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Museum Orientalism: East versus West in US American Museum Administration and Space, 1870-1910

By Logan Ward

Abstract : Although museums that display from all over the world are commonplace in both Europe and North America, their histories are much more complicated than meets the average visitor's eye. In fact, these "universal survey museums," like the Louvre, the British Museum, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, are based upon Roman traditions of displaying war trophies. As such, the original purpose of such museums was to attest to the greatness of the modern nation-state, and consequently construe the history of art as the history of the highest *European* civilizations. Thus, these museum's histories of collecting and exhibiting the arts of, for example, Asia or Africa requires critical consideration. Inspired greatly by Saidian Orientalism, this article describes and interprets how "East versus West" thinking and scholarship incorporated two early US American museums, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The East-West division influenced how both of these museums came to organize their administrations between experts on art history and experts on "the Orient." Furthermore, Orientalized juxtapositions, a feature of Hegelian art historical theory popular at the time, formulated how museums organized their exhibition spaces. By following the museum's gallery program, visitors enacted the evolution of civilization from Orient to Occident, and envisioned the differences between Western and Eastern arts as high and low respectively. This article primarily considers two juxtapositions: Greco-Roman traditions versus Egyptian traditions, and European paintings versus Oriental (East Asian) decorative arts.

Keywords: *Orientalism, Museum Studies, Decolonization, Universal Survey Museum*

Introduction

In the year 2021, it seems inevitable that when visiting a museum in Europe or North America, one will encounter art from all over the world. According to recent data from the Themed Entertainment Association, the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MET) and the Art Institute of Chicago rank among the most visited museums in North America.ⁱ While these two museums are geographically far, their models are similar. They are both “encyclopedic” or “universal survey” museums, meaning that they collect, display, and teach art without geographical or material limits. These museums’ audiences are made up heavily of tourists, making them global representatives of what a “good” museum looks like.ⁱⁱ

This model of museum is so common in Europe and North America today that it may feel mostly inconsequential to the average visitor. However, in its specific historical contexts, the universal survey museum imitated Roman displays of war trophies, attesting to imperial victory. As a foundational example, in the late 18th century, the Louvre’s architecture and display centered Greco-Roman traditions and envisioned the triumphs of the modern French nation-state while relegating Asian and African objects to obscure spaces.ⁱⁱⁱ Consequently, art history centered around Western civilization came to represent the greatest achievements of *all* humanity.^{iv}

With this in mind, the purpose of this article is to examine the role of Orientalism, or the division between and juxtaposition of Eastern and Western cultures, in the late 19th century formation of US American museums. I focus on two museums: the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA), and the MET. They were not only two of the earliest US American museums, but also two of the most prolific in solidifying a Euro-American version of the European museum archetype. I describe chronologically how these museums embraced Orientalism and

Orientalizing art historical narratives in order to convey how “East versus West” thinking strengthened in these museums over time.

Orientalism incorporated the US American museum in two specific ways: administration and space. Museums built connections with European, Euro-American, and Japanese Orientalists and Orientalist institutions. This consequently brought Orientalist scholarship into the museum. Museums divided their administrations to distinguish Orientalist expertise from Western art expertise. This further encouraged the East-West binary in museum interpretation. Simultaneously, Hegelian art history and Orientalism combined as museums taxonomized galleries into comparative spaces between “Western” and “Oriental” things. The museum embodied two primary juxtapositions: Greco-Roman versus Egyptian civilizations, and Western painting versus “Oriental” crafts. Space conveyed an Orientalized representation of the world that positioned the US and Europe as inheritors of high civilization and proliferators of fine art, while representing Asia, Egypt, and the Middle East as *other* to these ideals.

The Representational Connection between Orientalism and Museums

Orientalism is basically a style of thought that positions the West or “Occident” and the East or “Orient” against each other as opposing worlds. The “Occident” is primarily constituted by Western Europe and colonial states that arose from Western European empires such as the United States and Canada. The “Orient” is a mixture of Asia, the Middle East, and North Africa. Through Orientalism, the West appears as modern, rational, scientific, strong etc. while the East appears as antiquated, superstitious, spiritual, weak etc. Such juxtapositions situate the West as the superior entity against a supposedly inferior “Orient.”

Edward Said explained that the “Orient” as it appears through Orientalism is not a geocultural reality, but actually a Western *system of representations* of Asia.^v In other words, the

“Orient” is the Western idea, image, or vision of Asia. Eurocentric biases based on Western religious values and social norms informed these images. Such visions then validated European beliefs about Eastern inferiority and Western supremacy. Thus, thought and representation reproduced one another. Said called this process by which European interpreters imagine, create, or make representations of the “Orient,” *Orientalization*.

Supporting Orientalism as a style of thought was Orientalism as a European scholarly discipline. The discipline encompassed all things related to the study of “the Orient.” In the 18th century, European rationalism transformed Orientalism into a taxonomic, scientized, and secularized study of the Orient, focused mostly on ancient religious texts. European imperial expansion into Asia made it more accessible to scholars in any discipline. But, these studies were often highly edited, overly reliant on personal observation, and primarily compared the Orient to the West.^{vi} Field study demystified Orientalists’ visions of the Orient, and many viewed the modern Orient as degenerated from its glorious, classical past.^{vii} In the 19th century, modern education spread Orientalist literature, and Orientalism incorporated evolutionary theories like social Darwinism.^{viii} Thus, Western domination over the Orient became scientifically valid and historically inevitable.

While Orientalism in its many modes developed, German philosopher and aesthetician Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel’s (1770-1831) theory of art history also developed. Jean-Yves Heurtebise recently interpreted Hegel’s Orientalism, particularly his views of Chinese civilization as “child-like.”^{ix} Hegel periodized the history of art into three distinct developmental eras – the early period Symbolic, the middle period Classical, and the later period Romantic. He relegated the arts of Asia and North Africa into the earliest “symbolic” category. To Hegel, these cultures and their belief systems were not able to achieve his idealized “absolute idea,” of human

expression.^x He theorized that these cultures could not fully distinguish between the spiritual and material, nor completely understand the “universal spirit.” Hegel mostly ceases to consider Asian civilizations beyond this era, and continues his narrative with the Classical period that emphasized Greece and pre-Christian Rome, when and where art became more realistically representational, getting closer to his ideal of self-realization through art.

At their core, museums are institutions for representing people through objects. Universal survey museums distinctively attempt to represent the entire world under one roof. In addition to Eurocentrism, Western modern understandings of knowledge problematize universal survey museums’ representational missions. The assumption that knowledge was unified, objective, and something to be transferred from expert to novice predicated modern museum pedagogy. Eileen Hooper-Greenhill described how modern museums believed that properly arranging objects into specific disciplinary frameworks revealed universal truths.^{xi} This process of “museography” actively framed Western modernity. As Donald Preziosi asserted, by arranging objects in specific ways, museums were “disciplining modern populations to construe history as the unproblematized or even natural evolution or progression of styles, tastes, and attitudes from which one might imaginatively choose as one’s own.”^{xii} Visitors were to receive museum representations as absolute, and particular hegemonies seemed natural.

Orientalism and museums both created representations, construed them as universal, and used them to convey knowledge about people. Art historical theories like Hegel’s similarly assumed the distinction between Western and Eastern cultures and peoples. But, the relationship between these forces remains undiscussed. Said referenced museum displays as an Orientalist pedagogy but omitted any in-depth discussion.^{xiii} By the time that major universal survey museums like the MET and the MFA formed in the US, Orientalism was well-established as a

modern discipline, and its binaries were similarly formulating art historical theory. These contexts indicate that Orientalism likely played an important role in the formation of US American universal survey museums.

A History of Orientalism in the US American Museum 1870s

In the year 1870, the MFA incorporated in February, and the MET incorporated in April. Both museums' original missions envisioned themselves as a space for both education and exhibition.^{xiv} The MFA installed exhibitions at the Boston Athenaeum until its first building opened in 1876, and the MET installed exhibitions at several rented spaces until its building opened in 1880.^{xv}

Both museums' founders dreamed of replicating European museum models. The MFA founder and honorary director Charles Callahan Perkins (1823-1886) actively adapted the South Kensington Museum's and the Manchester Art Treasure Exhibitions' practices.^{xvi} In 1866, the Louvre likely inspired New York lawyer and first museum president John Jay (1817-1894), who proposed establishing the MET.^{xvii} In 1872, the MET trustees stated that they hoped to create an institution combining "the functions of the British National Gallery... the British Museum and the South Kensington Museum."^{xviii}

Along with European influence came Orientalism, specifically Egyptology. The MFA acquired its earliest Egyptian objects in 1872 through the Robert Hay Collection from Charles Granville Way (1841-1912). Robert Hay (1799-1863) was a Scottish Egyptologist who formed his collection during his residence in Egypt, 1828-1833. The museum displayed the collection at the Athenaeum, and the exhibition catalogue quoted Samuel Birch (1813-1885) the first Curator of Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum. Birch asserted that the collection's "chief

strengths” were its mummies and coffins.^{xix} The catalogue evaluated the 19th dynasty as the “period of Egypt’s greatest magnificence,” described how objects from later periods “show the influence of Greek and Roman art,” and used 10th century coins to remind the reader “that Egypt was finally conquered by the followers of [Muhammad]...” in 622, after which it stops discussing Egyptian history.^{xx}

Unlike the MFA, the MET connected to Orientalism through Anatolia and Cyprus. In 1872, US vice consul J. Abdo Debbas, native to the Ottoman Empire, donated the museum’s first object, a Roman-style sarcophagus from Tarsus.^{xxi} In 1874, the MET obtained the Collection of Cypriot Antiquities from Italian-American US consul in Cyprus and the museum’s first director Luigi Palma di Cesnola (also known as Louis, 1832-1904). At first, the museum viewed the Di Cesnola collection as Greek art, but, by 1878, the collection became important to demonstrating the “blending together, as well as possible, the Egyptian customs with the Greek ones,” in Ptolemaic (305-30 BC) material culture.^{xxii} Gaston L. Feuardent’s (1843-1893) interpretation of the collection focused on dichotomizing material-visual aspects of each object into either Egyptian or Greek influence.

Acquiring these collections formed relationships between US American museums and existing European Orientalist structures. The MFA not only benefitted materially and epistemically from European excavations in Egypt, but connected with perhaps the strongest regime of imperial knowledge to exist – the British Museum. Likewise, East-West political relations became integral to how museum collections expanded. As officials like US consuls in the Middle East, whether native or foreign, contributed to museums, museums became dependent on international policy in the Orient to grow.

These early endeavors also formulated how the museum would represent the Orient. Egypt was *ancient* Egypt, not modern Egypt. Egyptian history also demonstrated the extent of Greco-Roman power in the Orient, and the Middle East's demise to Islam, after which the museum ceased to discuss Egypt. Cypriot materials presented how Egyptian and Greek traditions *could* and *did* mix, but interpretation focused on separating visual-material qualities between the two, making Orient and Occident parallel categories.

1880s

After the MFA and MET opened their buildings, they began to taxonomize their space according to an Egypt-Greece/Rome binary. In 1876, Perkins explained that the MFA's Hay Collection was to be displayed in an Egyptian Room.^{xxiii} In 1879, Perkins referred to a Greek room and explained that "making the circuit of the rooms on the first floor... a peripatetic lecturer might now discourse upon the history of sculpture in Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and Rome, with examples before him of almost every phase of its rise and decline."^{xxiv} His statement indicates that the museum considered expertise and proper arrangement in its organization. The correct way to arrange objects was to situate each civilization into its own room on the same floor. This arrangement revealed a specific narrative of "rise and decline," in these civilizations, and helped a knowledgeable expert transmit this information to novices. Art history became more than a progression of styles; it taught that lesser civilizations succumb to greater ones, and that even great civilizations fall too.

When Harvard graduate Edward Robinson (1858-1931) came into the MFA as Curator of Classical Archaeology in the 1880s, he related similar hopes to complete the museum's collection of sculpture "to present, in an unbroken series, the whole history of the art of sculpture, from its beginning in Egypt and Assyria, through its progress in Greece and Rome, its

course in the Middle Ages, its revival, development, and decline in the Renaissance.”^{xxv}

Robinson’s intended arrangement reveals further Orientalizing influences – Hegelian art history. As the museum applied it, this perspective represented a particularly Orientalized perception of classical art history: Assyria and Egypt begin, but Greece and Rome progress. Like Hegel’s history, this narrative erases other material lineages rooted in Assyrian-Egyptian culture and centers European advancement. The Orient becomes important, but only in its deceased past and only as it relates to the Occident.

The MET seems to have placed the Cesnola Collection within its northern, eastern, and southern halls on the first floor when the building officially opened in 1880.^{xxvi} A review of the museum’s third handbook focused on the Cesnola Collection expressed that the museum’s arrangement grouped the objects “in almost every way calculated to bring out their resemblances and differences,” and demonstrated the “gradual transition from Orientalism to Hellenism in Cyprian Art.”^{xxvii} The author Alexander Duncan Savage’s (1851-1936) interpretation of the collection primarily uses the sculptures to determine when Phoenician or Greek culture predominated in Cyprus. Savage drew a distinction between what he calls Hellenistic – or Greek – and Oriental – including Assyrian, Egyptian, Phoenician-Semitic – influences in Cypriot material culture.^{xxviii} Ironically, he admitted that Greek culture during its early period received many Oriental influences.^{xxix} Savage never degraded the Phoenicians, who he proposed dominated Cyprus before the Greeks, or the perceived-Oriental attributes of the objects. But, he does distinguish an Oriental category composed of a conglomerate of *very different* peoples from a Greek category. And, this history explicitly narrated how Occidental traditions overtook Oriental traditions.

After Egypt came under British occupation in 1882, both the MET and the MFA gained better access to Egyptian materials. At the opening of the MFA building, Perkins lamented that the Egyptian government, then under Isma'il Pasha (1830-1895, Khedive 1863-1879), had halted exports of excavated materials.^{xxx} But, in 1885, the British Egyptian Exploration Fund (EEF) gave the largest donation to the museum “in acknowledgement of the American contributions to the [fund],” and continued to provide objects to the museum well into the 20th century.^{xxxi}

The MET continued to receive Egyptian antiquities from US American officials such as US representative to the International Court in Alexandria Victor Clay Barringer (1827-1896).^{xxxii} Canonical Orientalist literature also entered the museum such as the Napoleonic opus *Description de l’Egypte* (1809-1822) donated by the MET president John Taylor Johnston (1800-1886).^{xxxiii} In 1896, the MET dedicated its fourth handbook to the Egyptian antiquities displayed in hall three, marking the museum’s debut as deliverer of Egypt to the West on par with other European institutions.^{xxxiv}

1890s

The MET’s 1894 gallery guide demonstrates how the museum organized the Orientalism to Occidentalism transition narrative into its space (Figure 1). The numerical gallery sequence begins with Assyrian, Egyptian, Phoenician and Archaic Greek materials (galleries 3-7), follows with Greco-Roman sculpture (galleries 8-9), and finishes with Renaissance European sculpture (gallery 10). The remaining galleries (galleries 13-15) mostly displayed Western materials. Through this taxonomy of space, the visitor enacted the evolution of civilization from Egypt to Europe. Egypt and the Middle East became the beginning of civilization, but Greece and Rome became progressors of civilization. Like Robinson’s MFA arrangement a decade before, the MET’s arrangement clearly follows the Hegelian evolution from symbolic cultures, contextually

Oriental, to more realistically representational cultures, contextually Occidental. The first floor juxtaposed East and West as two worlds: Orient as the east side, Occident as the west side.

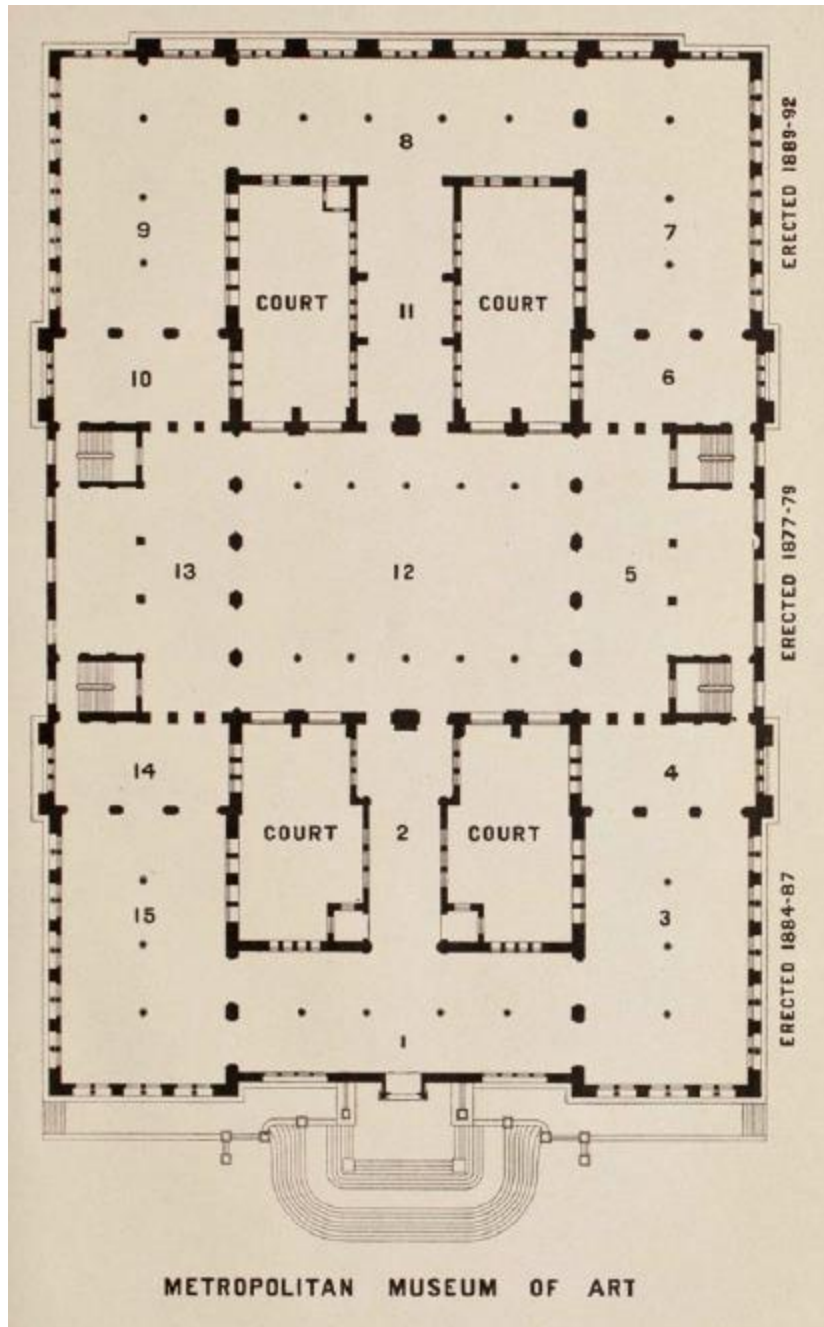


Figure 1: Map of the Metropolitan Museum of Art First Floor from, *Guide to the Halls and Galleries of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1894). The index labels the galleries as follows: 1. Hall of Modern Statuary, 2. Corridor of Wrought Iron and Bronzes, 3. Hall of Cypriot and Egyptian Antiquities, 4. Pavilion of Greek and Cypriot Terra Cottas, 5. Hall of Sarcophagi and Cypriot Statuary, 6. Pavilion of Egyptian Sculptural Casts, 7. Hall of Assyrian and Archaic Greek Sculptural Casts, 8. Hall of Greek Sculptural Casts (not yet open to the public), 9. Hall of Hellenistic Greek, Roman, and Renaissance Sculptural Casts (not yet open to the public), 10. Pavilion of Italian and German Renaissance Sculptural Casts (not yet open to the public), 11. Corridor of Ancient and Mediaeval Bronze Reproductions, 12. Hall of Willard Architectural Casts, 13. Hall of Willard Architectural Casts, 14. Pavilion of Carved Wood, and Greek and Roman Antiquities, 15. Hall of Ancient Pottery and Glass.

In 1896, the museum mourned the death of its Curator of Sculpture Isaac Hollister Hall (1837-1896).^{xxxv} Hall originally deciphered the inscriptions on the Cesnola collection's Cypriot materials. The *in memoriam* reveals his ties to the American Oriental

Society and the American College in Beirut. Hall's interpretative approach emphasized Orientalized divisions. In the museum's second handbook of the Cesnola collection, he

distinguished Oriental and Greco-Roman “national idea[s].”^{xxxvi} Hall edited *False Gods; Or, the Idol Worship of the World* (1881) in which the preface states that, “[the author] sincerely hopes that by [the book’s] perusal his readers will be led to an increased appreciation of the infinite superiority of Christianity to all other religions; and that they may find a deepened interest in the welfare of the heathen world.”^{xxxvii}

During the 1890s, the MFA and the MET considered more seriously the “Far East,” or China, Japan, and Korea. Both museums began acquiring diverse materials of East Asian origin during the 1880s.^{xxxviii} When they received large collections of ceramics in the 1890s, their need to properly arrange and incorporate expertise on these objects accelerated.

In 1895, a loan exhibition of Chinese porcelain from Charles A. Garland prompted the MET to publish a catalogue on Chinese ceramics. John Getz primarily compiled and summarized French and British texts on the topic, including historical records translated from Chinese.^{xxxix} He focused on tracing the aesthetic and technical progress of Chinese ceramics. He labeled the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) as the height of porcelain, and blamed recent events like the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864) for the recent “diminished excellence” of Chinese porcelain.^{xl} Getz’s interpretation primarily reduces the ceramics to their aesthetic and technical attributes. He only mentions tributary traditions and class distinctions as sidenotes to his discussion.^{xli}

The MET placed East Asian ceramics alongside Western decorative art in small galleries in the back of the second floor (Figure 2). Entering the floor, the visitor began in a large gallery of modern (Western) paintings or “old masters.” To reach the museum’s decorative arts, the visitor wound a path through either temporary exhibitions or musical instruments and Euro-American antiquities. The museum situated Chinese ceramics in a hallway connecting the two main programs of European paintings (gallery three), and to a small gallery in the northeast

corner of the floor (gallery 17). Japanese art appeared in three galleries, one each for metalwork, ceramics, and “objects of Japanese art, etc.” Along with Western art forms typically created by women and working-class artists, East Asian art served as an ornament to the museum’s main program of Western fine art – relegated to an obscure space as a footnote to the history of art.

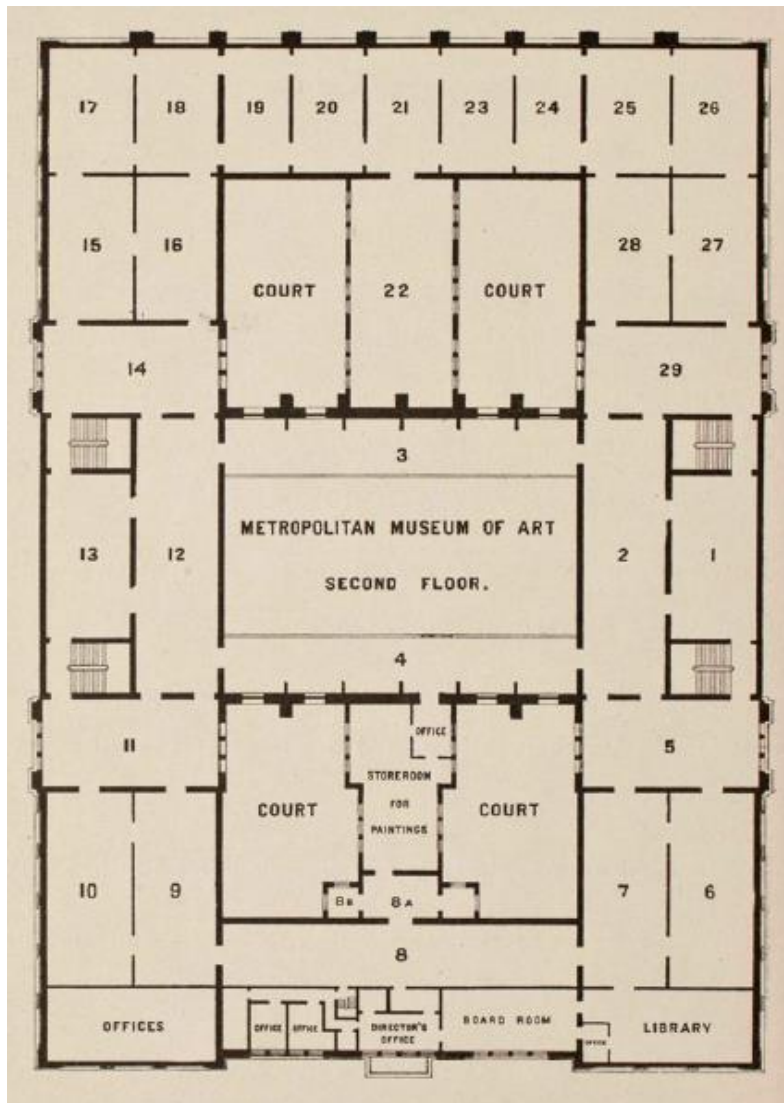


Figure 2: Map of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Second Floor from, *Guide to the Halls and Galleries of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1894). The index labels the galleries as follows: 1. Gallery of Paintings by Old Masters, 2. Gallery of Paintings, 3. Gallery of Chinese Porcelain, 4. Gallery of Drawings by Old Masters, Etching and Photographs, 5. Gallery of Paintings, 6. Marquand Gallery of Paintings by Old Masters of the Dutch and English Schools, 7. Gallery of Paintings, 8. Coles Gallery, 8a., 8b. Alcove of Water Color Paintings, 9. Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Gallery of Paintings, 10. Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Gallery of Paintings, 11. Gallery of Memorials of Washington, Franklin and Lafayette, 12. Gallery of Modern Paintings, 13. Gallery of Modern Paintings, 14. Gallery of Metallic Reproductions, 15. Gallery of the E. C. Moore Bequest, 16. Reserved Gallery of Temporary Exhibits, 17. Gallery of Chinese Porcelain, 18. Gallery of Objects of Japanese Art, etc. 19. Gallery of Old Laces, 20. Gallery of Japanese Bronzes and Pottery, 21. Gallery of Japanese Porcelain, 22. Gallery of Gold and Silver, Gems, Miniatures, Cylinders, Coins, etc. 23. Gallery of Fans and Textile Fabrics, 24. Gallery of European Porcelain, 25. Gallery of Oriental and European Ivories, 26. Gallery of Miscellaneous Objects, 27. Gallery of Musical Instruments, 28. Gallery of Musical Instruments, 29. Gallery of American Antiquities.

The 1890s at the MFA sprouted the longest scholarly lineage of Euro-American Orientalists of East Asia in museums. Predominantly, four men contributed to the MFA’s East Asian collection during the 1880s and 90s: William Sturgis Bigelow (1850-1926), Ernest Francisco Fenollosa (1853-1908), Edward Sylvester Morse (1838-1925), and Charles Goddard

Weld (1857-1911). Morse connected the four together as the original Euro-American Orientalist of Japan from whom Bigelow, Fenollosa, and Weld learned. Bigelow and Weld primarily contributed to MFA's collection, but Morse and Fenollosa played more active roles in shaping museum practice.

Originally a zoologist, Morse went to Japan in the 1870s to study brachiopods, and history credits him for bringing archaeology and anthropology to Japan.^{xlii} Morse taught at Tokyo Imperial University and collected East Asian ceramics. His book *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings* (1885) became one of the first Euro-American texts about Japanese culture.^{xliii} Morse donated much of his collection of ceramics to the MFA during the 1880s and 90s. The museum began listing him as "Keeper of Japanese Pottery" in 1891.^{xliv}

Fenollosa directly followed in Morse's footsteps. In 1878, Fenollosa quit the MFA's School of Fine Arts, and went to teach at Tokyo Imperial University alongside Morse. He became interested in preserving traditional Japanese culture against the rapid Westernization of Japanese society amidst Meiji era (1868-1912) policies. During the 1880s and 90s, Fenollosa preached his aesthetic theories and funded exhibitions of traditional Japanese art, particularly painting and *ukiyo-e*, in the US.^{xlv}

In 1890, the museum employed Fenollosa as Curator of the Japanese Department, a title that contrasts with those of other curators at the time. Robinson continued to serve as Curator of Classical Antiquities, and the museum employed Sylvester Rosa Koehler (1837-1900) as Curator of the Print Department. These titles imply distinct approaches between the management of Western and Eastern arts. While Robinson and Koehler's titles emphasize materiality, Fenollosa's emphasizes geography and culture. Contextually, Robinson's curatorial duties encompassed a large area of the world but based in a specific discipline – archaeology. Koehler's

curatorial duties were even more specific to prints and similar materials. Fenollosa on the other hand dedicated himself to *all things* Japanese, and contextually *all things* East Asian. Unlike Western art, the museum approached East Asian art through geocultural generality. The curator need not be trained in a relevant museum discipline, but merely someone with personal experience and affinity. Euro-American Orientalists as curators were self-made generalists of their focus areas, not academically disciplined scholars like the curators of Western arts.

Fenollosa's interpretation of East Asian art compared to other Orientalist work was more positive, though not free of Orientalization. In 1892, he argued that Southern Song (1127-1279) painting was equivalent to Greco-Roman and Renaissance Italian art and condemned the idea that Japanese art was only decorative.^{xlvi} However, he explicated his idea of an East Asian "soul," that he believed had been lost, like Greco-Roman tradition, in modern art. According to Fenollosa, only living Japanese artists could recapture this "soul." Fenollosa's East Asian "soul" seems to be an inherent sense of beauty, nature, or purity carried from Southern Song to Japanese painting traditions.

On the surface Fenollosa is complimenting East Asian art, but Orientalized assumptions are embedded in his claim. He generalizes that there exists a universal, inherent trait among all East Asian artistic traditions. This trait is premodern, mystic, natural etc. overall highly aestheticized and antithetical to Western modern society. Some contemporary scholars refer to this sentiment as "antimodernism" rather than Orientalism, but "antimodernist Orientalism" is a more accurate description.^{xlvi} Although praiseful, Fenollosa interpreted "true" East Asia as everything *other* to the West and modernity. He diminished East Asian art to an apolitical, purely aesthetic, though not solely decorative, and generalized tradition, while emphasizing its modern deterioration from a greater, past civilization. Finally, Fenollosa's emphasis on modern Japan's

role as caretaker of this “soul” indicates the beginning of Japanocentric bias in Euro-American museums.^{xlviii}

The addition of Fenollosa to the MFA’s staff fundamentally changed how the museum and Orientalism related to one another. The museum was no longer only an Orientalist resource, allowing Orientalists to access its collections for research. The museum now maintained positions and spaces specifically for Orientalists, who actively produced knowledge in the museum. The museum became an Orientalist institution.

1900s

In the 1900s, The MFA and MET continued to structure their layouts around the East-West binary. The right side of the MFA’s first floor begins the Egyptian and Assyrian sculptural casts (Figure 3). These objects take up one room before a sequence of galleries representing the progression from Greco-Roman to European Renaissance art. Like the MET earlier, the visitor enacted the civilizational evolution from Orient to Occident. Egyptian and Greek antiquities juxtaposed each other in parallel galleries. The MFA achieved Perkins and Robinson’s vision of the history of sculpture – the history of Western civilization as advancement from the Orient into European high culture.

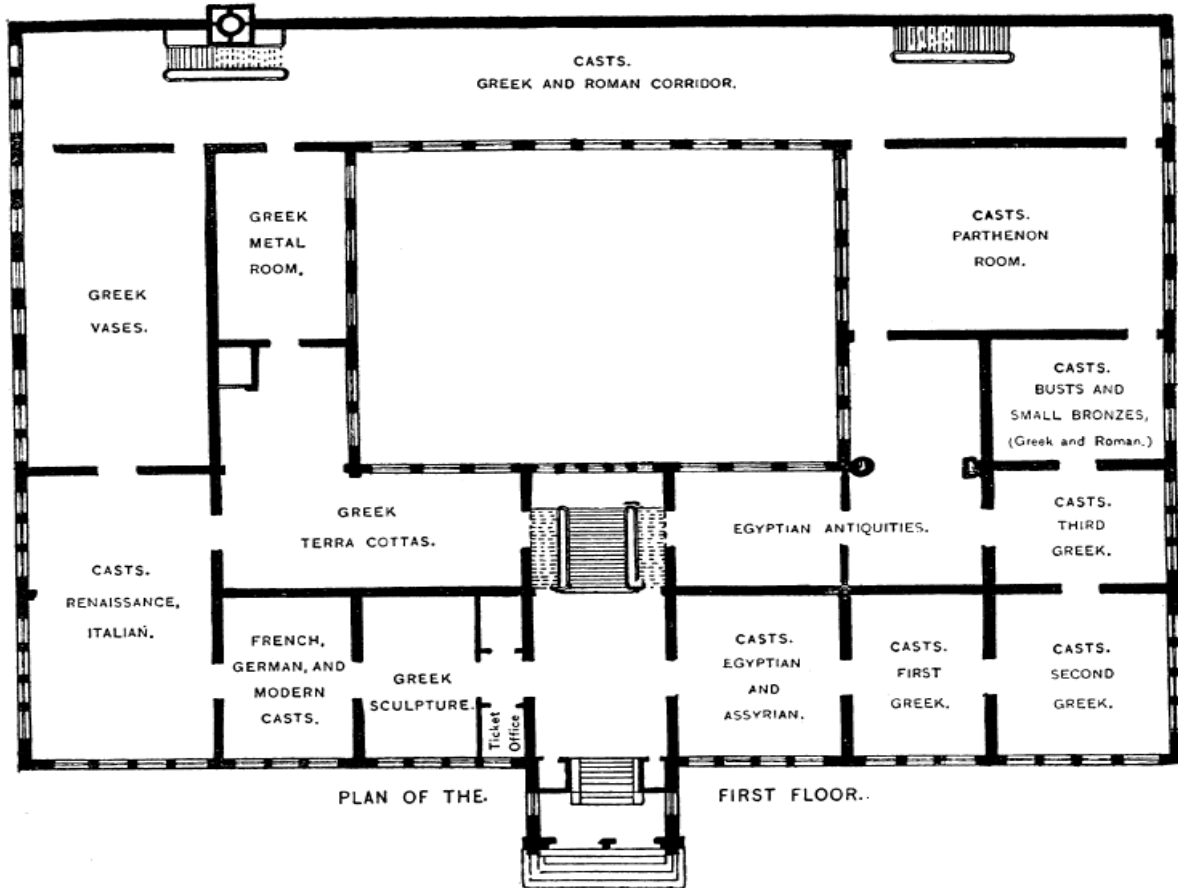


Figure 3: Plan of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston First Floor from, "Back Matter," *Museum of Fine Art Bulletin* 1, No. 3 (1903): 22.

At the MET, the visitor now entered from the east, but followed a sequence beginning with modern sculpture (Figure 4). Egyptian and Cypriot antiquities adorned the halls (galleries 13-15) leading into the museum's main program. Sculptures began to the right in a small gallery displaying Egyptian and Persian casts, followed by Greco-Roman and European casts. Egypt and Persia became the ancient Orient overtaken by the progressive Occident – the standard museum narrative.

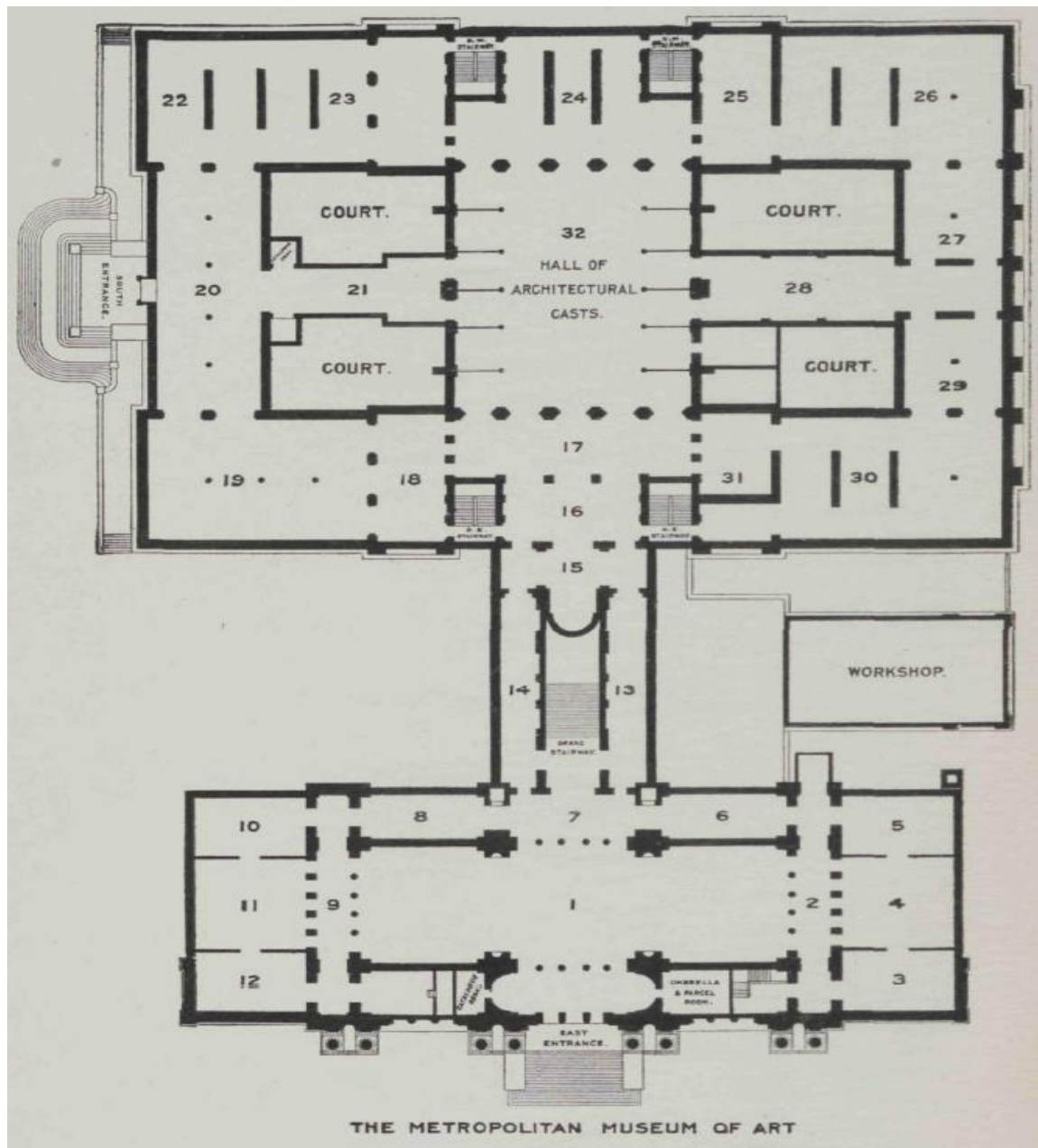


Figure 4: Map of the Metropolitan Museum of Art First Floor from, *Guide to the Halls and Galleries of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1904). The index labels the galleries as follows: 1. Hall of Modern Statuary, 2. Corridor of Modern Statuary, 3. Exhibition Room, 4. The Huntington Collection of Memorials of Washington, Franklin and Lafayette, 5. American Antiquities, 6. American Antiquities, 7. Modern Bronze Sculptures, 8. Etruscan and Greek Antiquities, 9. Corridor of Modern Statuary, 10. Mural Paintings from Boscoreale, 11. Exhibition Room, 12. Furniture Room, 13. Egyptian Antiquities, 14. Cypriot Antiquities, 15. Cypriot and Egyptian Antiquities, 16. Architectural Plaster Casts, 17. Architectural Plaster Casts, 18. Cypriot Antiquities, 19. Cypriot Antiquities, 20. Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern Glass, 21. Plaster Casts and Della Robbia Sculptures, 22. Plaster Casts of German and Flemish Renaissance Sculptures, 23. Plaster Casts of Italian Renaissance Sculptures, 24. Plaster Casts of French Mediaeval and Renaissance Sculptures, 25. Plaster Casts of Greco-Roman and Roman Sculpture, 26. Plaster Casts of Pergamene, Hellenistic and Hellenic Sculptures, 27. Plaster Casts of Parthenon and Attic Sculptures, 28. Skopas Sculptural Casts in Plaster and Herculeum Reproductions of Bronze, 29. Plaster Casts of Olympian Sculptures, 30. Plaster Casts of Archaic Greek and Assyrian Sculptures, 31. Plaster Casts of Egyptian and Persian Sculptures, 32. Architectural Plaster Casts and Models.

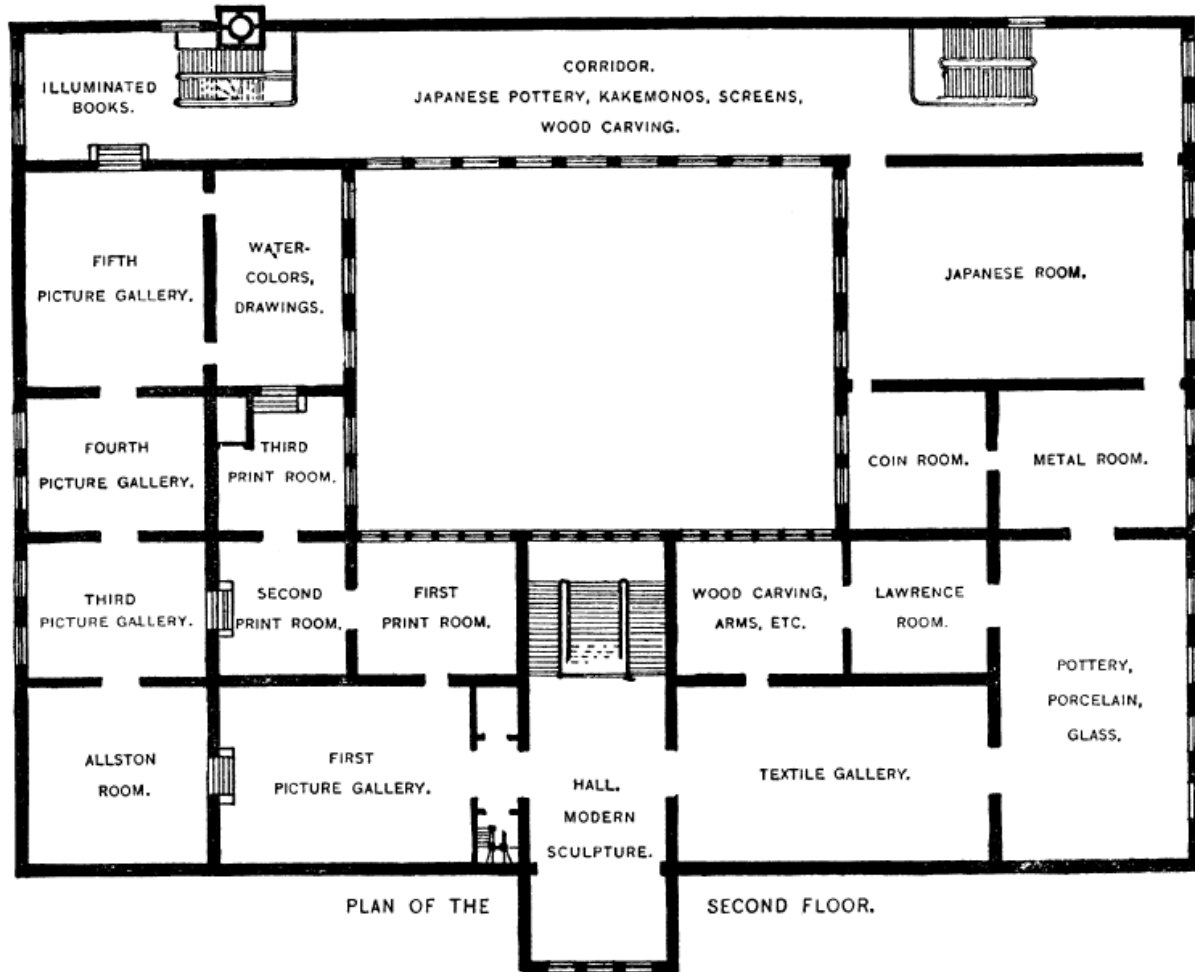
With the new century came both museums' Departments of Egyptian Art. The MFA department formed in 1902, employing Albert Morton Lythgoe (1868-1934) as curator.^{xlix} Lythgoe began training in Egyptology under Alfred Wiedemann (1856-1936) in Bonn, Germany after graduating from Harvard in 1897.¹ He became Harvard's Egyptology teacher for a year in 1898 before excavating in Egypt under Harvard-trained George Andrew Reisner Jr. (1867-1942). His first report to the museum focused on his plans to reorganize the display, but ends with the following:

“It is a fact well-known to those living and working in Egypt that the systemic plundering of the tombs and cemeteries *by the natives*, which has gone on continuously since the middle of the last century, and the scattering broadcast of the antiquities *by the travelers* to whom they are sold, has resulted in such a depletion of the antiquities of the country that the time is not far distant when it will be practically an impossibility to hope to add to our collections to any considerable extent...” (emphasis added)^{li}

Lythgoe Orientalizes modern Egyptians as thieves “plundering” the history of their own land and disparages the people who purchase from them, likely Westerns like Lythgoe. Apparently, Westerners excavating and exporting Egyptian materials to Western museums was acceptable, but Egyptians doing the same for their livelihood was not.

Lythgoe moved to the MET in November, 1906, a month before the museum's own Egyptian excavations began.^{lii} The announcement thanked the Egyptian government for its “liberality not to be found in other ancient lands,” allowing “foreign institutions” settlements to excavate and export ancient materials. Contextually, the “Egyptian government” refers to the administration under Khedive Abbas II Helmy Bey (1874-1944), heavily advised by British Consul-General Lord Cromer (Evelyn Baring, 1841-1917). British occupation of Egypt continued to reap benefits for Western museums. The following year, Lythgoe published several articles on the museum's first Egyptian excavation.^{liii}

Both museums continued to display East Asian art on their second floors juxtaposed to European painting. The MFA's "Japanese corridor" connected the high and low arts, displaying a variety of objects, including paintings (Figure 5). The decision to present East Asian paintings in the corridor rather than with the European schools implies that medium was secondary to "Orientalness." The "Japanese room" positioned with the galleries of craft art similarly reflects the Orientalized "decorativeness," or "lowliness," of East Asian art. The museum placed materials of Persian, Gandharan, and Tibetan origins in these galleries as well.^{liv} "Japanese" was a misnomer for the galleries, as the museum consistently displayed Chinese and Korean objects there. Asia continued as a sidenote to the history of art, and Japan maintained the center.



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Figure 5: Plan of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Second Floor from, "Back Matter," *Museum of Fine Art Bulletin* 1, No. 3 (1903): 22.

The MFA's Japanese department underwent drastic changes during the 1900s. The museum dismissed Fenollosa in 1895 due to his divorce and remarriage, and brought in American painter and Fenollosa's former student Arthur Wesley Dow (1857-1922) as Keeper of Japanese Paintings and Prints.^{lv} In 1899, the museum replaced Dow with Walter Mason Cabot (1872-?), the museum's Boston Atheneum representative James Elliot Cabot's (1821-1903) nephew, as Curator of the Japanese Department.^{lvi} Cabot resigned in 1902, and the museum replaced him with American painter Paul Chalfin (1874-1959) before renaming the department

to “Department of Chinese and Japanese Art,” and retitling Chalfin’s position similarly in 1903.^{lvii} This series of artists as curators reflects the trend of Orientalist expertise as affinity. Neither Dow nor Chalfin traveled to Asia, let alone Japan, nor did they study Japanese art as a career. Instead, both drew interest in Japanese art through *Japonisme*.^{lviii} Unfortunately, no specific information about Cabot’s interests has been found.

Morse and Fenollosa’s lineage continued beyond Dow. In 1904, the MFA brought in Okakura Kakuzō (Tenshin, 1863-1913), Fenollosa’s former assistant in Japan, founder of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, and avid activist for *nihonga*, as departmental adviser.^{lix} Although Japanese, Okakura espoused Orientalist and Japanese nationalist assumptions about Western versus Eastern and Japanese versus other Asian civilizations.^{lx} His book *Ideals of the East with Special Reference to the Art of Japan* (1903) theorized an “Asiatic consciousness,” that Japan “has the privilege to realize... [as] the real repository of the trust of Asiatic thought and culture.”^{lxi} In an MFA article, he referenced “the Occidental world,” while arguing that “Japanese and Chinese art require to be interpreted from within like European art.”^{lxii} In 1910, Okakura became full curator of the department.^{lxiii}

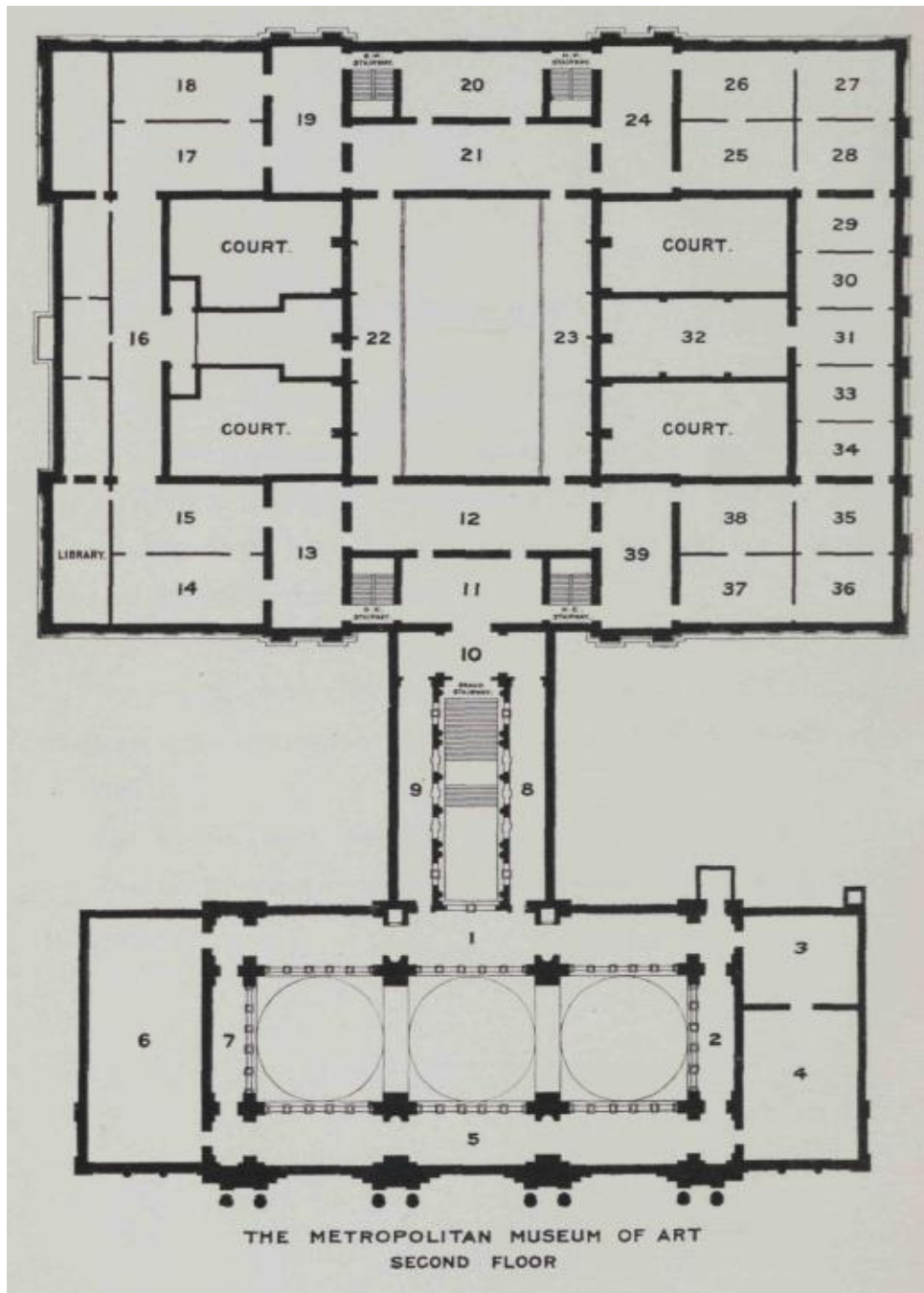


Figure 6: Map of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Second Floor from, *Guide to the Halls and Galleries of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1904). The index labels the galleries as follows: 1. Oriental Collection, 2. Exhibition Gallery (not yet occupied), 3. Exhibition Gallery (not yet occupied), 4. The Heber R. Bishop Collection of Jade, 5. European Porcelain, 6. Collection of Chinese Porcelain, loaned by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, 7. Japanese Lacquers and Bronzes, 8. Collection of Japanese Armor, 9. The Clarence Cary (loaned) Collection of Chinese Porcelain and Bronzes, 10. Exhibition Gallery (not yet occupied), 11. Gallery of Paintings: Dutch and Flemish Schools, 12. Gallery of Paintings: Dutch and Flemish Schools, 13. Gallery of Paintings, 14. Gallery of Paintings: Marquand Collection of Old Masters and Pictures of the Early English Schools, 15. Gallery of Paintings: Hearn Collection, 16. Gallery of Paintings, 17. Gallery of Paintings: Wolfe Collection, 18. Gallery of Paintings: Wolfe

Collection, 19. Gallery of Paintings, 20. Gallery of Paintings, 21. Gallery of Paintings, 22. Drawings by Old Masters, 23. Collection of Iron and Bronze, 24. Metallic Reproductions, 25. Exhibition Gallery: Temporary Exhibition of Paintings, 26. Gallery of the E. C. Moore Bequest, 27. Gallery of Chinese Porcelain, 28. Arms and Armor, 29. Old Laces, 30. Japanese Porcelain and Objects of Art, 31. Chinese and Japanese Pottery and Porcelain, 32. Gallery of Gold and Silver, Gems, Miniatures, Cylinders, Coins, etc., 33. Embroideries and Fans, 34. Miscellaneous Objects of Art, 35. Musical Instruments, presented by Mrs. John Crosby Brown, 36. Musical Instruments, presented by Mrs. John Crosby Brown, 37. Musical Instruments, presented by Mrs. John Crosby Brown, 38. Musical Instruments, presented by Mrs. John Crosby Brown, 39. Musical Instruments, presented by Mrs. John Crosby Brown.

At the MET, what were once small galleries of decorative art became even more tangential as the second-floor program's orientation switched from south to east (Figure 6). The balcony hallways situated the museum's "Oriental collection" and European porcelain as parallels. In 1910, assistant curator of decorative arts Garret Chatfield Pier (1875-1943) interpreted that 17th-19th century Japanese textiles in gallery seven demonstrated how "the Oriental, working with wooden tools, has attained results which fairly equal, if they do not at times surpass, the work of his Western rival."^{lxiv} As such, the museum pits West and East against one another, even when the two are not actually competing.

Conclusion

The MFA opened its new building in 1909 with a similar program as before.^{lxv} The year after, the museum created an honorary curatorial position for Western art, further dividing administration between East and West.^{lxvi} Interestingly, the museum's Western art section included Islamic arts.^{lxvii} Connecting the two museums, Edward Robinson transferred to the MET and became its third director by 1910.^{lxviii} Thereafter, the MET created its department of Far Eastern Art in 1915, curated by Dutch "connoisseur of Oriental ceramics," Sigisburt Chrétien Bosch Reitz (1860-1938).^{lxix} Durr Friedley (1888-1938) Curator of Decorative arts managed other Asian arts at the MET.^{lxx}

Beyond the MFA and MET, representing the Orient became a key US American museum function. In 1896, the University of Chicago established the Haskell Oriental Museum with aid from the EEF.^{lxxi} By 1904, Charles Lang Freer (1854-1919) pledged funding to the federal government for a building to house his collection of American painting and Asian ceramics.^{lxxii} In 1914, Cleveland founded its art museum with specific plans to collect Oriental art in China and India.^{lxxiii}

As Said quoted Benjamin Disraeli's *Tancred* (1847), by the 20th century, the East was a *museum* career.^{lxxiv} Orientalism was the spatial taxonomy and administrative structure of the MFA and MET. With Hegelian influence, the West was the history of art, reflective of the history of civilization. The East was the West's genesis – since disappeared – or the West's ornament – beautiful, but *other* to Western modernity. Orientalists in the museum were primarily aficionados, aside from archaeologists, holding Orientalized beliefs about the East. They and the museum envisioned the East and the West as separate, parallel, rivaled, juxtaposed worlds. Simultaneously, European imperial expansion in the Orient benefitted US American museums materially and epistemically. Thus, the museum became an Orientalist institution.

Endnotes

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- ⁱ Judith Rubin, *TEA/AECOM 2019 Theme Index and Museum Index: The Global Attractions Attendance Report* (Themed Entertainment Association and AECOM, 2019), 93.
- ⁱⁱ In the fiscal year 2019, half of the MET's visitor basis was made up of New York City or New York tri-state area residents, while another half was made up of international and out-of-state visitors. See: "The Met Welcomed More than 7 million Visitors in Fiscal Year 2019," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, last modified on July 10, 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/press/news/2019/fy-2019-attendance>.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum," in *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Texts* edited by Bettina Messias Carbonell, (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 52.
- ^{iv} Duncan and Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum," 63.
- ^v Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House Inc., 1978), 2-3, 21-22, 40, 62-63, 115, 202-203, 272-273.
- ^{vi} Said, *Orientalism*, 2, 12, 20-23, 73, 150, 202, 255.
- ^{vii} Said, *Orientalism*, 52, 121.
- ^{viii} Said, *Orientalism*, 206-207, 221.
- ^{ix} Jean-Yves Heurtebise, "Hegel's Orientalist Philosophy of History and its Kantian Anthropological Legacy," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 44, No. 3-4 (2019): 178.
- ^x Michael Hatt and Charlotte Klonk, "Hegel and the Birth of Art History," in *Art History: A Critical Introduction to its Methods* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 24, 26.
- ^{xi} Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, "Exhibitions and Interpretation: Museum Pedagogy and Cultural Change," in *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 127.
- ^{xii} Donald Preziosi, "Brain of the Earth's Body: Museums and the Framing of Modernity," in *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Texts* edited by Bettina Messias Carbonell, (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 74.
- ^{xiii} Said, *Orientalism*, 165-166.
- ^{xiv} See: James Moske, "Today in MET History: May 13," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, last modified on April 13, 2010, <https://www.metmuseum.org/blogs/now-at-the-met/features/2010/today-in-met-history-april-13>; See: "Founders and Benefactors," Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, accessed on July 27, 2021, <https://www.mfa.org/give/founders-and-benefactors>.
- ^{xv} See: "History of the Museum: The MET," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed on July 27, 2021, <https://www.metmuseum.org/about-the-met/history>; See: "About the MFA," Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, accessed on July 27, 2021, <https://www.mfa.org/about>.
- ^{xvi} The South Kensington Museum is now the Victoria & Albert Museum; Deborah Hartry Stein, "Charles Callahan Perkins: Early Italian Renaissance Art and British Museum Practice in Boston," *Journal of Art Historiography*, No. 18 (2018): 23.
- ^{xvii} "Note," *Annual Report of the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, No. 1 (1871): i.
- ^{xviii} "To the Members of the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Annual Report of the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, No. 2 (1872): 23.
- ^{xix} *Second Catalogue of the Collection of Ancient and Modern Works of Art, Given or Loaned to the Trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts, at Boston, Now on Exhibition in the Picture Gallery of the Atheneum* (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1873), 4.
- ^{xx} *Second Catalogue of the Collection of Ancient and Modern Works of Art*, 5-6.
- ^{xxi} See: Melissa Bowling, "This Weekend in MET History: November 21," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, last modified on November 19, 2010, <https://www.metmuseum.org/blogs/now-at-the-met/Features/2010/This-Weekend-in-Met-History-November-21>.
- ^{xxii} "To the Members of: The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Annual Report of the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, No. 4 (1874): 54; Gaston L. Feuardent, *The Cesnola Collection and the De Morgan Collection: Papers Communicated to the American Numismatic and Archeological Society* (New York: The American Numismatic and Archeological Society, 1878), 4.
- ^{xxiii} "Proceedings at the Opening of the Museum," *Annual Report for the Year (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)* 1, (1876): 10.
- ^{xxiv} Charles Callahan Perkins, "Report of the Committee of the Museum," *Annual Report for the Year (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)* 4, (1879): 6.
- ^{xxv} Edward Robinson, "From the Report of Mr. Edward Robinson, Curator of the Department of Classical Antiquities," *Annual Report for the Year (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)* 12, (1887): 12-13.

- ^{xxvi} “To the Members of: the Metropolitan Museum of Art,” *Annual Report of the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, No. 10 (1880): 165.
- ^{xxvii} Thomas Davidson, review of *Metropolitan Museum of Art, Handbook 3: Sculptures of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the East Entrance Hall and North Aisle*, by A. D. Savage, *The American Art Review* (May 1881): 34.
- ^{xxviii} Alexander Duncan Savage, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, Handbook 3: Sculptures of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the East Entrance Hall and North Aisle* (New York: The Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1880), 3-4.
- ^{xxix} Savage, *Sculptures of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities*, 6.
- ^{xxx} “Proceedings at the Opening of the Museum,” 10.
- ^{xxxi} Now the Egypt Exploration Society. British author of *A Thousand Miles up the Nile* (1877) Amelia Edwards (1831-1892) and British Museum Orientalist Reginald Stuart Poole (1832-1895) founded the non-profit in 1882; Charles Callahan Perkins, “Report of the Committee on the Museum for 1885,” *Annual Report for the Year (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)* 10, (1885): 8.
- ^{xxxii} For more on Barringer’s work and life in Alexandria, see: Kellen Funk, “An American Lawyer in Egypt, 1876,” last modified February 11, 2016, <https://kellenfunk.org/field-code/an-american-lawyer-in-egypt-1876/>.
- ^{xxxiii} John Taylor Johnston and Louis P. Di Cesnola, “To the Members of: The Metropolitan Museum of Art,” *Annual Report of the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, No. 16 (1885): 319.
- ^{xxxiv} Charles Ripley Gillett, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Handbook No. 4: Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities in Hall III* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1896).
- ^{xxxv} Henry G. Marquand and Louis P. Di Cesnola, “Report of the Trustees for the Year: 1896,” *Annual Report of the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, No. 27 (1896): 680-681.
- ^{xxxvi} Isaac Hollister Hall, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, Handbook No. 2: The Terracottas and Pottery of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in Halls 4 and 15* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1895), ii.
- ^{xxxvii} Frank S. Dobbins, Sylvester Wells Williams, and Isaac Hall, “Preface,” in *False Gods; Or, the Idol Worship of the World: A Complete History of Idolatrous Worship throughout the World, Ancient and Modern: Describing the Strange Beliefs, Practices, Superstitions, Temples, Idols, Shrines, Sacrifices, Domestic Peculiarities, Etc., Etc. Connected Therewith* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Bros. Publishers, 1881), vi.
- ^{xxxviii} Due to European and Euro-American ignorance, many objects that came in during this time labelled as Chinese or Japanese may have actually been of Korean or other Asian origins. It is an ongoing project in Europe and North America to re-evaluate and properly label such objects; The MET was bequeathed a large collection of Japanese ceramics from Stephen Whitney Phoenix (1839-1881) in 1881, and dedicated its north gallery of the large hall to Oriental porcelain when it opened. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, Handbook No. 5: Oriental Porcelains in the North Gallery of the Large Hall* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1880).
- ^{xxxix} John Getz, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: A Handbook of a Collection of Chinese Porcelain Loaned by James A. Garland* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1895), 3-4.
- ^{xl} Getz, *Handbook*, 10, 16.
- ^{xli} Getz, *Handbook*, 6-7.
- ^{xlii} *Encyclopedia Britannica*, “Edward Sylvester Morse, American Zoologist,” last modified on February 14, 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Edward-Sylvester-Morse>.
- ^{xliii} Edward Sylvester Morse, *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings* (New York: Harper, 1885).
- ^{xliv} “Officers and Committees for 1892,” *Annual Report for the Year (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)* 16, (1891): 67.
- ^{xlv} *Ukiyo-e* are Japanese woodblock prints of the early 19th century.
- ^{xlvi} Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, “The Significance of Oriental Art,” *The Knight Errant* 1, No. 3 (1892): 66-67, 69.
- ^{xlvii} For Western antimodernism and East Asian antiquities, see: Kyunghee Pyun, “Asian Art in the Eyes of American Collectors, 1880-1920: Antimodernism and Exotic Desire,” *Journal of Contemporary Art Studies* 15, No. 2 (2011): 245-282; Thomas W. Kim, “Being Modern: The Circulation of Oriental Objects,” *American Quarterly* 58, No. 2 (2006): 379-406.
- ^{xlviii} See: Logan Ward, “Colonial Connections: Interpreting and Representing Korea through Art and Material Culture at the Cleveland Museum of Art (1914-1945),” (Master’s Thesis, The Ohio State University, 2021).
- ^{xlix} Samuel D. Warren, “Report of the Executive Committee,” *Annual Report for the Year (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)* 27, (1902): 17.
- ¹ Edward Robinson, “Report of the Director,” *Annual Report for the Year (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)* 27, (1902): 41.
- ⁱⁱ Albert M. Lythgoe, “Report of the Curator of the Egyptian Department,” *Annual Report for the Year (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)* 27, (1902): 96.

- lii “Department of Egyptian Art,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 1, No. 12 (1906): 149.
- liii See: The Egyptian Expedition reports I-III in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 2, Nos. 4, 7, 10 (1907).
- liv See: “The Ceramic Room, Oriental Porcelains and Jades,” *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 2, No. 2 (1904): 5-6; Francis G. Curtis, “Tibetan and Other Lamaist Paintings,” *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 5, No. 24 (1907): 5-6; “Asiatic Pottery,” *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 5, No. 26 (1907): 18; Langdon Warner, “Buddhist Paintings from Northern India or Tibet,” *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 5, No. 28 (1907): 51-53; E. W. F. “The Gandara Sculptures,” *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 5, No. 29 (1907): 59-61; Denman Waldo Ross, “Early Persian Pottery,” *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 6, No. 34 (1908): 29-32.
- lv “Ernest Francisco Fenollosa (1853-1908): Orientalist and Art Critic,” Smithsonian: Freer-Sackler, last modified on February 29, 2016, <https://asia.si.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Fenollosa-Ernest.pdf>; William Endicott Jr. “Report of the Executive Committee,” *Annual Report for the Year (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)* 22, (1897): 7.
- lvi William Endicott Jr., “Report of the Executive Committee,” *Annual Report for the Year (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)* 24, (1899): 7.
- lvii *Annual Report for the Year (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)* 27, (1902): 17, 71.
- lviii Japonisme was an aesthetic-artistic movement among European and Euro-American artists who inspired to imitate the visual language of Japanese visual and material culture, particularly of *ukiyo-e*, imported to the West from Japan in the latter 19th century; Dow studied Japanese prints under Fenollosa in the 1890s, see: “Arthur Wesley Dow,” Smithsonian American Art Museum, accessed on August 3, 2021, <https://americanart.si.edu/artist/arthur-wesley-dow-1325>; Chalfin seems to have similarly admired Japanese prints and Fenollosa’s aesthetic philosophy, see: Paul Chalfin, “Japanese Art in Boston,” *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 8, No. 33 (1905): 220-222.
- lix *Nihonga* is a modern Japanese painting movement based in traditional Japanese painting techniques and visuality formed against Western painting movements in Japan. Fenollosa and Okakura were instrumental during the 1880s in promoting the genre; Edward Robinson, “Report of the Director of the Museum,” *Annual Report for the Year (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)* 29, (1904): 37.
- lx See: Stefan Tanaka, “Imaging History: Describing Belief in the Nation,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 53, No. 1 (1994): 24-44.
- lxi Kakuzō Okakura, *The Ideals of the East with Special Reference to the Art of Japan*, 2nd edition (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1905), 4-5.
- lxii Kakuzō Okakura, “Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the Museum,” *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 3, No. 1 (1905): 6.
- lxiii Gardiner Martin Lane, “Report of the President,” *Annual Report for the Year (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)* 35, (1910): 23.
- lxiv Garrett Chatfield Pier, “Rearrangement of the Oriental Collections,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 5, No. 6 (1910): 141.
- lxv *Handbook of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston* (Boston: The Museum of Fine Arts, 1915), ii.
- lxvi *Handbook of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, 417.
- lxvii *Handbook of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, viii.
- lxviii See: Adrianna Slaughter, “Today in MET History: October 31,” The Metropolitan Museum of Art, last modified on October 31, 2010, <https://www.metmuseum.org/blogs/now-at-the-met/features/2010/today-in-met-history-october-31>.
- lxix Edward Robinson, “Department of Far Eastern Art,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 10, No. 7 (1915): 136.
- lxx See: Joseph Breck, “The New Indian Galleries,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 13, No. 5 (1918): 104-106.
- lxxi “The Haskell Oriental Museum,” The University of Chicago Library, accessed on August 4, 2021, <https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/collex/exhibits/discovery-collection-memory-oriental-institute-100/haskell-oriental-museum/>.
- lxxii Linda Merrill, “The Washington Building,” in Thomas Lawton and Linda Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy of Art* (Washington D. C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 235.
- lxxiii “The Cleveland Museum of Art,” *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 1, No. 1 (1914): 1.
- lxxiv Said, *Orientalism*, xiii.

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