters contributed to the funding of its Egyptian purchases as a result of their personal relationship with Hutchinson, who encouraged his friends to share the costs of his purchases for the museum. The Gettys, for instance, whose primary interest was Buddhist sculpture, found themselves underwriting a group of Egyptian objects ranging from a painted wood ushebti (1892.28) to a set of canopic jars (FIG. 5) that once held the viscera of Amunhotep, an Eighteenth Dynasty "chief builder of Amun."



FIG. 6 Pyxis (Container for Personal Objects), 430/420 B.C. Greek, Athens. Terracotta, decorated in the red-figure technique; h. (with lid) 13.3 cm ($5\frac{1}{4}$ in.); diam. 10.5 cm ($4\frac{1}{8}$ in.). The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of Charles L. Hutchinson, 1892.126a–b.

In 1892 Hutchinson and Ryerson set off on another buying trip to Europe. The itinerary included Athens, where Hutchinson bought and donated to the Art Institute three vases, a common Corinthian amphoriskos (small oil jar) (1892.124) and two elegant lidded pyxides (*sing.* pyxis; container for personal objects) (1892.125a-b, FIG. 6).⁶⁰ The small cosmetic containers added a new vase type to the museum's collection, one that shed light on the daily life of women in fifth-century B.C. Athens. The Athenian dealer Jean Lambros also sold Hutchinson three small terracotta figurines of Eros (1892.127–29).

Hutchinson and Ryerson's 1892 buying trip focused on the auction of Alphonse van Branteghem's collection of Greek vases and terracottas at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris. Van Branteghem, a Belgian, had amassed a "cabinet of Greek antiquities" in the period 1876–86.⁶¹ The Chicagoans selected objects for the museum that they considered representative of Classical Greece and that complemented their earlier vase purchases. Ryerson bought for his own collection four exquisite Greek vases—three lekythoi (*sing*. lekythos; oil jar) (1907.19–20, FIG. 7) and one kylix (wine cup) (1907.323), vigorously shaped and gracefully painted.

At this time there was an enormous influx into the market of terracotta statuettes, both original and fake, which made purchases a risky proposition. As early as 1874 Lambros had sold a group of figurines to Piot that proved to be a mixture of restored authentic antiquities and out-and-out fakes.⁶² The Art Institute had avoided the risks involved with terracotta acquisitions at the Piot auction, but at the van Branteghem sale the lure was irresistible, and Greek statuettes, again associated with Rollin and Feuardent, were purchased that later proved to be forgeries.⁶³ As early as 1887 scholars had begun to challenge the authenticity of various groups of terracottas—scathingly referred to as the "demi-monde des terre cuites"—that were turning up in French collections.⁶⁴ A bitter polemic ensued, pitting suspicious scholars against dealers and collectors who fiercely defended their holdings.⁶⁵ Art historian Salomon Reinach, a specialist on the necropolis of Myrina, where many terracotta objects had been unearthed, debunked the authenticity of such figurines.⁶⁶ He noted that their enveloping draperies exhibited a crisply folded style that was unknown to the true antique.⁶⁷ One naive argument

supporting the authenticity of dealer offerings was that the statuettes showed signs of breakage; in fact, forgers routinely broke their newly fired pieces, usually carefully preserving the head, as well as immersing them in urine and rubbing them with dirt for instant aging. Fakes so appealed to nineteenth-century tastes that they became even more popular than the original terracottas. Countless museums have such examples in their storerooms.

While Hutchinson and Ryerson were buying goods to fill their museum, the new building on Michigan Avenue was nearly ready for occupancy. Begun in 1891, the structure was designed to host world congress meetings during the World's Columbian Exposition, with the intention that it would thereafter be used by the museum in perpetuity. Designed by the Boston firm Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge, the building was a Beaux-Arts pastiche that contrasted greatly with Burnham & Root's Richardsonian Romanesque building at Van Buren Street and Michigan Avenue, which the museum had outgrown in only six years. The frieze on the facade of the new building announced the purpose of the museum as well-it was inscribed with the names of the masters of Western art, beginning with the ancient Greeks: Phidias, Ictinus, Praxiteles, and Apelles. To reinforce the primacy of Greek art, reproductions of the frieze of the Parthenon were embedded beneath the list of incised names.

The building was formally occupied by the Art Institute on November 1, 1893, and was devoted primarily to the collection of casts, which filled most of the main floor. In 1892 the World's Columbian Exposition committee had suggested buying a collection of casts for the exhibition that would afterward be offered at half price to the Art Institute. The trustees briskly agreed to this proposal.⁶⁸ The following year Hutchinson concluded an appealing trade with the Greek government, which wanted to borrow Art Institute casts for its display at the exposition. In exchange, Hutchinson hoped the Greeks would donate their own casts to the Art Institute after the conclusion of the exposition. Unfortunately, casts loaned to the world's fair were "returned in poor condition"; Emerson, the classical curator in absentia, advised that they "be given to other art societies and universities."69

Two additional groups of casts were acquired at this time: copies of Charles Waldstein's finds in the newly discovered Heraion of Argos and a collection of 109 metal "facsimiles" of objects found in Pompeii and Herculaneum donated by Harlow N. Higinbotham.⁷⁰ The replicas, manufactured by two Italian foundries Chiurazzi and Sabatino De Angelis and Son, were so convincing that they still appear on the art market as antiquities. The Art Institute retains casts of maidens from Herculaneum (1893.180–81) and several portrait busts (1893.118, 1893.127–28). Cork scale models



FIG. 7 Attributed to the Reed Painter. *Lekythos* (*Oil Jar*), 410/400 B.C. Greek, Athens. Terracotta, white-ground technique; 46.4 × 12.7 × 13.4 cm (18 ¼ × 5 × 5 ¼ in.). The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of Martin A. Ryerson through the Antiquarian Society, 1907.18.

of the temple in Paestum (incorrectly associated with Neptune rather than Hera) and the Pyramid of Sestius were also admired and purchased. Emerson considered casts and models to be of such importance to the museum's collection that in the 1894 annual report he proposed that a plaster cast factory be set up to provide the museum with its own casts, whose cost could be offset by selling casts to other museums.⁷¹

In 1895 a portion of the Egyptian antiquities collection owned by the Reverend Chauncey Murch, including 678 scarabs later published by Garrett Chatfield Pier, was purchased by the Art Institute.⁷² By this time, Breasted was well acquainted with the museum's small group of antiquarians and presumably it was on his guidance that Hutchinson, Ryerson, and Getty, along with R. H. Fleming and Norman W. Harris, pursued the acquisition. Murch was an American missionary in Luxor who supported his family by collecting and dealing in antiquities.⁷³ His secondary occupation was made possible by the busy grave robbing carried out by Egyptians living near the ancient royal city of Amarna. Native residents looked upon foreign archaeologists as pillagers who were robbing them of their birthright and their source of income. Excavation permits gave foreign entities a monopoly on digging at Amarna, so local inhabitants turned to the tombs at el Bersheh and Beni Hassan. Some of the grave goods passed through Murch's hands and eventually settled in the museums of Boston, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia.⁷⁴

Among the hundreds of scarabs, amulets, and beads that Murch sold to the Art Institute was a fragment of a cuneiform tablet. T. G. Allen, who would later write the handbook for the Art Institute's Egyptian collection, recognized the fragment for what it was—a piece of one of the Amarna Tablets.⁷⁵ Excavated in the 1880s, these tablets include priceless examples of diplomatic correspondence between the court of the heretic pharaoh Akhenaten and foreign rulers. The museum's fragment is part of a letter from Tushratta, king of the Mitanni (northern Syria), to Queen Tiye, widow of King Amenhotep 111.⁷⁶

In 1894 some fragments of Roman sculpture, bought from the estate of a Danish sculptor, were given to the museum by Johannes Gelert. Gelert was a sculptor who had rented space in the Art Institute's former location two blocks away, and he had maintained a professional relationship with the museum by teaching classes and taking on commissions from museum members.⁷⁷

In 1895 a new Classical art curator, Frank Bigelow Tarbell, joined the Art Institute.⁷⁸ He immediately set to work rearranging the vase collection and urging the trustees and donors to increase the cast collection.⁷⁹ Tarbell was also a professor at the University of Chicago, and his dual positions reflect the tight network of personal associations that linked the city's cultural institutions in the late nineteenth century. Tarbell had earned academic degrees at Yale, where he taught Greek and logic, with brief stints as the annual director of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens and as an instructor at Harvard. In 1893 Tarbell came to the University of Chicago as an associate professor of Greek, working his way up the hierarchy and through numerous departments as the new university rearranged itself. At one point Tarbell and Breasted represented the entire staff of the Department of Archaeology, teaching courses in both Greek and Egyptian art history.⁸⁰ The university's course catalogue mentions the Art Institute's collections of casts and antiquities as valuable resources for students. For years Breasted offered a series of lectures at the museum structured around the Egyptian holdings, and it is likely that Tarbell, who shared staff privileges, also used the collection in his teaching. French was anxious to maintain a close relationship with the



FIG. 8 Model Boat, Dynasty 11–12 (2046/1794 B.C.). Egyptian. Wood with pigment; $63.5 \times 114.3 \times 17.1$ cm ($25 \times 45 \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ in.). The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of Henry H. Getty, Charles L. Hutchinson, Robert H. Fleming, and Norman W. Harris, 1894.241.

University of Chicago; in a letter to university president William Rainey Harper, French pinpointed Tarbell as "the chief connecting link."⁸¹

The year 1896 was one of taking stock. In May the director and president made an estimate of the value of the objects in the museum.⁸² The Classical collection was worth about \$10,000; this included approximately fifty vases, twenty-five marble sculptures and fragments, thirty pieces of ancient glass, and a group of terracotta figures. This assessment did not include the Egyptian collection, which Breasted was in the midst of cataloguing. His summary appeared under the title "Report on Egyptian Antiquities."⁸³ He highlighted the Eleventh Dynasty coffin of Sededoye (1894.368, withdrawn), the Twentyfirst Dynasty coffin of a Theban priest, Nesipahirhet (1894.369a–b), and the rare collection of beads and scarabs. Additional Egyptian artifacts bought by Ryerson and Hutchinson included a miniature wooden hoe, a winnower, and a model of a boat from a Middle Kingdom tomb (FIG. 8). This large influx of material demanded a new gallery, which George Corliss, then assistant to French, arranged and installed.84

During the winter of 1895–96 the Hutchinsons and Ryersons took a trip around the world, but the museum was never far from Hutchinson's mind. From India he wrote to French: "I wish I might have a cable such as I received from the Chicago University, saying that someone had given us a million dollars. However our time will come. It may be after you and I are dead."⁸⁵

It was probably the Ryerson-Hutchinson group to whom Wolfgang Helbig, the Roman agent for the Danish brewer and collector Carl Jacobsen, referred when he mentioned the "uncanny museum board-members from Chicago who are expected to come in May." When their arrival in Rome was announced, Helbig went through and acquired everything of value, leaving only minor things for the "Americans." Nor did he speak kindly of other, unnamed Chicagoans whom he had encountered buying antiquities in 1888, claiming that they "bought junk at Scalambrini's [auction] and smelled of whiskey."⁸⁶

From 1897 to 1903 a variety of sources contributed to the growth of the Classical collection, both cast reproductions and original artifacts. In October 1897 an interesting shipment of Egyptian objects, excavated at Dier el Bahri, arrived from Petrie's Egypt Exploration Fund. Most were later turned over to the Oriental Institute.⁸⁷ In December 1900 the British Museum insisted that Petrie focus his efforts on behalf of the British branch of the fund; nevertheless, Chicago continued to receive objects as late as 1913, when the trustees decided to terminate their association with the fund, stating that "this work was out of the province of the Art Institute, and that the matter be referred to the Field Museum."⁸⁸ The last recorded share of spoils received by the Art Institute was an Eighteenth Dynasty vase (1913.550, withdrawn).

The largest addition to the cast collection was a scale model of the reliefs from the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, which arrived in shipments over the course of two years.⁸⁹ Another group of Assyrian plaster casts was acquired by the museum, under somewhat muddled circumstances: the Art Institute had sold replicas of French medieval metalwork to the Field Museum. After paying half the bill, the Field ran out of cash, and offered the casts as payment for the outstanding amount.⁹⁰

By 1903 the size and bulk of the cast collection elicited a gift of \$75,000 from Mr. and Mrs. Timothy B. Blackstone to build a new gallery, to be named Blackstone Hall, in which to display the casts.

In the winter of 1905 Hutchinson and Ryerson were in Europe investigating the possible purchase of the great El Greco painting The Assumption of the Virgin, a major acquisition that would become the centerpiece of the museum's painting collection.⁹¹ While arranging this purchase, they had enough ready cash to acquire an unusual group of Greek vases. Rather than the typical fifth-century B.C. red-figure vases that made up the core of the holdings, they picked out vessel types that rounded out the collection: squat, black-glazed pots used to fill oil lamps (1905.341, 1905.346–47), vases in the form of women's faces (1905.348, FIG. 9), and a stunning rhyton (drinking vessel) in the shape of a mule's head (1905.345). The Ryersons also facilitated gifts of decorative objects through the Antiquarian Society, the museum's oldest auxiliary organization. The offerings included rare textiles from the late Roman period in Egypt, where the dry climate protected the fabrics' fragile threads (FIG. 10).



FIG. 9 Kantharos (Wine Cup) in the Shape of a Female Head, late 6th century B.C. Greek, Athens. Terracotta, decorated in the black-figure technique; $19 \times 17.8 \times 13.3$ cm ($7 \frac{12}{2} \times 7 \times 5 \frac{13}{4}$ in.). The Art Institute of Chicago, Museum Purchase Fund, 1905.349.



FIG. IO *Textile Fragment* (detail), 4th/5th century A.D. Egyptian, Coptic, Akhmin. Linen and wool, slit and dovetailed tapestry weave with eccentric wefts and supplementary wrapping weft details, edged by plain weave with supplementary wrapping wefts forming uncut loop pile; 59.2 × 51 cm (23 ¼ × 20 ⅓ in.). The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of Martin A. Ryerson through the Antiquarian Society, 1921.43.

Vigorous curatorial activity resumed in 1905 with the return of Emerson in a full-time capacity. The museum immediately began to allocate funds to supplement the collections of glass, Tanagra figurines, and vases, as well as to arrange the first actual Etruscan acquisition: two bronze handles from a pot. In 1905 Ryerson presented the museum with three bronze and five frit statuettes from Egypt, two Greek bronze mirrors, and one bronze strigil.⁹² Ryerson's refined aesthetic sense can be seen in the vases he donated from his private collection, which had been purchased at the van Branteghem auction in 1892.⁹³ In 1910 Emerson added a small lidded pyxis as a donation (1910.209a–b).⁹⁴

Emerson spent a great deal of time in the early years of the century developing and publishing the two-volume work *Illustrated Catalogue of Antiquities and Casts of Ancient Sculpture* (1907–08). More than a catalogue, it served as a textbook on Greek sculpture, and in fact it was used as the basis for a series of art history lectures. Another Art Institute–related title that appeared at this time was Garrett Chatfield Pier's study on scarabs. Pier likely based his work on Breasted's early classification and cataloguing of the 1895 purchase.⁹⁵

The Egyptian collection was the focus of considerable interest in 1910–11. With a \$6,000 loan from Ryerson, the museum bought a group of objects, some of the cost of which was quickly defrayed through a subscription organized by friends. Among the original subscribers were Elizabeth and Frederika Skinner, who initially funded the acquisition of three gilded mummy masks (1910.221–22, FIG. 11).⁹⁶

Repayment of the Ryerson loan was a subject that reappeared in trustee meeting minutes, such as a reminder by Hutchinson "that the money to pay for same [the collection] was borrowed, and he recommended that the mummy case [1910.238], which cost \$1,750, be paid for out of the William M. Willner Fund."⁹⁷ The obligation was still unpaid in 1920, when the trustees were informed that the collection carried a debt of \$4,500.⁹⁸ Eventually Ryerson absorbed the remaining cost of the collection, which included seventy pieces of mummy wrappings.

In 1911 Emerson, with the help of docent Lucy Driscoll, set to work cleaning seventy-eight of the Greek vases. The results were published in the 1912 *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago*. The findings were disconcerting—twenty-four of the vases had been repainted: "In thirteen instances an Italian restorer of extraordinary dexterity, very probably the late Francesco Raimondo of Capua, had covered the entire ancient vase with a thin layer of opaque orange stucco to conceal its injuries, and had repeated the original decoration on this new smooth surface."⁹⁹ The most ingenious "restoration" was an Athenian lekythos (which was "retired from exhibition"): "The entire surface of the vase and all the white undercoat proved to be modern. Underneath this coat was an ancient lekythos with many repaired breaks and insertions made of other lekythoi. The neck and handle proved to be largely stucco and plaster ... the base belonged to still another lekythos."¹⁰⁰

Hutchinson and Ryerson continued to add tidbits to the collection in the period 1911–15, including some Egyptian stone vases and a Greek hydria (water jar) (1911.456).¹⁰¹ Frank Gunsaulus, a clergyman who lectured at the University of Chicago and ran the Armour Institute of Technology (now the Illinois Institute of Technology), gave fifty-seven pieces of Near Eastern pottery. The museum also traded redundant objects to improve the collection; twelve Roman imperial bronze coins belonging to M. S. Krausz were acquired in exchange for duplicates.¹⁰²

When Emerson resigned as curator of the Classical Department in 1915, after twenty-five years of association with the Art Institute, he was not replaced. Although he stayed on into 1916 to bronze and polychrome many of the casts, Emerson's departure marked the end of an autonomous ancient art department. Accessions and curatorial work were thereafter shared by various departments and individuals, including the Departments of Painting and Drawing, Decorative Arts, and Oriental Art and a variety of assistant directors and outside advisors. Emerson saw his role of curator primarily as a custodian of the casts and antiquities; acquisitions and collection building were in the hands of Hutchinson, Ryerson, and French.¹⁰³ Emerson's reports on the collection concentrate on the physical care of the casts.¹⁰⁴ His handbook, his involvement in bringing the Polychrome Exhibition to Chicago, and his occasional lectures conformed to traditional curatorial functions, but seemingly these were secondary to the physical care and cataloguing of the holdings.

After the turmoil of the First World War, the museum again contemplated adding to its Egyptian collection. Breasted was approached with the request to act as the institution's agent on a proposed trip to Egypt. The trustees voted to appropriate \$5,000 for him to purchase "Egyptian objects of artistic interest during his trip abroad."¹⁰⁵ In November 1919 Breasted wrote to his family that he was "trying to do the work of three men at least and perhaps more. There are first the antiquities to be purchased for the museum in Chi[cago]. I spend hours a day looking over the materials here [in Cairo] in the hands of dealers. It is endless; each stock like a museum which has to be gone over."¹⁰⁶ Breasted combed the holdings of the leading dealers, "Blanchard, Kyticas, Tano, Nahman, and Kelekian," buying from the first four.¹⁰⁷ The eventual purchases included a delicate



FIG. II *Mummy Head Cover*, 1st century B.C. Egyptian, Roman period. Cartonnage, gold leaf, and pigment; $44.5 \times 30.5 \times 29.8$ cm (17 ½ × 12 × 11 ¾ in.). The Art Institute of Chicago, William M. Willner Fund, 1910.220.



FIG. 12 Sketch of a King, Dynasty 19–21 (1292/1070 B.C.). Egyptian. Stone and pigment; 24.6 \times 16.6 \times 3.2 cm (9 $\frac{5}{4} \times 6 \frac{1}{2} \times 1 \frac{1}{4}$ in.). The Art Institute of Chicago, Museum Purchase Fund, 1920.255.

sketch of a king on a flake of limestone (FIG. 12) that represents the earliest drawing in the museum's collection.

In his letters Breasted expressed concern that he secure "an adequate representation of Egyptian art at the Art Institute": "I found some beautiful things at Kyticas's house. A superb black granite bust [1920.261]—just the thing for the Art Institute."¹⁰⁸ A month later, he queried, "Would the Art Institute people value a silver bronze statuette of Imhotep more than a fine artist's model of a lion in limestone relief [1920.254]?"¹⁰⁹ Breasted selected the lion and several other Ptolemaic-period relief sculptures, called "sculptor's studies" (1920.251, 1920.253–54, 1920.256–60).

Although the search was tiring, Breasted admitted that "it is very gratifying to secure these things for our museum and the Art Institute, besides being a very exhilarating game. Incidentally I am doing a *lot* of work for the Art Institute, and I have got them some *beautiful* things; but *their* money is all spent now."¹¹⁰ With his eye on a "very fine Saitic kneeling figure of an official" for sale from the dealer Tano, Breasted encouraged the trustees to double the budget.¹¹¹ The trustees complied, and on December 29 Hutchinson telegraphed Breasted to "spend ten thousand dollars more get tano [*sic*] kneeling figure if possible."¹¹² In the meantime the statue was acquired by the Cleveland Museum of Art through the services of Howard Carter, the archaeologist who two years later would undertake the spectacular excavation of the tomb of Tutankhamun. Breasted referred to Carter with great contempt: "I have no doubt that by a policy of browbeating he forced the dealer to yield the statue to him on threat of future penalties."¹¹³

In place of the lost statue, Breasted found two masterpieces of equal quality, a tomb relief he described as "one of the finest pieces I ever saw" (1920.262) and a bronze statuette of Anubis (1920.252).

These pieces were bought by Dr. Gordon, director of the Philadelphia Museum, but he is not an orientalist and he has now written Blanchard [the dealer] with such uncertainty about them, that Blanchard regards himself as released ... An hour ago I learned of this and mounting a borrowed bicycle for lack of other conveyance ... I rode as fast as I could to Blanchard's place. I saved the bronze by only a few minutes, for Colonel Samuels, a wealthy British officer, was just about to pay money ... As for the superbly colored relief, it will be snapped up the minute the Metropolitan Museum people see it, and they are expected hourly.¹¹⁴

In gratitude for his years of advice and service, in 1920 the trustees conferred on Breasted an honorary curatorship in Egyptian antiquities. He continued to work with the collection in hopes of completing a handbook, for which the trustees had allocated \$1,800.¹¹⁵ A letter from director Robert Harshe to Hutchinson illustrates the difficulties of museum publishing and hints at Hutchinson's personal charm: "You will be glad to know that a few more chapters of the hand-book on Egyptian art have made their appearance. We need now only the two final chapters . . . (which) are promised me definitely in April. I can see you chuckle skeptically over this statement."¹¹⁶ A Handbook of the Egyptian Collection, compiled by Allen, was finally published in 1923 by the University of Chicago Press, likely incorporating Breasted's research and object attributions.

The Art Institute's coin holdings began in 1920 with the gift of William Forrester Dunham's 725 Greek, Roman, and Byzantine coins (see CAT. 20). At the time of donation, the Art Institute's portion was valued at \$30,000. Dunham's dealings with the museum illustrate what was involved at that time. The Art Institute had accepted the coins on the condition that Dunham purchase a safe in which to store them. He complied, and his coin collection was housed there; as far as he knew, there were no plans for display. He was next met with a request for "a trust fund of \$30,000" and "a concrete and steel vault with walls about 26 inches thick" in order to hire someone and display his collection; he demurred.¹¹⁷ Then in 1923, two weeks after he donated a further group of coins and his



FIG. 13 *Tetradrachm* (*Coin*) *Portraying Alexander the Great*, minted by Lysimachus of Thrace, 306/281 B.C. Greek, Ephesus. Silver; 16.99 g. The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of Martin A. Ryerson, 1922.4924.



FIG. 14 *Portrait of a Man*, 2nd century A.D. Roman, Egypt, Fayum region. Pigment and wax on wood; $41.9 \times 24.1 \times 5.7$ cm (16 $\frac{1}{2} \times 9 \frac{1}{2} \times 2 \frac{1}{4}$ in.). The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of Emily Crane Chadbourne, 1922.4799.

collection of papal medals, the trustees "voted to appoint him Honorary Curator of Medallic Art."¹¹⁸

In 1922 Ryerson added to his already enormous largesse with a princely collection of ninety-nine coins (1922.4845– 4938).¹¹⁹ These, along with the Dunham hoard, and a 1923 gift of 320 coins from Mrs. William Nelson Pelouze, formed the coin collection. The coins vary greatly in quality, but of particular note are the Greek coins of the fifth to the third century B.C., epitomized by two renditions of Alexander the Great. One was issued by the conqueror himself, and the other, a lionizing version, was struck after his death by one of his generals, depicting Alexander as a demigod (FIG. 13). Also of outstanding merit are the gold aurii of the Roman emperors and the Byzantine solidi.¹²⁰ In 1978 Robert Grover began giving the first of 837 ancient coins, which eventually increased the collection to three thousand specimens.¹²¹

Whereas most Classical accessions had come through gifts or museum purchases generated by the Hutchinson-French-Ryerson consortium, in 1922 New York dealer Joseph Brummer mounted an exhibition of Greek and Roman marbles, all of which were for sale. As hoped, it led to a gift to the museum: a head of a Greek philosopher "found recently in Macedonia" (1923.49).¹²² A similar acquisition came in 1927 when a collection of objects was consigned by a group of dealers: a superb relief of a fallen warrior given by Alfred E. Hamill, which is arguably one of the collection's best pieces (1928.257).¹²³ The relief had only just been recovered from the seabed near the port of Piraeus.

In 1922 the Classical Department received a bevy of artifacts from the peripatetic Chicagoan Mrs. Emily Crane Chadbourne, a wide-ranging collector who had filled her four houses with objects of every sort. When she closed her New York and Paris apartments, "truckloads of her belongings arrived at the Art Institute."¹²⁴ These gifts, continuing until 1940, included gold and silver coins (1940.9–31); two Greco-Roman dishes; and three Egyptian objects, a wooden cat (1922.4800) and two stunning, gilded Fayum mummy portraits (1922.4798, FIG. 14).¹²⁵

The year 1922 was noteworthy as well for Carter's celebrated discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb. It ignited an archaeological fervor that stimulated entrepreneurial activity among the lay public. Art Institute associate Francis Neilson was among those who had a yen for archaeology and envisioned finding a tomb of his own in Egypt's unexplored sands. Neilson's second wife was a daughter of Gustavus Swift, the founder of the meat-processing firm Swift & Co. With these means at their disposal, the Neilsons collected antiquities and loaned them to the museum. Neilson founded the Neilson Expedition to the Near East at the University of Liverpool, but his career ranged over three continents and involved a score of interests. Born in England in 1867, he had been a theater critic, actor, member of Parliament, magazine editor, author, and president of the English League for Taxation of Land Values. In 1926 Neilson wired Harshe from Semiramis, Egypt, that the Egyptian government would not grant him a permit to excavate unless the Art Institute deputized him "as Institute representative."¹²⁶ His cable promised, "I pay all costs. You share in discoveries." The trustees' careful response read, "Your cable somewhat vague," and suggested he discuss the matter with Breasted. The director hastily cabled Breasted for advice. Neilson's plan collapsed when Breasted instead insisted that a "competent archaeologist ... be secured Field Director."¹²⁷

The freewheeling spirit evident in archaeological excavations in the early decades of the museum's history also applied to the easygoing exchange of objects between institutions and individuals in the form of both loans and gifts. In 1917 Hutchinson and director George Eggers were granted permission to offer the University of Chicago some Egyptian antiquities not on view in exchange for typical examples of prehistoric Egyptian pottery.¹²⁸ These, in 1919, were shipped to Beloit College with some mortuary pottery and two alabaster vases.¹²⁹ In 1928 the previously mentioned cork model of the Temple of Neptune [sic] at Paestum was given to the Portland Art Association, and two of the reproductions of Pompeiian bronzes from the Higinbotham collection were lent to the Joslyn Art Museum in Omaha. Vague bookkeeping in the 1940s allowed the previously mentioned mismatched mummy and mummy case to be lent to the Oriental Institute, which, believing that it owned the pieces, proceeded to lend them to the Indianapolis Children's Museum. (They returned to the Art Institute in 2008.) By 1943, casts were being sold off, including two to Chicago architect David Adler for \$350.¹³⁰ A bust of Emperor Nero was sold to Marshall Field and Company for \$50 to be used as a window display.¹³¹ One of the most cavalier loans was made in 1916, when Beloit College stated "that the senior class was to present a Greek Play in Chicago ... and they requested the loan of some Greek statuary from the Art Institute for this occasion." The trustees granted the request.¹³²

The deaths of French in 1914 and Hutchinson ten years later ended an era that had witnessed the creation of a museum and art school—buildings, collections, and philosophy. The emphasis within the museum toward antiquities changed after this period. There was no longer the personal interest in nor the aggressive acquisition of Classical specimens that had marked the tenure of French and especially Hutchinson. However, the establishment of early purchase funds such as the Sprague Fund (1919), the Willing Fund (1923), the Sheldon and the Culver Funds (1924), and the Waller Fund (1926) allowed the museum to begin to buy antiquities on a regular basis.¹³³ The Katherine K. Adler Memorial Fund is the collection's largest endowed fund. Although presently used for operating costs, it has funded the largest portion of recent purchases.¹³⁴ Architect David Adler, appointed a trustee in 1925, established the fund in memory of his wife, Katherine, who died in a car accident in France in 1930 at the age of thirtyseven. While the memorial fund was in her honor, it was his field of interest that guided its area of concentration. His partiality for classicism is on display in much of his domestic architecture, in which Classical motifs often appear. He knew and worked for many of the leaders of Chicago's cultural institutions. Upon his death in 1949, his will made very specific demands concerning the trust that reflect an insider's knowledge of a museum and its needs. The income could be spent for the purchase of ancient sculpture under the advisement of "a curator whose principal curatorial duties are devoted to the Department of Classical Art."135

On its list of advisory committees, the annual report of 1924 announced a new Committee on Gaps in the Collections.¹³⁶ Although short-lived, the committee, together with an earlier, unhappy memorandum from assistant director Charles Fabens Kelley to Harshe that "we have no [Classical] committee," may have prompted the flurry of administrative activity that led to the establishment of the trustees' advisory committee on Egyptian and Classical art.¹³⁷ Meeting across the street from the museum at the Cliff Dwellers club, the committee elected Alfred E. Hamill chairman; his deep interest in Mediterranean history and ancient languages made him a logical choice.¹³⁸ The new committee expressed the need for an iconographic index, not only for the ancient art collections but for the museum as a whole as well. Another interesting proposal floated that year was to search for a "possible site for excavation in Turkish territory on the south shore of the Black Sea." The records make no further mention of these intriguing plans.¹³⁹

Yet in spite of Hamill's appointment and interests, "the museum's ancient collection grew at a curiously slow and hesitant pace during Hamill's watch"; the absence of a dedicated curator was surely a contributing factor.¹⁴⁰ One of the few objects purchased during this era was a fourth-century B.C. Greek funerary stele (1928.162).¹⁴¹ Part of the Alexander White collection, the stele was dated to the era shortly before Athens outlawed such ostentatious gravestones. Among the members of the new committee was Theodore W. Robinson, whose interest in ancient glass would, over the next few years, translate into a stunning accumulation that is now part of the museum.

To guide the growing collection, Kelley, who then held the positions of both assistant director and curator of Oriental art, was appointed acting curator of the Classical Department, and for the first time the two departments merged. Daniel

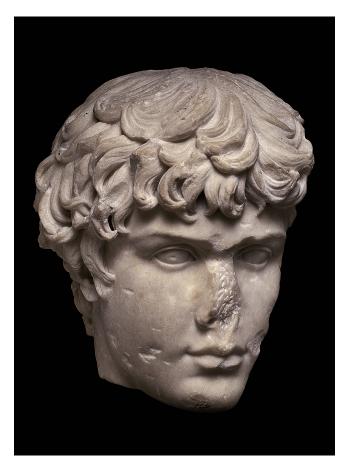


FIG. 15 *Portrait of Antinous*, 2nd century A.D. Roman. Marble; $31.7 \times 31 \times 17$ cm ($12 \frac{1}{2} \times 12 \times 6 \frac{1}{2}$ in.). The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of Mrs. Charles L. Hutchinson, 1924.979.

Catton Rich, newly appointed editor of the museum's *Bulletin*, began to write scholarly articles on the collection's vases and sculptures.¹⁴²

Four vases entered the collection in 1929: a kylix (1929.942) and a skyphos (drinking cup) (1929.943) from John Astley-Cook, and from Charles Hutchinson's widow, a krater (mixing bowl) and a black-glazed hydria that Hutchinson had kept for his private enjoyment (1929.698–99). Another gift from Hutchinson's own collection was a handsome marble head of Antinous (FIG. 15).¹⁴³ The Antinous head was not always on display, and at some unknown date it disappeared, apparently without notice. Happily it surfaced in New York in 1983 in the hands of a curator from the Metropolitan Museum who noted its accession number. Tracing it to the Art Institute, he returned the long-lost head, whose circuitous journey may never be known.

In 1930 Harshe authorized the preparation of a catalogue of Greek vases, the \$500 cost of which was to be borne by the department's installation account. The catalogue, however, was never produced. Later in the year the director suggested approaching A. J. B. Wace, curator of Classical art at the South Kensington Museum, with an offer of an annual salary of \$7,500 to secure his services as curator. "It was suggested that subscriptions from friends who are interested in classical art might be raised to cover the salary of Mr. Wace for two or three years."¹⁴⁴ None of these plans came to fruition.

In the 1930s Classical antiquity went out of style, and the department experienced an extended fallow period. By 1936 Breasted's name had been dropped as honorary curator of Egyptian antiquities. Interest in the collection, which was housed in cases in the basement, dwindled so dramatically that in 1941 and again in 1949, the bulk of the Egyptian collection was transferred to the Oriental Institute on indefinite loan.¹⁴⁵ Acquisition of Egyptian artifacts "was abandoned as a field of pursuit, mainly because of the emergence of the work of the Oriental Institute," a reflection of the realization on the part of Chicago museums that in specialization the museums and the public alike would benefit.¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, today the major collections of antiquities in Chicago are spread between three venues: Near Eastern and Egyptian holdings at the Oriental Institute; Roman, Etruscan, and Egyptian artifacts at the Field Museum; and the more general collection of vases, sculptures, coins, and glass from various Mediterranean cultures at the Art Institute.¹⁴⁷

With the death of Ryerson in 1932, the collecting of antiquities in Chicago seriously declined. Between 1930 and 1960 the committee met rarely, and only to accept a trickle of donated objects, including a Roman portrait (1936.135) given by Mrs. Florence Glessner-Lee, and in 1948 objects from the discontinued Children's Room: an early Cypriot barrel-jug (1926.435), a Cypriot head (1926.437), and a Syrian mosaic panel with fish (1937.48).

In a brief revival of interest, in 1940 the museum mounted a stunning exhibition of Mr. and Mrs. Theodore W. Robinson's collection of ancient glass, accompanied by an article in the *Bulletin* and an unpublished catalogue by Wanda Odell.¹⁴⁸ The collection came as a permanent loan to the department and was gradually accessioned in separate gifts during the 1940s (see FIG. 16). The three hundred specimens, covering the period from 1500 B.C. to A.D. 500, represent "the most important periods and types of glass manufacture."¹⁴⁹

Between 1928 and 1980 the antiquities holdings were without a dedicated curator. In this interim period the collection was administered by a variety of museum departments. In the 1920s and 1930s, ancient art lived under the wing of the Departments of Decorative Arts and Oriental Art. Following two decades of disinterest in the 1930s and 1940s, the collection came under the care of Jack Sewell, whose education included a minor in Classical art, when he assumed the assistant curatorship of the Oriental Department in 1951. For the next twentytwo years Sewell was the department's caretaker and



FIG. 16 Unguent Bottles. Left to right, alabastron, aryballos, alabastron, oinochoe, and amphoriskos; 6th/4th century B.C. Eastern Mediterranean. Core-formed glass; max. h. 13.9 cm (5 ½ in.). The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of Theodore W. and Frances S. Robinson, 1941.1091, 1941.1083, 1942.637, and 1942.635; gift of Ebenezer Buckingham, 1891.29.

exhibitor. Additions to the collection were made sporadically as funds or gifts were available, but it was not until the 1960s that each sector of the Classical Department was again aggressively augmented. The Edward E. Ayer Fund was used to buy a lovely portrait head of a young woman that immediately enhanced the quality of the Roman sculpture collection (1960.64).¹⁵⁰ In 1967 a gift of sixteen terracottas from Grace Brown Palmer and in 1968 a donation of five statuettes (1968.734–38) in memory of Mr. and Mrs. Hubert L. Stern enriched previous holdings.¹⁵¹

As in the past, the interest and generosity of individual collectors began to fill the museum's galleries. Mr. and Mrs. Eugene A. Davidson gave the department its first large marble figure, a life-size statue of Meleager (1972.935). The Alsdorf Foundation donated a sarcophagus panel bearing an important relief showing Meleager with features of Alexander the Great (1983.584).

The Classical Department became an adjunct to the Department of Earlier Painting in 1973, and J. Patrice Marandel served as curator of both collections. In 1975, when income from the Adler fund became available, the museum began to concentrate on buying sculpture to fill the great gap created by the decision in the early years to collect plaster casts instead of original sculptures. Two Roman imperial portrait heads were acquired, one of Gallienus (1975.328) and a superb one of Hadrian (1979.350). The Roman replica of the Knidian Aphrodite (1981.11) is one of only two full-scale copies known in the United States. Of first-rate quality is a Greek vase (1978.114), delicately painted by an anonymous artist in the mid-sixth century B.C., that shows Herakles strangling the Nemean Lion.

In 1980, Louise Berge, then assistant curator, was put in charge of the Classical collection; the following year the department was made autonomous, with Berge appointed associate curator. Independence was short-lived, however: in 1982 the department was again merged into the Oriental Department under Sewell. In 1988, with the retirements of both Berge and Sewell, the collection was put under the management of Ian Wardropper, Eloise W. Martin Curator of European Decorative Arts, Sculpture, and Ancient Art. For two decades the collection was faithfully maintained by Mary Greuel, today assistant curator of ancient art. In 2001 an associate curatorship, partially funded in honor of Elizabeth McIlvaine, was filled by Karen Manchester.

Fortunately for the collection, each acting curator has added to its importance according to his or her strength. Berge specialized in Greek vases, and under her guidance the collection acquired pieces that brought both quality and variety to the existing holdings, including a sheep's head rhyton (1986.883) and a hydria (1975.699) from Chester D. Tripp. Carefully chosen examples of vase painting from earlier periods, such as a Geometric horse pyxis (1976.2), an Etruscan Geometric lebes (bowl with lid) (1985.627), and a large fragment of a monumental Corinthian krater (1987.241), helped to broaden the holdings. An Attic blackfigured neck amphora (storage jar) (1980.75) was acquired through the Costa A. Pandaleon Greek Art Memorial Fund, which is restricted to the purchase of Greek art. Wardropper's specialization in sculpture led to outstanding purchases including a pair of Greek griffin protomes (CAT. 4) of the seventh century B.C., two Roman couch attachments in the form of silenoi busts (CAT. 15), and an Etruscan cista foot (CAT. 10).

Manchester's first purchase was a stunning portrait bust of a Roman woman of the Antonine period that augmented an already strong collection of second-century A.D. Roman sculpture (CAT. 22). A gift to the Egyptian collection early in her tenure was a beautifully painted Osiris figure (CAT. 2), while later, for the Greco-Roman collection, Manchester purchased a large marble funerary lekythos fragment (CAT. 7) and a coin portraying Cleopatra and Mark Antony (CAT. 14), the last adding to the museum's comprehensive, but little-known, numismatic collection.

Metalwork acquisitions also grew during the 1970s and 1980s through purchase and gift. A statuette of Juno (1967.402) and another of Hercules (1978.308) were augmented by a Macedonian helmet (1978.297). Gifts of Mr. and Mrs. James W. Alsdorf include three Roman works a statuette of a Roman lictor (1980.809), a Roman lamp (1985.1041), and an elegant gilded mirror (1985.1042).

The museum had only one, admittedly small, Roman mosaic until 1970–72, when Mr. and Mrs. Robert B. Mayer gave the Classical Department their collection—six large panels of provincial Roman mosaic found in Syria.¹⁵² A seventh mosaic, given in the 1990s, shows a man leading an animal that was meant to represent a giraffe but more closely resembles a spotted camel. Supplementing these provincial mosaics is a set of eight finely worked panels from a villa floor discovered just outside Rome in the early nineteenth century that are a promised gift of Drs. Lynn Hauser and Neil Ross (CAT. 19).

In 1986 the Classical Art Society was formed to provide "major moral and minor financial support" for the collection.¹⁵³ A robust membership attends lectures, symposia, and workshops and in the past enjoyed a rewarding affiliation with the Archaeological Institute of America. Member enthusiasm helped as well in the establishment of permanent galleries for the collection. In addition, the Classical Art Society funded acquisitions ranging from archaic Greek bronze sculpture to Roman glass and inspired gifts from members of the society including a band cup of the fifth century B.C., which is the promised gift of Louise Holland in memory of her husband, William Holland, the first president of the society.¹⁵⁴ In 2004 Edward O. Boshell, Jr., established the Boshell Foundation Lecture Fund, which underwrites a lecture series on archaeological topics of broad popular appeal that is intended to encourage attendees to join both the museum and the Classical Art Society.

Not surprisingly, throughout this entire period the exhibiting of the ancient art collection has been a peripatetic affair. When the Michigan Avenue building opened its doors in 1893, antique originals and casts occupied the entire main floor. Ten years later the cast collection had spread into the newly built Blackstone Hall. As other curatorial departments grew more rapidly, the ancient collection's space shrank and migrated. By 1922 Classical and Egyptian antiquities had been restricted to the two galleries to the left of the Michigan Avenue entrance.¹⁵⁵ Two rooms behind Fullerton Hall held the Higinbotham bronzes, and Blackstone Hall continued as the repository of the plaster casts. By 1948 the Classical holdings had crossed the hall into a portion of the space that now houses the Museum Shop, with an additional small gallery for the Robinson glass.¹⁵⁶ Until 1949 the Egyptian artifacts were displayed in cases in the basement, at which time many were sent to the Oriental Institute. The casts were on view in Blackstone Hall until 1956, when that space was renovated for the Oriental Department. The casts were given away, sold off, or destroyed.¹⁵⁷

In 1970–71 a representative selection of the Classical Department's holdings was installed in Henry Crown Court, where it remained until 1985, at which point the collection was put into storage. To offset its removal, a sample of sculptures, vases, coins, and glass was displayed in rotating exhibitions that included Ancient Jewelry from Chicago Collections, Private Tastes in Ancient Rome, and Grave Goods from Ancient Cultures.

During the period when most of the collection was not on display, large exhibitions, including international loan exhibitions, provided examples of ancient art of the Mediterranean. In 1978 Berge hosted the traveling exhibition *Pompeii: AD 79*, and the following year she initiated *Greek Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collections*. The 1981 show *The Search for Alexander* was followed by *The Human Figure in Greek Art* in 1989 and *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen* in 2000.

Under director James Wood, antiquities went on display in 1994 in a suite of galleries overlooking McKinlock Court. For the first time since the 1940s, the permanent antiquities collection was installed together and displayed in depth. Kurt T. Luckner, curator of ancient art at the Toledo Museum of Art, served as consulting curator on the reinstallation.



FIG. 17 Kulapat Yantrasast/wHY Architecture, perspective view of the Mary and Michael Jaharis Galleries of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Art, the Art Institute of Chicago, 2012.

His expertise in ancient glass, as well as a generous gift from Mrs. Sanger Robinson, enabled the museum to exhibit a large selection of its Robinson glass collection. Out of the storerooms the Field Museum loaned Roman frescos, Roman silver and bronze objects, and some of their finest Etruscan holdings, including gold jewelry and bucchero ware. Reminiscent of the collegial partnership of the past, Emily Teeter of the Oriental Institute helped in exhibiting the Egyptian material and in developing *Cleopatra*, an interactive multimedia video that explored the ancient collection. A 1994 issue of the *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* presented highlights of the collection.¹⁵⁸

Focused exhibitions have explored specific objects from the permanent collection, such as *Neither Man nor Beast* (2011–13) and *What's Greek about a Roman Copy*? (2011).¹⁵⁹ Borrowed pieces, such as a statue of Marcus Aurelius with a later head (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung, Sk 368), made available by the J. Paul Getty Museum, was the focus of *A Cuirass Statue with a Portrait of Marcus Aurelius* (2004–05).

In 2010 the Art Institute received an exceedingly generous pledge from the Jaharis Family Foundation, Inc., to establish the Mary and Michael Jaharis Galleries of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Art, occupying the entirety of McKinlock Court (FIG. 17).¹⁶⁰ The Jaharis family gift has also allowed for the creation of an independent Department of Ancient and Byzantine Art, chaired by Karen Manchester; and at the same time the Board of Trustees established the Advisory Committee on Ancient and Byzantine Art, the inaugural meeting of which took place in 2011.

As antiquities become ever rarer as commodities, the museum has increasingly depended on generous longterm loans from other museums and private collections to fill out its installations. The Jaharis Galleries opened with Tradition Transformed: Late Roman and Early Byzantine Treasures from the British Museum, an exhibition of fiftyone exceptional artworks, curated by Christina Nielsen. The loan allowed the Art Institute for the first time to present the full chronological range of ancient and Byzantine art from its inception in the Cyclades to the Byzantine Empire. More than seventy other institutional loans included the Gospel book of Bishop Bernward from the Hildesheim Cathedral in Germany and objects from the Field Museum, the Oriental Institute, and the Smart Museum of Art in Chicago and the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles.

Long-term loans from private collections included artworks from Mr. and Mrs. Walter Alexander, Marcelo Faria de Lima, Mr. and Mrs. Richard Gray, Alex Krikhaar, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Manilow, and Sir Paul Ruddock, as well as anonymous lenders. Of particular value to the present collection is a commanding figure of a man or god crafted in Elam or Mesopotamia in the fourth millennium B.C. (CAT. I), which constitutes the earliest work of art on display in the museum.

The Jaharis Galleries have been outfitted with an interactive and multimedia program, LaunchPad, which provides access to extensive research on the objects on display and makes cross-cultural connections between these artworks and those in other curatorial departments. The content was developed by Katharine A. Raff. The management of the entire reinstallation that opened on November 11, 2012, was executed by Mary Greuel, with the help of Angie Morrow and Craig McBride.

The opening of the Jaharis Galleries in 2012 comes 123 years after the first modest antiquities entered the museum's records. Although establishing a base of ancient art was the concern of the founders, quickly the museum's curators, agents, and collectors branched out into the broader art world. While telling the story of the Department of Ancient and Byzantine Art, it is worth remembering that as James Breasted sat cataloguing Egyptian relics, somewhere else in the museum the Armory Show was being installed, and the same year that the marble head of Antinous entered the collection, Frederick Clay Bartlett was acquiring Georges Seurat's *A Sunday on La Grande Jatte–1884* for the Art Institute.

Change came in other ways as well. As the museum grew, it was no longer possible or healthy for its president, its chairman, and other interested friends to control the acquisition process, regardless of how well they might have functioned. The museum moved from a small, informal governance to a diversified and professionalized institution. But it was the collegiality of those earliest supporters that guaranteed the museum's success. In the early catalogues, letters, and journals, one can feel the founding members' excitement and satisfaction in imagining a new entity, and then creating it. Their plans knew no bounds other than the walls of their new building.

The new installation of the museum's oldest collection, which this book celebrates and which is made possible by the Jaharis family, brings the ancient art collection full circle. Stretching four thousand years into the Byzantine era, the galleries present an exceptional gathering of artworks bought, borrowed, and donated. If a renewed interest in the study of classicism inspired the museum's founders to collect ancient material for their infant institution, then the new galleries fulfill their highest hopes. The collection is installed at a crossroad of the museum, nodding to both Asian and European collections and making evident the interactions between cultures that range from the influence of Alexander the Great on the art of Gandharan India to the Neoclassical facade of the museum itself. The Jaharis gift echoes the mission that Charles Hutchinson propounded—that an art museum is an essential part of a city's tribute to its citizens. Equally valid today is his belief that the early attempts to "discover ... the ideal," seen in the arts of ancient cultures, is a legitimate and necessary reason to collect and display the art of those cultures.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Jack Perry Brown, director of the Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, was instrumental in setting the museum's ancient art collection within a larger context, a service he delivered with generosity and humor. Bart Ryckbosch, institutional archivist, shared his remarkable memory, unearthing sources with great patience. For bringing the research together into this essay, I thank editor Maia Rigas and Robert V. Sharp, head of Publications. For small but important favors, I thank Jeanne Ladd, vice president of museum finance; John Larson of the Oriental Institute Museum; and the Newberry Library. Lastly, I owe thirty years of gratitude to the Department of Ancient and Byzantine Art and its staff.

NOTES

I Paul T. Gilbert et al., Chicago and Its Makers: A Narrative of Events from the Day of the First White Man to the Inception of the Second World's Fair (Chicago, 1929), p. 187.

2 Charles L. Hutchinson, "On Art and Artists," speech given to the Chicago Literary Club, 1915, box 5, folder 340, Charles L. Hutchinson Papers, the Newberry Library, Chicago.

3 Aileen Hollis, "Charles L. Hutchinson and the Development of the Art Institute of Chicago: Charles L. Hutchinson's Utilization of the Economic, Social and Cultural Structures of Chicago during the First Twenty Years of the Art Institute of Chicago" (M.A. thesis, School of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1989), pp. 30–33.

4 Ibid., p. 27n30. Hutchinson took a leadership role in organizations related to antiquities, serving as vice president of the Egypt Exploration Fund, American branch: Greek consul general in Chicago: and chairman of the Committee on the Exhibit of Greece at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed, "Charles Lawrence Hutchinson," in The University of Chicago Biographical Sketches (Chicago, 1922–25), vol. 2, p. 50. For more on Hutchinson, see Celia Hilliard, "'The Prime Mover': Charles L. Hutchinson and the Making of the Art Institute of Chicago," special issue, Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies 36, no. 1 (2010).

5 The fundamental study is William B. Dinsmoor, "Early American Studies of Mediterranean Archaeology," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 87, no. 1 (1943), pp. 70–104.

6 See S. J. Wolfe and Robert Singerman, *Mummies in Nineteenth-Century America: Ancient Egyptians as Artifacts* (Chicago, 2009), on the mummies at Colonel Wood's Museum in Chicago before the Chicago fire in 1871 (esp. pp. 124–25), and on the mummy at Guenther's candy factory at 212 South State Street in the 1880s, now in the Field Museum, Chicago (pp. 71–73).

7 Charles C. Perkins, "American Art Museums," *North American Review* 111, no. 1 (July 1870), pp. 1–29, quotations on p. 8.

8 Both museums also had large collections of original objects from ancient Cyprus, although these artworks far predated the age of Pericles, then highly valued as the pinnacle of ancient Greece. 9 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Catalogue of the Collection of Casts, 2nd ed. (New York, 1920).

IO Daniel Coit Gilman, *The Launching of a University* (New York, 1906), pp. 318–25.

II Chicago Academy of Fine Arts, *Statement* ([Chicago], 1881), p. 1.

12 The Art Institute of Chicago, Catalogue of the Third Annual Exhibition of the Art Institute of Chicago, February 14–[March 1, 1885] ([Chicago], 1885), p. 13.

13 Anna Felicia Cierpik, "History of the Art Institute of Chicago from Its Incorporation on May 24, 1879 to the Death of Charles L. Hutchinson" (M.A. thesis, DePaul University, 1957), p. 62.

14 Ibid., p. 99; see also Lucy M. Mitchell, A History of Ancient Sculpture (New York, 1883). Mitchell's work was included in the nascent institution's library of 240 books. It is fully digitized at archive.org/details/ ahistoryancientOOmitcgoog.

15 Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, 3 vols. (New York, 1937–57), vol. 1, p. 475; Cierpik, "History of the Art Institute of Chicago," p. 105.

16 The sale occurred on May 19, 1879.Gilbert et al., *Chicago and Its Makers*, p. 187.

17 Hilliard, "'The Prime Mover,'" p. 16.

18 Stefan Germer, "Traditions and Trends: Taste Patterns in Chicago Collecting," in *The Old Guard and the Avant-Garde: Modernism in Chicago*, 1910–1940, ed. Sue Ann Prince (Chicago, 1990), p. 37.

19 The coins did not receive accession
 numbers. Old Register 1, Collection Records,
 the Art Institute of Chicago Institutional
 Archive (hereafter, AIC Archives), pp. 18–19.

20 In 1889, the Chicago Society of the Archaeological Institute of America would be formed by Hutchinson and a group of friends including Martin A. Ryerson, George Armour, Clarence Buckingham, Marshall Field, Alfred Hamill, and William French. Records of the Chicago Society of the Archaeological Institute of America, 1889–1946, Chicago History Museum. Thanks to Eleanor Guralnick for help accessing these materials.

21 Lenore O. Keene Congdon, "The Assos Journals of Francis H. Bacon," *Archaeology* 27, no. 2 (Apr. 1974), pp. 83–95, quotation on p. 83; see also Susan Heuck Allen, *Excavating Our Past: Perspectives on the History of the Archaeological Institute of America* (Boston, 2002), pp. 63–87.

22 See W. M. R. French, "Notes—Journey to Europe with Mr. and Mrs. Charles L. Hutchinson Starting from New York, Saturday, March 9, 1889" (hereafter, travel diary), W. M. R. French Papers, AIC Archives, p. 16. French's journal is fully digitized at www.artic.edu/aic/resources/ resource/2388. Lanciani conducted his archaeological work with his own team of workers, whom he described as belonging "to a tribe of hereditary excavators. The best cannot read or write. They have an instinct about excavating" (p. 13). He was attuned to conservation needs as well: "The huge painted corinthian amfora, which you ordered to be put aside and restored. The amfora has been sent to S. Maria di Capua to have the handles. put up." Lanciani to Hutchinson, Rome, Apr. 13, 1889, Charles L. Hutchinson Correspondence F-Z, AIC Archives.

23 They overspent by \$154. French, travel diary, p. 18. They were also authorized to spend ten thousand dollars on pictures.

24 List of items bought from the dealer Augusto Alberici for 3,880 lire (\$776; exchange rate of 5 lire to 1 U.S. dollar), French, travel diary, pp. 20–21.

25 Inv. 1889.11, 1889.19, and 1889.23 have been withdrawn. Philip Armour was founder and president of the meatpacking company of his name. He had come from New York State with only a "common school" education, after being expelled for "taking a ride in a buggy with a girl." Once in Chicago he participated in the development of Chicago's cultural institutions.

26 Fletcher was one of two clergymen whom the museum used to coordinate foreign purchases. Notoriously ill paid, missionaries and ministers supplemented their salaries by acting as intermediaries. Fletcher also introduced Hutchinson and French to contemporary artists. French, travel diary, p. 87.

27 Marinangeli had quoted a price of 3,500 lire for thirteen vases; Hutchinson countered with 2,500 lire. The eventual purchase for the sum of 4,000 lire included marble and terracotta sculptures.

28 After Hutchinson's death in 1924, his widow, Frances Kinsley Hutchinson, donated their private holdings to the Art Institute.

29 French, travel diary, p. 101.

30 Beazley had not seen the vase in person when he tentatively attributed it to the Master of the Rustic Dionysia in 1915. The Art Institute of Chicago, *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago* (hereafter, *Bulletin*) 9, no. 4 (Apr. 1915), pp. 52–53. 31 French, travel diary, pp. 20–21.

32 Ibid., pp. 4–17.

33 The Art Institute of Chicago Annual Report (hereafter, Annual Report), June 7, 1892, p. 10.

34 The Art Institute of Chicago, Catalogue of the Art Institute of Chicago—Metal Work, Graeco-Italian Vases and Antiquities, December 1889 (Chicago, 1889). The catalogue was in a second edition by 1891.

35 Annual Report, June 5, 1890, p. 21.

36 Annual Report, June 2, 1891, p. 60. See also Stephen L. Dyson, Ancient Marbles to American Shores: Classical Archaeology in the United States (Philadelphia, 1998), p. 32 and passim; H. N. Fowler, "Alfred Emerson," American Journal of Archaeology 48, no. 1 (1944), p. 80; Annual Report, June 2, 1891, p. 13.

37 Annual Report, June 5, 1890, p. 21. See also Lucy M. Mitchell, "Plaster in Sculpture: Its Value as a Medium for Copying the Old Masters," *New York Times*, Apr. 20, 1885, p. 2; see also Cierpik, "History of the Art Institute of Chicago," p. 106.

38 The Art Institute of Chicago, Catalogue of Collections Loaned by James W. Ellsworth (Chicago, 1890), and idem, Catalogue of Collection of Idols, Fetishes, Totems, Kobengs, etc., of All Nations belonging to William J. Gunning (Chicago, 1890), p. 21.

39 Trustee meeting minutes, vol. 2, p. 99, AIC Archives (hereafter, trustee minutes).

40 Alfred Emerson, *Catalogue of a Polychrome Exhibition Illustrating the Use of Color Particularly in Graeco-Roman Sculpture* (Chicago, 1892), p. 19. The catalogue is available online at www.artic.edu/aic/libraries/pubs/ 1892/AIC1892Polychrome_comb.pdf. One of the heads used in the exhibit (1889.107) has suffered grievously from overcleaning at some point.

41 Annual Report, June 7, 1892, p. 20. Following the exhibit, the curator mentioned the expenditure of \$500 to clean and size the plaster casts and add two stippled coats of whiting. Annual Report, June 5, 1894, p. 41. The coloring of the casts continued until at least 1917, when John Pirard of the museum staff was again tinting the statues. Bulletin 11, no. 4 (Apr. 1917), p. 303.

42 The auction was accompanied by the elaborate illustrated catalogue *Collection Eugène Piot* (Paris, 1890). The copies held by the Ryerson and Burnham and the

Newberry libraries are marked with prices and comments. See also Paul Chevallier and Edmond Bonnaffé, *Catalogue des objets d'art de la Renaissance: Tableaux composant la collection de feu M. Eugène Piot ...* (Paris, 1890).

43 Ibid., p. 47.

44 From the Piot sale: 1891.24, 1891.26–29, 1891.31–32, 1891.36; 1891.25, 1891.30, 1891.33–35, 1891.37–38 withdrawn. The donors were Edwin B. Butler, David W. Irwin, George Schneider, Robert A. Waller, Ebenezer Buckingham, H. H. Kohlsaat, Eldridge G. Keith, Thies J. Lefens, and William T. Baker.

45 Old Register 1, p. 39.

46 Ibid., p. 34.

47 The Work of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1882–1918 ([London], 1918), p. 2.

48 Breasted to Hutchinson, Sept. 8, 1901, box 1, folder 30, Charles L. Hutchinson Papers, the Newberry Library.

49 Because excavated material was distributed at the end of each season, the distribution date can establish the excavation site for each object.

50 T. G. H. James, Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1882–1982 (London, 1982), p. 22.

51 Day Book 2, Museum Registration, Art Institute of Chicago, Oct. 6, 1897, p. 33d–e.

52 Breasted to Hutchinson, June 10, 1900, box 1, folder 30, Charles L. Hutchinson Papers, the Newberry Library.

53 Hutchinson-Breasted correspondence, Oct. 23, 1895–Mar. 20, 1904, box 1, folder 30, Charles L. Hutchinson Papers, the Newberry Library; *Chicago Society of Egyptian Research Newsletter and Appeal, Dec. 1897*, accessed at the Newberry Library.

54 Old Register 1, pp. 44–59.

55 Ibid., pp. 45, 46.

56 The Ghizeh/Bulaq Museum was the forebear of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Brugsch was alternately listed as assistant conservator and as curator.

57 Quoted in letter from John Larson, Apr. 3, 1991, Department of Ancient and Byzantine Art files, the Art Institute of Chicago. Larson quotes this phrase in the midst of a discussion of John Albert Wilson, *Signs and Wonders upon Pharaoh: A History of American Egyptology* (Chicago, 1964).

58 Ibid., pp. 133, 215.

59 Inv. 1892.46–47, withdrawn; Old Register 1, p. 46.

60 Bill from J. Lambros, 1892, box 4, folder 327, scrapbooks, part 2, Charles L. Hutchinson Papers, the Newberry Library; *Annual Report*, June 5, 1894, p. 54.

61 Bulletin 1, no. 1 (Oct. 1907), pp. 12–13.

62 Reynold A. Higgins, *Tanagra* and the Figurines (Princeton, 1986), p. 173.

63 Of those purchased, 1892.258–60 and 1892.268 remain in the collection.

64 Otto Kurz, Fakes: A Handbook for Collectors and Students (London, 1948), p. 146.

65 Augustin Cartault, Sur l'authenticité des groupes en terre cuite d'Asie-Mineure (Mâcon, 1887).

66 Ibid., p. 13, quoted from Salomon Reinach, "Terres cuites d'Asie de la collection Julien Gréau" [review], in *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*, n.s., 21, no. 26 (June 21, 1886), pp. 481– 86, quotation on p. 482.

67 Salomon Reinach, *La nécropole de Myrina* (Paris, 1887).

68 Trustee minutes, vol. 2, p. 19.

69 Ibid., pp. 44, 79.

70 On the Heraion of Argos casts, Old Register 1, p. 55; on the Pompeii and Herculaneum casts, W. M. R. French, *The Art Institute of Chicago: Historical and Descriptive* (Chicago, 1901), p. 22.

71 Annual Report, June 5, 1894, p. 46.

72 The purchase totaled \$5,000. Old Register 1, pp. 87–100. See also Garrett Chatfield Pier, "Historical Scarab Seals from the Art Institute Collection," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 23, no. 1 (Oct. 1906), pp. 75–94.

73 Wilson, Signs and Wonders upon Pharaoh, pp. 78, 226.

74 Ibid., pp. 88, 226.

75 D. D. Luckenbill and T. G. Allen, "The Murch Fragment of an el-Amarna Letter," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 33, no. 1 (Oct. 1916), pp. 1–8; T. G. Allen, *Handbook of the Egyptian Collection* (Chicago, 1923).

76 Wilson, *Signs and Wonders upon Pharaoh*, p. 79. At Breasted's request, the fragment was given in 1916 to the Oriental Institute. Trustee minutes, Aug. 9, 1916, vol. 6, p. 34. The rest of the tablet is held by the British Museum, London. 77 The pieces were not assigned accession numbers. Old Register 1, p. 101. They had been purchased in Rome in about 1845 by Danish sculptor Jens Adolph Jerichan; Gelert purchased them from him at auction. Gelert to Hutchinson, Dec. 15, 1890, Charles L. Hutchinson Correspondence F–Z, AIC Archives.

78 "[T]hat Professor Frank B. Tarbell, of the University of Chicago, would undertake for the present the duties of Curator of Classical Antiquities, without compensation," trustee minutes, vol. 2, p. 99. Six months later the trustees again discussed and postponed hiring a curator, and instead decided to pay Tarbell for services rendered while engaging someone temporarily as his assistant (p. 112).

79 Annual Report, June 4, 1895, p. 11.

80 Register of the University of Chicago, 1901–02, p. 212.

8I French to Harper, Mar. 20, 1895, box 7, folder 14, President's Papers, Regenstein Library Special Collections, the University of Chicago.

82 Estimate of value of Art Institute objects, May 1896, AIC Archives.

83 Annual Report, June 2, 1896, pp. 31–32.

84 Ibid., pp. 31–32; and trustee minutes, vol. 2, p. 99. Corliss was hired at \$75 a month "for duties connected with cataloguing, classifying, etc." *Bulletin 2*, no. 2 (Oct. 1908).

85 Hutchinson to French, Jan. 26, 1896, W. M. R. French Papers, AIC Archives. The first gift of \$1,000,000 came in 1918, a bequest from George B. and Mary R. Harris. Harris was chairman of the Board of Directors of the Burlington Railroad. *Annual Report*, 1918, p. 17.

86 Helbig's remarks are quoted in a letter from Mette Moltesen, May 7, 1999, Department of Ancient and Byzantine Art files. Jacobsen founded Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1888.

87 This included objects 1897.279–88; the Art Institute retains 1897.289a–n.

88 Trustee minutes, vol. 4, p. 243.

89 Annual Report, June 1, 1897, p. 12; Annual Report, June 7, 1898, p. 24.

90 Trustee minutes, June 9, 1898, vol. 2, p. 200, and Dec. 9, 1899, vol. 2, p. 237.

91 Hilliard, "'The Prime Mover," p. 65.

92 Annual Report, June 1, 1906, p. 53 (no accession nos.).

93 Vases purchased at the van Branteghem sale were 1907.12–15, 1907.17–20, 1907.323, and 1911.456, 1922.2197, and 1922.2198. *Annual Report*, June 1, 1907, p. 60.

94 Annual Report, June 1, 1910, p. 69.

95 Pier, "Historical Scarab Seals"; trustee minutes, vol. 4, p. 294. Hutchinson suggested employing Pier to catalogue the collection at a cost of \$200-\$500. It was suggested that Breasted himself could be employed "at no greater expense."

96 Later adjustments of funds credited the masks to the William M. Willner Fund.

97 Trustee minutes, vol. 4, p. 95, vol. 5, p. 104. The Willner Fund also paid for five relief sculpture fragments (1910.228, 1910.231, 1910.234, 1910.235, 1910.243) and a statuette (1910.255).

98 Trustee minutes, vol. 7, p. 110.

99 Bulletin 5, no. 3 (Jan. 1912), pp. 43–44. One of the Greek vases (1889.11, withdrawn) "found to be fraudulent" was given "to Miss Lucy Driscoll in accordance with her request." Trustee minutes, vol. 5, p. 237.

100 *Bulletin* 5, no. 3 (Jan. 1912), pp. 43–44, 45.

101 Annual Report, 1911–12, p. 59.

102 No accession numbers were assigned. Annual Report, 1912–13, p. 59.

103 Trustee minutes, vol. 3, p. 11.

104 Annual Report, June 2, 1891, pp. 40–49, 52–60.

105 Trustee minutes, vol. 7, p. 32.

106 Breasted to his family, Nov. 6, 1919,from *News and Notes* (Oriental Institute),143 (Fall 1994).

107 Breasted to Hutchinson, Dec. 4, 1919, reprinted in Geoff Emberling, ed., *Pioneers to the Past: American Archaeologists in the Middle East, 1919–1920*, OIMP 31 (Chicago, 2010), p. 47. Thanks to John Larson for access to the original correspondence.

108 Breasted to family, Nov. 11, 1919, reprinted in John Larson, ed., *Letters* from James Henry Breasted to His Family, August 1919–July 1920 (Chicago, 2010), p. 91.

109 Breasted to family, Jan. 16, 1920, in ibid., p. 138.

110 Breasted to family, Nov. 11, 1919, in ibid., p. 91, emphasis in the original; "List of Egyptian Antiquities Purchased for the Art Institute by Professor Breasted, Winter of 1919–20," Department of Ancient and Byzantine Art files. III Breasted to Hutchinson, Dec. 4, 1919.Courtesy of the Oriental Institute,University of Chicago.

II2 Trustee minutes, Dec. 26, 1919, vol. 7,p. 58; Hutchinson to Breasted, telegram,Dec. 29, 1919. Courtesy of the OrientalInstitute, University of Chicago.

II3 Breasted to Hutchinson, May 19,1920. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute,University of Chicago.

II4 Breasted to Hutchinson, Dec. 17, 1919, in Emberling, *Pioneers to the Past*, p. 47.

115 Trustee minutes, vol. 7, p. 33.

116 Harshe to Hutchinson, Mar. 4, 1922, Charles L. Hutchinson Correspondence F–Z, AIC Archives.

117 David Q. Bowers, "Virgil Brand: The Man and His Era," *Coin World*, Nov. 23, 1983, p. 52.

II8 Trustee minutes, vol. 8, p. 106.

119 Bulletin 17, no. 1 (Jan. 1923), p. 11.

120 Bulletin 72, no. 1 (Sept.–Oct. 1978), p. 3.

121 Grover approached coins as primary sources: as political propaganda by Roman emperors, as reflections of the religions of the day, and as historical documents picturing structures destroyed in antiquity. Personal communication to the author, 1983. The collection was catalogued by Theresa Gross-Diaz in the early 1980s.

122 Bulletin 17, no. 3 (Mar. 1923), p. 28.

123 Bulletin 21, no. 1 (Jan. 1927), p. 10, and 23, no. 6 (Sept. 1929), pp. 102–03.

124 Christa C. Mayer Thurman, *Textiles in the Art Institute of Chicago* (Chicago, 1992), pp. 6–7.

125 Other items include 1926.504, 1926.621, and 1934.417. *Bulletin* 17, no. 1 (Jan. 1923), p. 11.

126 Trustee minutes, vol. 9, p. 153.

127 Ibid., p. 160.

128 Ibid., vol. 6, p. 117.

129 Ibid., vol. 7, p. 175.

130 lbid., vol. 7, p. 82.

131 "Catalogue of Sculpture, 1920 and After," p. 161, AIC Archives.

132 Trustee minutes, vol. 6, p. 5.

133 Other major funds were established by Wirt D. Walker (1915), Edward E. Ayer (1920), Costa A. Pandaleon (1968), Harold L. Stuart (1981), and the Boshell Foundation (2004).

134 In the period 1975–2012, the museum bought twenty-seven pieces for the collection with funds from the Katherine

K. Adler Endowment, including 1975.328, 1978.115, 1978.308, 1979.350, 1981.11,
1984.1, 1986.1060, 1990.87, 1994.38.1–2,
1997.554.1–2, and 2002.11.

135 David Adler, will, sec. 2, C, David Adler Folder, Secretary of the Corporation Files, AIC Archives. The will created a trust establishing life incomes for his mother-in-law and brother-in-law; upon their deaths, these funds came to the Art Institute. On Adler, see also Richard Pratt, *David Adler* (New York, 1969), p. 3.

136 Annual Report, 1924, n.pag.

137 Unpaginated list of committees; Annual Report, 1928, and Kelley to Harshe, June 2, 1922, subject files, Classical Department, AIC Archives.

138 Ghenete Zelleke, "David Adler: Benefactor and Trustee," in *David Adler, Architect: The Elements of Style,* ed. Martha Thorne (Chicago, 2002), p. 62.

139 Trustee minutes, vol. 10, p. 238.

140 Zelleke, "David Adler," p. 63.

141 *Bulletin* 22, no. 9 (Dec. 1928), pp. 114–16.

142 Among them, *Bulletin* 23, no. 6 (Sept. 1929), pp. 102–03; 23, no. 8 (Nov. 1929), pp. 131–32; 23, no. 9 (Dec. 1929), pp. 148–49; and 24, no. 6 (Sept. 1930), pp. 74–75.

143 Bulletin 23, no. 1 (Jan. 1929), p. 12.

144 Trustee minutes, vol. 2, p. 169. Wace had previously excavated at Mycenae in the Peloponnesos and at Lake Kopias in Thessaly, and subsequently became Laurence Professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Cambridge.

145 "Miss Gentles assumes this is on indefinite Ioan." The Ioan of much of the material was translated into a gift in 1996. Shipping order signed by D. C. Rich, 1941, Department of Ancient and Byzantine Art files.

146 John Maxon, *The Art Institute* of Chicago (New York, 1970), p. 10.

147 Emily Teeter, "Egypt in Chicago: A Story of Three Collections," in *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, ed. Zahi Hawass, Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte, 39 (Cairo, 2010), pp. 303–14.

148 Wanda Odell, "Ancient Glass: The Mr. and Mrs. Theodore W. Robinson Collection, Gallery 5A, the Art Institute of Chicago," unpublished catalogue, Department of Ancient and Byzantine Art files. 149 Ibid., p. 1.

150 Edward E. Ayer was part of the Hutchinson-French-Ryerson coterie; on behalf of the Field Museum, he participated in foreign purchasing trips with them. See *Field Museum of Natural History Bulletin* 55, no. 7 (July– Aug. 1984), p. 5. Ayer established the fund in 1920 in honor of Hutchinson.

151 Palmer gave five glass pieces in 1960 (1960.16–20) and sixteen terracottas in 1967 (1967.1–16).

152 This includes 1970.1065, 1971.859–60, and 1972.1232–34.

153 Author to Sewell, Feb. 1986, Department of Ancient and Byzantine Art files.

154 These include 1987.245, 1990.187, 1999.263a-b, and 2002.11.

155 The Art Institute of Chicago, Handbook of Sculpture, Architecture, Painting, and Drawings (Chicago, 1920–23), part 1, maps, n.pag.

156 The Art Institute of Chicago, Illustrated Guide to the Collections of the Art Institute of Chicago ([Chicago], 1948), p. 4.

157 Transcript, interview with Sewell, curator of Oriental art, Jan. 26, 1984, Department of Ancient and Byzantine Art files.

158 "Ancient Art at the Art Institute of Chicago," special issue, *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 20, no. 1 (1994).

159 Other exhibitions include Death on the Nile, 2008; and When Things Become Other Things: Two Cameos from the Alsdorf Collection, 2010.

160 The galleries were designed by Kulapat Yantrasast/WHY Architecture.