



EMORY

MICHAEL C.
CARLOS
MUSEUM



RECASTING
ANTIQUITY

*Whistler, Tanagra,
and the Female Form*

Edited by Linda Merrill and Ruth Allen, with contributions by Beth Cohen

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Acknowledgments

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Recasting Antiquity: Whistler, Tanagra, and the Female Form examines an important moment of encounter between the past and the present, as played out in the work of the American artist James McNeill Whistler. In examining Whistler's reinterpretation of ancient Tanagras, the Hellenistic terracotta figurines that so captured the imagination of Europe and America following their discovery in 1870, this catalogue and the exhibition it accompanies consider the ongoing legacy of ancient Mediterranean material culture in Western art. More specifically, they question the ways in which the classical female body, as an image and an idea, persisted as a site for exploring issues of beauty, gender, and art itself. Finally, the exhibition invites us to think about the Tanagras in their ancient context, ultimately to wrestle with what it means to represent and look at a female body in any period of history, and how the female body may be fabricated through the media and through the act of being looked at.

For the opportunity to explore possible answers to these questions, and to learn from her deep knowledge of Whistler and his world, Ruth Allen is first and foremost profoundly grateful to Linda Merrill, without whom this exhibition would not exist. She has been a gracious, thoughtful, and inspiring co-curator, co-editor, colleague, and friend.

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Director's Foreword

Henry S. Kim, Associate Vice-Provost and Museum Director, Emory University

She stands not much more than a foot tall, a figure with flounced drapery made of terracotta and covered in polychrome decoration that gives vitality to her dress and features. Created during the fourth or third century BCE in Central Greece, she is to modern eyes an example of idealized beauty from the ancient world. In her original context, her role may have been more subversive, capturing nuances of self-expression through clothing and adornment.

She is part of a group of so-called Tanagra figurines discovered in the 1870s, which played an influential role in the reception of classical antiquity during this time. Their portability allowed artists, among others, to study them and trace their forms. This included the American artist James McNeill Whistler, who created numerous works that were inspired by the form, underscoring a key notion of history that ideas permeate across cultures and time, influencing and inspiring.

The exhibition *Recasting Antiquity: Whistler, Tanagra, and the Female Form* is an important collaboration between the Art History Department and the Michael C. Carlos Museum of Emory University. The exhibition highlights two key roles the Carlos serves as a university museum: It supports the research interests of faculty through the use of its collections for study and its unique ability within the university to bring objects together from museums across the world, and it provides a public face for the work of the university. This exhibition and its related public programs allow audiences to see firsthand the type of original research that faculty and staff in the university undertake.

I would like to thank Dr. Linda Merrill, teaching professor and director of undergraduate studies in the Art History Department, for providing the inspiration for this exhibition. Without her personal research interest in this topic, this exhibition would not have taken place. I thank in equal measure Dr. Ruth Allen, curator of Greek and Roman art at the Carlos, for her work as co-curator of the exhibition. In her capacity as expert in ancient art, she selected the ancient Greek objects to include in the exhibition, and in her capacity as a museum curator, she skillfully mediated the ideas into a form that the public can see and understand with clarity and purpose.

“Darlings of Victorian Taste”: Tanagras & the Nineteenth Century

Linda Merrill

In the current fashion for Victoriana we may confidently expect a revival of public interest in these darlings of Victorian taste which also fascinated an artist like Whistler.

—R. A. Higgins, 1962

Just as the nineteenth century was tiring of the perfect poise of Classical Greek sculpture, the spade of a Boeotian laborer hit upon a new inspiration. Scores of ancient figurines were unearthed from fields surrounding the ancient city of Tanagra, humble objects made of clay, often bearing traces of painted decoration, and rarely more than nine inches tall. The statuettes were ancient, dating to the late fourth and third centuries BCE, but to the Victorians, they were new. “Their principal charm,” observed the antiquarian Frederic Voss in 1879, “consists in the fact that they are completely different from any other antiques we know.”¹ Unburdened by inscriptions, allusions, or religious significance (as far as anyone could tell), the figurines seemed to be intended only to delight. Here, at last, were antiquities for everyone, ancient objects that could be appreciated without the benefit of a classical education. “The remarkable side of the matter is this,” wrote Marcus B. Huish in 1898, “that no one with instincts for beauty, or interest in antiquity, or in the evolution of art can fail to be at once captivated by these terra-cottas.”²

As the Louvre historian Néguine Mathieux has remarked, “The figurines appeared during an age that ardently yearned for them.”³ *Recasting Antiquity: Whistler, Tanagra, & the Female Form* explores this episode in the history of taste. The Tanagras, diminutively scaled, delicately tinted, and physically fragile, were instantly adorable to collectors and connoisseurs, exciting both “the covetousness of museums” and “the sagacity of archaeologists.”⁴ Moreover, they were confidently predicted to benefit the art of their own time: “These terra cottas,” pronounced Charles de Kay, “are object lessons in art which we cannot afford to be without.”⁵ Among the leading artists to fall under their spell was James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903) (fig. 1.1), the American expatriate painter, printmaker, and designer best known for the poignant portrait of his aging mother. Between 1887 and 1896, at the peak of his professional life, Whistler created images of classically nude and lightly draped figures that reveal his fascination with the ancient figurines. The lithographs in particular, impressions of delicate drawings printed in ink on paper, have come to be called “Tanagras” for their air of grace and gaiety, the very qualities that made the ancient terracottas such treasured objects in the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century.



Figure 1.1: Detail, Paul François Arnold Cardon, called Dornac (French, 1859–1941). *Photograph of Whistler in his studio on the rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs, Paris, 1893*. Sheet: 7 3/4 x 10 1/4 in. (19.7 x 26 cm), mount: 35.6 x 43.2 cm (14 x 17 in.). Yale Center for British Art. Gift of Robert N. Whittemore, Yale BS 1943. Image: Public domain via CC 0 1.0 Universal.

THE DAINY LITTLE LADIES FROM TANAGRA

“To ninety-nine people out of a hundred,” wrote C. A. Hutton in 1899, “the interest in any collection of Greek statuettes centres in the dainty little ladies from Tanagra.”⁶ Although terracotta statuettes were manufactured and distributed throughout the Hellenistic world, the findings at Tanagra around 1870 were so extraordinary and unexpected that the name of the site became indelibly attached to the entire class of female terracotta figurines. Tanagra lies sixty miles north of Athens, not far from Thebes, in the region of Boeotia (fig. 1.2), “a name as readily misspelt,” Huish observed, “as ill-pronounced” (Bee-OH-shee-a). According to Reynold Higgins, a modern-day authority on Tanagra terracottas, Boeotia was “a by-word in antiquity for clumsiness and stupidity,” and Huish and his contemporaries could hardly believe that so

gauche a place could engender so much charm.⁷ In fact, the format and technology had originated in fourth-century Athens, with figurines exported to Boeotia, where the style was adopted and then perfected by local craftspeople. By the third century BCE, Tanagra productions were disseminated throughout, and even beyond, the Greek world.



Figure 1.2: “Greece and the Aegean Sea,” from *Rambles and Studies in Greece* by J. P. Mahaffy (1839–1919). Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & Co., 1900.

The figurines that particularly appealed to nineteenth-century collectors were made in the early Hellenistic era, between 330 and 200 BCE. Although their subjects range from women and children to actors and old men, the dominant type by far is the standing female figure draped in fabric that falls to her feet and usually enfolds her hands. These female statuettes were “much prettier” and more carefully executed than the others, according to the French archaeologist Olivier Rayet (1847–1887), who supposed they had been assigned to the most skilled of the mold-makers.⁸ In keeping with the fashion of the day, the typical Tanagra figure wears a large mantle, or cloak, called a *himation*—“*de rigueur* when a Greek lady walked abroad,” one Victorian writer imagined—over a finely pleated tunic called a *chiton* (fig. 1.3). In a variation on the earlier, Classical style of draping figures, the thinly woven *himation* is pulled tightly across the body, showing the folds of the heavier garment underneath.⁹



Figure 1.3: Draped woman, Boeotian, 3rd century BCE. Terracotta, H: 19.6 cm (7 3/4 in.). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Rogers Fund, 1907, 07.286.2. Image: Public domain courtesy of the Met's Open Access Policy.

The hair of a typical Tanagra figure is intricately styled (fig. 1.4)—one elaborate coiffure has been named by modern art historians for a cantaloupe (see cat. no. 3)—and sometimes covered by a kerchief, or a veil thrown over the head like a hood, or a straw sunhat called a *tholia*. The figure occasionally holds a heart-shaped fan, or a mirror, or even a child, and usually strikes a self-assured pose, “as if attentive to a speaker or an object of not over-exciting interest.”¹⁰ Her facial expression is generally impassive, which to the Victorians signaled a welcome absence of “dark passions”: “Search through the entire known list of Tanagra ceramics,” wrote Mary Curtis in 1879, “and you will not find a note discordant with the expression of peace, gladness, sportiveness, tempered with a mood of pleased attention, or repose.”¹¹



Figure 1.4: Figurine, Boeotian, ca. 300–250 BCE. Terracotta, H: 24 cm. London, British Museum, 1874.0305.65. Image © The Trustees of the British Museum.

The artisans who created these quiescent figurines were known as *coroplasts*, the Greek word for “modelers of girls,”

sometimes contemptuously construed as “makers of dolls.”¹² The scorn attaches not only to the domestic subject matter but also to the medium (what Huish called “common mother earth”),¹³ which lacked the prestige of marble or bronze. Nevertheless, nineteenth-century writers generally esteemed the craftsmen as “artists,” or at least “potters,” and naturally assumed them to be male: “All these little figures,” writes Wilhelm Fröhner, a Louvre curator, in 1888, “are of exceptional beauty, created by men of genius.”¹⁴ The painter Jean-Léon Gérôme, on the other hand, envisioned the coroplast as a young woman in *Antique Pottery Painter: Sculpturae Vitam insufflat pictura* (“Painting breathes life into sculpture”), an image of a terracotta workshop painted in 1893 (fig. 1.5). Gérôme’s artisan is dressed in a plain white chiton of the sort worn by enslaved servants in ancient Athens,¹⁵ though it might also be the artist’s conception of an ancient artist’s smock, or simply a means of distinguishing her workaday clothing from the brilliantly tinted drapery of the statuettes she makes in multiplicity.



Figure 1.5: Jean-Léon Gérôme (French, 1824–1904). *The Antique Pottery Painter: Sculpturae vitam insufflat pictura* (Painting breathes life into sculpture), 1893. Oil on canvas, 50.1 x 68.8 cm (19 3/4 x 27 1/16 in.). Art Gallery of Ontario, Canada. Gift from the Junior Women’s Committee Fund, 1969 (69/31). Image © AGO.

The production of a Tanagra figurine began with a prototype, a statuette usually modeled by the artist in wax or terracotta. Most Victorian writers presumed that these were modeled from life in the fashion of modern sculpture, as “miniatures of living men and women.”¹⁶ “They are so human in their dainty prettiness,” wrote Hutton, “that we realize at once that their type of beauty is not the ideal one of the sculptor, but the real one of every-day life.” A writer for the *Art Journal* went so far as to imagine the Greek artist catching sight on the street of the “elastic step and swaying robes” of one of the graceful women of Tanagra, “who undoubtedly served as models,”¹⁷ thereby transposing to antiquity the myth of the Pre-Raphaelite “stunner,” a woman of such astonishing beauty that the artist must persuade her to pose or die from disappointment.

It remains an open question whether the prototypes were in fact modeled from life. Olivier Rayet could not believe that the Tanagras were mere “reductions of grand sculpture,” when they seemed so well adapted to the terracotta medium and so comfortable in their diminutive proportions,¹⁸ yet modern scholarship suggests that they were probably based on life-size statuary, or *archetypes*, such as the so-called Large Herculaneum Woman (see fig. 2.2), made by leading sculptors. The prototypes, however, were not simply copies in miniature but adaptations, which elevated them “to a high plane of creativity,” as the art historian Malcolm Bell III remarks.¹⁹ As a writer for *Scribner’s Magazine* acknowledged in 1881, the coroplast was “no mere mechanic, no ordinary potter, repeating impressions from the matrix given to him, but an artist, with the soul of a sculptor.”²⁰

To create a mold, the prototype would be coated with wet clay.²¹ Once it dried to a pliable consistency, the clay would be removed to make a concave template, retouched by hand. In one exceptionally fine surviving example (cat. no. 2), we can see how the inner surface has been treated with a modeling tool to emphasize the fine lines of the drapery’s pleated folds, the dominant aesthetic aspect of the figurines. Finished in a kiln, a furnace for firing pottery, the mold became the matrix in which the figurine would be shaped.

To make a figurine, moist clay would be impressed into the mold in a thin, even layer; as it dried, the lining would shrink slightly and release from the mold, whereupon the coroplast would again work by hand to correct blemishes and enhance details. “While the clay was soft,” the *Art Journal* related, “either with a few bold, flat strokes of some tool the ampler folds were made, or more elaborate effects were brought about by an infinity of lines, which reproduced the foldings and purflings of the *himation*.”²² This intervention of the coroplast’s hand, sometimes marked with a fingerprint (see fig. 2.6),²³ brought the object “to a degree of perfection,” as Fröhner observed, “which a merely mechanical process is unable to give.”²⁴ This was a crucial point, for the Victorians needed to distinguish the Tanagras, as mass-produced works of art, from the modern gewgaws daily disgorged by factories in industrial towns in the north of England.

The earliest terracottas in Boeotia were produced from a single mold, with a simple slab in back, but around 330 BCE the two-piece mold became customary in Tanagra workshops. Thereafter, most Tanagra terracottas were sculptures in the round.²⁵ Separate molds were made for parts that would be added to the bodies—solid heads, which proved to be almost indestructible;²⁶ accessories like fans, hats, and floral wreaths; and projecting features such as arms and, occasionally, legs or wings. Whether cast from molds or modeled by hand, those parts would be attached to the figurine’s body with the creamy mixture of clay and water called slip, also used to smooth the joins between connecting elements. The hollow figurines would then be settled onto a rectangular plaque, or plinth, and vented in the back to allow moisture to escape and forestall

explosions.²⁷ The statuettes emerged from the oven as *terracottas*, a term that means “baked clay” and refers to fired-clay objects modeled by hand or mass-produced with the use of molds.²⁸

Unlike painted Greek vases, their “sister art” in clay,²⁹ which underwent a complex, three-phase firing process, the figurines were fired only once, at a temperature lower than was required to create an impermeable pot. The potter and the coroplast both relied on the kiln, and may even have shared facilities, but because a terracotta figurine would never be used like a krater or a kylix, it could be simply painted after firing with water-soluble pigments. The figurine was prepared for pigmentation with a coat of whitish clay called kaolinite—a “bath of whitewash,” in Victorian parlance—applied “to overcome the porous nature of the clay” and provide a smooth ground for color. It could be seen “wherever the colour has disappeared.”³⁰ The full *polychromy*—colors applied to ancient pottery, sculpture, or architecture—would survive for only a generation or two. Over centuries of burial, the pigments inevitably crumbled or dissolved (see cat. no. 5), and according to nineteenth-century accounts sometimes faded as soon as the objects were exposed to the air.³¹ Nevertheless, from what remains we can gather, as Gérôme does in *The Antique Pottery Painter*, how vibrantly, even garishly colored the statuettes must originally have been.

According to Fröhner, much of the Tanagras’ popular appeal derived from their “delicate flesh tint,” a warm roseate shade that, for Victorian connoisseurs, may have recalled the complexion of an English rose. (Oscar Wilde describes a character in *An Ideal Husband*, 1895, as “really like a Tanagra statuette,” “a perfect example of the English type of prettiness, the apple-blossom type.”)³² The typical Tanagra was adorned with blue eyes, rouged cheeks, vermilion lips, black eyebrows, and reddish-brown, or hennaed, hair. Although her shoes were usually hidden beneath her drapery, those that could be seen had red soles, like the Christian Louboutin designer items of our own time: those striking soles are named as an element of the standard Tanagra costume in *Le Costume Historique* (1888) (see cat. no. 51), which adds the information that the shoes themselves were yellow, making them resemble, Rayet reflected, the Turkish slippers of the nineteenth century.³³

The painters lavished their artistry on the figure’s garments, highlighting their importance as markers of status and sophistication.³⁴ Popular shades were violet and mauve, pigments obtained from the rose-madder plant, although the drapery might be painted almost any color, as Henri Houssay observed in 1876, in “the whole range of soft shades and broken tones familiar to the painters of Pompeii.”³⁵ We can see this clearly in another of Gérôme’s works, *Atelier de Tanagra* (“Tanagra Workshop”) (fig. 1.6), whose plummy palette was apparently inspired by that of the figurines. The artist envisions the brilliant violet, scarlet, and turquoise hues of drapery worn by both the figurines and their consumers,

while the coroplast, another woman in white, is portrayed touching up a Tanagra figurine with color. Not pictured here is the final, extravagant step for the most precious figurines, the application of gold leaf to details such as *fibulae* (brooches), earrings, diadems, or the edging of a cloak, gilding designed to catch the light as it glanced across the curves, braids, and folds of the female figure.³⁶



Figure 1.6: Jean-Léon Gérôme (French, 1824–1904), *Atelier de Tanagra* (Tanagra workshop), 1893. Oil on canvas, 64.4 x 91.1 cm (25 1/4 x 35 3/4 in.). Private collection. Image Courtesy of Sotheby’s, *19th Century European Art*, Sotheby’s Sale N09034, Lot 67, November 8, 2013.

Just by tilting the head or turning an arm or adding a hat or an ivy wreath, a coroplast could produce a variety of figurines from a single mold, creating endless variations on a theme. Although each was individually conceived, all possessed “l’air de famille,” as Houssay remarked—a family resemblance. A second generation would arise when existing mold-made figurines were used as prototypes to yield new molds, thus creating extended families, or “iconographic groups,” in which the figurines might differ in size, due to shrinkage in the kiln, but remain consistent in style, attitude, and accessories. As the archaeologist Edmond Pottier famously phrased it, “All the Tanagra figures are sisters, but few of them are twins.”³⁷

A NEW LIGHT ON GREEK SCULPTURE

Frederic Voss assumed, perhaps reflexively, that the Tanagras had been “rather looked down on by the more æsthetic Athenians,”³⁸ a condescending attitude that has not altogether disappeared. Over time, the prototype’s progeny—the mold-made terracottas—moved away from the perfection of the archetype. As the aloof manner of the Classical was tempered with the local color of Tanagra, the figurines exhibited their own idiosyncrasies and flair. It was precisely these departures from convention that proved so endearing to Victorian audiences. “They are summary, sketchy, suggestive,” as *Scribner’s* described them, “often thrown into disproportion

by the shrinkage of the kiln, or by a chance pressure of the potter's hand. For perfection they have no care." Hutton insisted that their "sketchiness" was only "the suppression of the unimportant," and the *Art Journal* defended their defects as evidence of what the French called *l'art bon-enfant*, or good-natured art.³⁹ Particularly in comparison to the severe, marmoreal splendor of the Parthenon sculpture in the British Museum, the terracottas of Tanagra offered agreeable interpretations of antiquity, eliciting affection rather than awe. "An entirely new light was thrown on Greek sculpture by the discovery of the Tanagra figurines," affirmed the American novelist Rupert Hughes in 1896. "It robbed Hellenic art of its last claim to frigid austerity, and credited it rather with the intimate appeal and the warmth of humanity that were always the acme of its endeavor."⁴⁰

The new light also reflected on the polychromy of the terracotta figurines, which came as a delightful surprise to the nineteenth century. For one thing, it helped resolve a longstanding scholarly debate: because of their colorful aspect, the *New York Times* asserted in 1890, "the question of painting statuary has been settled, in so far that we can be sure the ancients colored most, if not all, of their statues."⁴¹ Even ancient descriptions of colorful statuary could be dismissed without extant works to back them up, but the recently unearthed figurines could not be ignored, even by the "chromophobes."⁴² The *Times* critic, as it happens, was writing in reference to Gérôme's figuration of modern archaeology titled *Tanagra* (see fig. 4.8), a sculpture that featured several partial representations of terracotta figurines cast in the muted palette of the nineteenth century, as though they had just been pried loose by the archaeologist. Those figurines served Gérôme's allegory as material evidence supporting the existence of polychromy in ancient marble sculpture, instantiated by the painter in the monumental nude figure.

Moreover, as Brigitte Bourgeois observes, the polychromy of Tanagra figurines had a positive aesthetic and commercial effect: "It contributed to the impression of life emanating from the clay figurines, and encouraged the late nineteenth-century bourgeoisie in their dreams and craving for an 'imaginary antiquity.'" More than any other factor, color allowed the figurines to seem "familiar and intimate," examples, as the *Athenaeum* said, "of what we should now style popular art."⁴³ This made it difficult to know how to categorize them. Rayet attempted to force the "popular" antiquities into the canon by illustrating them among "the most remarkable specimens of the antique world" in *Monuments de l'Art Antique* (cat. no. 52).⁴⁴ They look out of place there, among such icons of antiquity as the Borghese Gladiator and the Crouching Venus, and might better be regarded, as the *American Architect and Building News* suggested in 1879, as "the *genre* of classical sculpture."⁴⁵ Although certain antiquaries objected to the use of an expression borrowed from modern art,⁴⁶ "genre" was a convenient term for classifying imagery that was unusual for its very ordinariness, "portraits of the people in their daily life,

as they passed it," as Marcus Huish described them, "seated in their houses, or pacing the streets in the bright sunshine."⁴⁷

Scribner's cast the terracottas in a different metaphorical frame, referring to them as "the every-day report, the journalism, of Greek life."⁴⁸ Some scholars persisted in looking for deities and legendary heroes among the figurines, but it was generally agreed that they were "merely idealized figures from daily life."⁴⁹ In time, the relentless refrain of Tanagras as representations of "ordinary life" and "ordinary costume" became a measure of their monotony, and "when a fairly large series is seen together," they were regarded as "wearisome."⁵⁰ Their interpretive possibilities were quickly depleted: unlike the comparatively arcane imagery on Greek vases, for example, about which a scholar might intone for pages, Tanagras did not require any special erudition to understand or vocabulary to explain. As one critic noted of an 1888 exhibition, "the very remarkable collection of 'Tanagra' figures will appeal to the less 'cultured' amateurs of Greek ceramics."⁵¹

Perhaps as a corollary of their lesser position in the hierarchy of art, many of the scholars who studied the terracottas were female, at least in England. In 1891, when a Miss Sellers gave a lecture on the figurines at the British Museum, the *Illustrated London News* was moved to remark that "the learned ladies sent forth from Girton and Newnham," the women's colleges founded at Cambridge in 1869 and 1871, had done much to revive interest in classical art. Moreover, it was "incontestable" that they had helped "to popularize the fruits of recent discoveries among men and women of all classes," which is to say that they were particularly adept at promoting Tanagras among the uneducated.⁵²

One of the "learned ladies" from Girton was C. A. (Caroline Amy) Hutton, born in New Zealand, who used her initials professionally to avoid being marked as female and thereby regarded as an amateur—despite her honors degree in Classics and a commendation of her "classical learning and artistic discrimination" from the estimable A. S. Murray, keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, in the preface he penned for her *Greek Terracotta Statuettes* of 1889.⁵³ Ten years earlier, Mary F. Curtis's name had not even been imprinted on the title page of *Tanagra Figurines*, although "Miss Curtis" was acknowledged as its author in a book review.⁵⁴ In 1900, Marcus Huish glibly ignored the hard work of his predecessors, excusing his own uncredentialed entry into the field with the assertion that until the publication of his book, the only available resource in English had been a chapter in Murray's *Handbook of Greek Archaeology*.⁵⁵

If even accomplished Victorians could be rendered invisible by their gender, it is little wonder that women in the nineteenth century found pleasure and took pride in the Tanagra figurines, images of female autonomy and self-possession. "Life in Greece was lived by men," announced one writer for *Harper's Bazaar*, referring to the silence in classical literature

on the daily lives of women, which made it seem as though half the human race had lived for centuries in seclusion. Here, with the Tanagras, were “representations by which we might remake in our fancy the ways of life belonging to women in general.” Indeed, as Hutton reflected, quoting an epigram by Agathias, “Why do more than half the Tanagra ladies wear hat and shawl if ‘they were not allowed to breathe the outer air, and brooding on their own dull thoughts, must stay within?’”⁵⁶

UNE JOYEUSE SOCIÉTÉ

In the nineteenth century, the “object or intention” of the Tanagra figurines remained a matter of conjecture. John Pentland Mahaffy, professor of ancient history at Trinity College Dublin, cautioned that it was “necessary to suspend our judgment, and wait for further and closer investigation,” though he himself was inclined to adopt the theory that the statuettes were made as children’s toys rather than fine art, if only because the “minor” artisans who made them were called dollmakers and “held in contempt by real sculptors.”⁵⁷ Evidence from Athenian tombstones appears to confirm Mahaffy’s theory, though we now generally accept that the figurines possessed “functional flexibility”—that they were used in different ways at different times for different reasons.⁵⁸ With a single object, “the house was ornamented, the god was honoured, and the dead comforted.”⁵⁹

The primary purpose of the figurines from Tanagra was probably funerary, however, as the majority were found in the necropolis, or cemetery. Yet unlike lekythoi, vessels made specifically for “sepulchral purposes” and frequently decorated with funereal themes, the Tanagra terracottas had nothing of the mortuary about them.⁶⁰ “With what intention,” wondered Rayet in 1875, “was this multitude of figurines put in the burials?”⁶¹ Hutton pointed out that “the use of gay colors and cheerful images in connection with the grave is singularly in contradiction with modern views of death,” and she could only reconcile the incongruity with the view that in ancient Greece, the dead “cheered the dark passage with images of kind and beautiful companions, and with symbols of vigor, of sentiment, of action, and of mirth.”⁶² Perhaps because the figurines were regarded with such affection in the nineteenth century, this view of the Tanagras as companions even into death gained currency. Mahaffy thought the terracottas might attest to the human inclination to bury beloved objects with a friend “that he might not feel lonely in his gaunt and gloomy grave,” and Vors imagined them enlivening the grave, which the Greeks associated with immobility, by providing a “jolly little crowd of little people—all full of action and life,” perhaps representing the deceased’s kith and kin. To Rayet, the gathering was “une Joyeuse société,” a joyful company made up of graceful women and laughing children.⁶³

Reluctant to associate Tanagras with the tomb, the Victorians were even more unwilling to relate them to religion. “Some

have argued that being found in tombs they must have a religious intention,” the *American Architect* reported, summarizing the state of the field, “but the majority have come to reject this theory and accept them rather as intended simply for ornaments.”⁶⁴ Archaeological evidence from Tarentum, a site in Italy, contradicts that interpretation of Tanagras as “profane images which bore no relationship to the sacred,”⁶⁵ and even in the nineteenth century, commentators sought to strike a compromise between the two positions: the terracottas ended up as grave gifts or votive offerings but only after enjoying a secular existence as beloved household objects.⁶⁶ A. S. Murray, in a rare feat of imagination, pictured the figurines “swept together from the walls when some important individual of the house died.”⁶⁷



Figure 1.7: The fireplace in the antiquities room at No. 1 Holland Park, London, with the Ionides Collection of Tanagra figurines. Photograph (albumen print) by Bedford Lemere & Co., 1889. Swindon, Historic England Archive, BL09466. Image © Historic England Archive.

Even into the Roman period, the terracottas were intended to decorate private houses,⁶⁸ “to stand on shelf or in niche if not to be suspended on a peg,” as Charles de Kay supposed: they were “the familiars of the family without attaining to the dignity of household gods or portraits of ancestors.”⁶⁹ Nineteenth-century commentators took delight in regarding them as ancient knickknacks, objets d’art made to crowd curio cabinets and mantelpieces in overdecorated houses (see fig. 1.7). Although coming from a period “of far higher artistic

attainment,” the terracottas could readily be related to contemporary collectibles made by “the ordinary Italian or French modeler . . . working in haste for a popular market”—or, from the American point of view, “those gaudy figurines that are sold in Europe to-day at country fairs.”⁷⁰

Predominantly female, the terracottas were most frequently compared to Meissen porcelain figurines, “the China ‘shepherdesses’ of modern ware” (fig. 1.8). Such analogies enhanced the Tanagras’ popularity as accessible antiquities while undermining their stature and significance as works of art. Murray, whose job was to acquire antiquities for the British Museum, haughtily remarked that “the *koroplasthos* of Tanagra must have worked for a market where there was less intelligence than what is called taste, and when the wants of private houses were studied rather than the public sense of true beauty.”⁷¹



Figure 1.8: Figure of a Shepherdess, Meissen (Meissen Porcelain Factory, 1710–present), ca. 1770. Hard-paste porcelain with enamel and gilt decoration, 26.3 x 10.8 x 11.4 cm (10 3/8 x 4 1/4 x 4 1/2 in.). Philadelphia Museum of Art. The Bloomfield Moore Collection, 1882. Image © Public domain.

Jean-Léon Gérôme better understood the “wants of private houses” and the desires of common consumers. His *Antique Pottery Painter* (see fig. 1.5) reflects a contemporary conception of a coroplast’s studio, with an array of “real” and imagined terracottas ranged on the shelves, adjacent to a boutique that would not have looked foreign to nineteenth-century shoppers (although the customers eerily epitomize the figurines they purchase). The cleverness of Gérôme’s conceit becomes apparent when we recognize that the objects lined up on the workbench are anachronisms, images of the artist’s own invention titled *Hoop Dancer* (cat. no. 44). The figurine derives from the prototype held aloft by Gérôme’s marble *Tanagra* (see fig. 4.8) and may have been inspired by an unusual (and fraudulent) terracotta of a nude acrobat shown at the 1878 Exposition Universelle (fig. 1.9).⁷² Those pictured on the canvas, five awaiting polychromy to order, replicate the artist’s own pastiche of a supposedly ancient archetype, making the painting a riddle of reproductions and originals, forgeries and authentic works of art. *The Antique Pottery Painter* further functions as a high-art advertisement of the mass-produced figurines, which Gérôme offered in plaster and gilt bronze, commodities that just might be affordable to those for whom an actual Tanagra, to say nothing of an original Gérôme, would have been an impossible luxury.



Figure 1.9: *Jongleuse* (Juggler), “Terre cuite de la collection de M. Lécuyer” (Terracotta from the collection of M. Lécuyer). Reproduced in Olivier Rayet, “Exposition Universelle. L’Art Grec au Trocadéro,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, series 2, 18, no. 1 (1878): 359.

THE SECRET OF THEIR CHARM

With their tasteful swathes of drapery, the Tanagras may have served in their time as three-dimensional fashion plates.⁷³ From studying a figurine, one could learn how a Greek woman dressed, “the shape, colour and fashion of her different garments, and . . . with what infinite variety she arranged a costume which, in itself, is extremely simple, and whose elements never varied.”⁷⁴ A color plate in Auguste Racinet’s encyclopedic *Le Costume historique* illustrates “Indoor and Urban Costume, exactly as worn, here by Tanagran women” (cat. no. 51)—the “Tanagran women” being Tanagra figurines, works of art so true to life that they were considered to provide faithful depictions of “the actual costume of their period.” Hutton regarded their realism to be “the secret of their charm.”⁷⁵

If only Victorian women would dress as well, sighed the *Saturday Review* in 1876, if only they, too, wore clothing that

“followed the lines of the form, instead of distorting them—if graceful drapery were the first object aimed at—there would no longer be questionings as to long waists or short waists, crinolines, stays or straps.” If examples of such elegant costume were not to be found in the fashion magazines of Paris, then English ladies might avail themselves of a visit to the British Museum, where they could study “the exquisite draperies of the little Tanagra terracottas, the most beautiful fashion models we shall ever see.”⁷⁶

It was impractical to suppose that modern women could survive in antique drapery, whatever its aesthetic quality, but it was also naïve to imagine that the sumptuous clothing of the Tanagra figurines, so consciously and skillfully manipulated, could ever have been their everyday attire. The volume and complexity of the drapery would have made it difficult for women to use their hands for much beyond grasping the edges of the himation, and they would have had to move at a slow, deliberate pace to manage the voluminous folds of material and avoid disturbing the disposition of the dress. “Given these impracticalities,” Rosemary Barrow observes, “it is unlikely that multiple layers of fine drapery were in everyday use.”⁷⁷

Contrary, therefore, to the Victorian point of view, the figurines did not portray ordinary people fitted out in casual clothing for everyday activities. They reflected not reality, but an ideal. Because drapery is neither cut nor tailored, “the beauty of the chiton and himation lay in the art of positioning them around the body,” as Barrow notes, which implies a certain level of sophistication to wear them well; the figurines, therefore, may have modeled the way a perfectly well-dressed, well-informed Greek woman presented herself in public. Such women would have been members of the social elite who dressed up in finery for special occasions—religious ceremonies or festivals where they would have been expected to display the family’s wealth and civic-mindedness.⁷⁸ Another of their purposes, then, as Sheila Dillon has argued, may have been to commemorate women’s participation in religious rituals: collectively, the figurines can be seen to represent “the world of women on the public stage.”⁷⁹ The implicit paradox of the figurines—images of women parading their social status with ostentatious clothing, elegant coiffures, and red-soled shoes while maintaining the modest demeanor of well-bred ladies—would not have been lost on Victorian women of the upper classes.

If “the dainty little ladies of Tanagra” were elite, they were nonetheless mortal, lacking the attributes that would identify them as goddesses. Yet there were among the terracottas depictions of the popular goddess Aphrodite, perhaps because she held particular relevance for maidens and married women. As Daniel Graepler notes of the Hellenic worldview, “The borderline between the human world and the mythical sphere of the gods is often tenuous.”⁸⁰ For the Greeks, the archetypical Aphrodite was the Knidia (fig. 1.10), the masterpiece by Praxiteles and the first life-size cult statue of

the goddess fully in the nude—a sculpture that created, all at once, the ideal of female physical beauty.⁸¹ Terracotta Aphrodites sometimes allude to their illustrious predecessor with their old-fashioned hairstyles, loosely gathered in the back and with a center part; but what makes them immediately recognizable—“évident au premier coup d’œil” (“evident at first glance”), as Rayet writes in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*—is their partially draped condition.⁸² (Were they to be entirely “undraped,” as Curtis points out, the figurines would be “less steady on their legs.”)⁸³ In one common type (cat. no. 10), perhaps adapted from a portrait statue of Phryne, the courtesan of Praxiteles, Aphrodite strikes a pose relaxed enough to hold for an eternity: her left hand rests lightly on her swaying hip, her right on a pedestal, her legs crossed casually underneath her skirt.⁸⁴ If her facial expression looks stern for the goddess of sexual love, the seduction resides in her swaggering pose, with the drapery slipping far enough to bare her breasts but still conceal her modesty.



Figure 1.10: *The Ludovisi Venus*, a Roman copy of the Knidian Aphrodite, Praxiteles, ca. 360–330 BCE, Marble, H: 205 cm (81 in.). Image: Public domain.

Another goddess occasionally found among the Hellenistic terracottas is Nike, the winged Victory. “They really do appear

to fly,” Lucilla Burn remarks, “their tall, beautifully feathered wings extended, one leg pushing free of the drapery, which then presses back in windswept folds against the other leg and body.” Because of the projecting wings, the Nike statuettes were especially fragile and may have been intended especially for the grave, perhaps to signify the spirit’s escape from its confines.⁸⁵

Nikes became a specialty of the workshops at Myrina, a settlement in Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey near the town of Izmir, formerly Smyrna) that was probably established by emigrant Boeotians who brought their molds and models with them. Edmond Pottier excavated the site in 1881 and four years later, when the terracottas were exhibited in Paris, they were appreciated as “at once a complement and a contrast to the lovely sepulchral terra-cottas of Tanagra.”⁸⁶ Indeed, the Myrina figurines not only supply the gods and heroes absent from the Tanagra population but also manifest a more complex polychromy, with colors layered or artfully juxtaposed to enhance their luminosity (see cat. no. 6).⁸⁷ The Myrina figurines are further distinguished by their remarkable “expression and energy,” as the *Illustrated London News* observed, a departure from the “dignified repose” of their Tanagra cousins.⁸⁸

IN OLIVE WOODS ROUND TANAGRA

In one romantic origin story, the ancient artisan makes his Tanagra terracottas of such “deathless grace and charm” that they are fated to become the “playthings to his dead.” Buried by their maker “in the tombs of his elders on the hillsides of Bœotia and elsewhere,” they sleep peacefully, undisturbed for centuries “until the pick of the archæologist and the excavator on the yellow hillsides by Tanagra wakened them to a new day and brought them forth.”⁸⁹ In reality, the unearthing efforts in Boeotia were heedless and rapacious, an unfortunate episode in the history of art and archaeology. The graverobbers so completely destroyed the archaeological context—the evidence of the figurines’ arrangement in the tombs—that even today, these objects remain in many ways a mystery.

Olivier Rayet, who was resident in Athens when the terracottas first turned up, pieced together the story of the early “excavations.” As a collector himself—a potential customer—Rayet was able to communicate with the tomb robbers and learn from them directly what was happening to the burial grounds around Tanagra; as an archaeologist, he could make sense of the situation and record his conclusions for the readers of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in 1875 (cat. no. 49).⁹⁰ Graverobbing was not new to the Tanagra region, but it was only in 1870, when some inhabitants of a village three miles below Tanagra called Schimatari (“the place of statuettes”) began exploring the earth beneath the vineyards covering a nearby hill, that some curious little objects turned up.⁹¹ Word of the finds reached a professional excavator (or graverobber) from Corfu named Yorghos Anyphantès, known as Barba-

Georghis (Uncle George). By December he had set to work, finding that the ancient graves lined the roads leading out of town, which allowed him to excavate the territory with extraordinary efficiency.⁹²

The assiduity of Uncle George inspired scores of laborers from surrounding villages, who helped him ransack the neighborhood. They dug day and night to the utter neglect of the region's agriculture,⁹³ plundering some ten thousand graves between 1872 and 1874. Nearly half the tombs yielded nothing of interest, but some of those in the dry, white clay of the hillside contained figurines that were largely intact, with much of their original painted decoration.⁹⁴ As Murray points out, it was "from want of supervision at the beginning, and perhaps in defiance of it since," that the illicitly obtained terracottas poured into private hands and even museum collections, including the Louvre, which made its first accessions in 1872. At length, the Greek authorities dispatched troops to curtail the plunder, and the Archaeological Society of Athens appointed a professional to excavate what remained.⁹⁵

Greek officials continued to dig at the site until 1879, and by 1881 *Scribner's* could announce that "the California-discovery day is over now in Bœotia . . . The white lines of dry earth, thrown up from avenues of tombs bordering the antique roads and intersecting the green vineyards and yellow harvests of the modern Albanian agriculturists of Greece, have begun to grow green again."⁹⁶ The tombs had been thoroughly ransacked and the landscape littered with the fragments of smashed vases. Even so, in 1882, Oscar Wilde, who was proselytizing the English Aesthetic movement in America, wrote lyrically about "those beautiful little Greek figures which in olive woods round Tanagra men can still find, with the faint gilding and the fading crimson not yet fled from hair and lips and raiment."⁹⁷ Though out of date, his information came on good authority: J. P. Mahaffy, who had been Wilde's tutor at Trinity College Dublin, and whom the writer considered his "first and best teacher," the one who had shown him "how to love Greek things."⁹⁸

Published in 1876, Mahaffy's popular *Rambles and Studies in Greece* had detailed his first trip, taken only the previous year.⁹⁹ His name, already renowned, had opened doors to Greek collections, and he found the newly excavated Tanagras in the private homes of Athens "on cupboards, and in cabinets." Mahaffy was especially struck by their "marvellous modernness":

The graceful drapery of the ladies especially was very like modern dress, and they had often on their heads flat round hats, quite similar in design to the gypsy hats much worn among us of late years. But above all, the hair was drawn back from the forehead, not at all in what is considered Greek style, but rather à l'Eugénie, as we used to say when we were young. Many hold in their hands large fans, like those which we make of peacocks' feathers.

For Mahaffy, the figurines attested to the versatility of the Greeks in all matters artistic, "anticipating much of the modern ideals of beauty and elegance."¹⁰⁰ He was not alone in his tendency to turn this era of ancient history into a reflection of the present day. Edmond Duranty regarded the elegant poses of the figurines to be reminiscent of Parisian coquettes, though the turn of their heads, he believed, possessed a quality that was ineffably English. Théodore Reinach characterized the typical Tanagra lady—"always elegant but never affected, always in motion but never in a hurry"—as "truly the Parisienne of antiquity."¹⁰¹

For prospective collectors, enchanted with these ancient objects that somehow seemed as good as new, the figurines could not be pulled from the ground fast enough. "Every museum, every collection, public or private, made a point of securing some of them,"¹⁰² and as early as 1876, fine-quality figurines were selling for at least £40 to £60 apiece—six or seven thousand dollars in today's currency. Local laborers had been forbidden from selling their finds "to private fanciers," but examples could be "secretly procured for much smaller sums," according to Mahaffy, "from persons who have concealed them for private sale."¹⁰³ Indeed, the black market for Tanagras flourished even before the general public became aware of their existence. The British periodical press first took note of what was happening in Boeotia in June 1874, when the *Academy* published a belated account of "the most exquisite terra-cotta statuettes" emerging from the tombs at Tanagra.¹⁰⁴ That November it was reported that a small number of "comely Greek ladies" with "uniformly 'carrotty' locks" had entered the collections of the British Museum and the Staatliche Museum in Berlin, with further additions to the former in 1876, "remarkable for their almost perfect preservation, and for the delicacy and refinement of the modelling."¹⁰⁵

Yet it was not until the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1878 that the figurines were given heightened exposure and a boost in popularity. As Rayet declared in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, the exhibition "has won them public favor."¹⁰⁶ As evidence that they had remained until then virtually unknown, *The Illustrated Paris Universal Exhibition* describes the terracottas as "curious," or exciting attention on account of their novelty, and refers to them as "figures, or *figurines*, in clay"; the italics suggest that the diminutive was still unfamiliar—a specialist's or foreign term (French, though derived from the Italian *figura*).¹⁰⁷ Rayet was impressed that the burst of popular admiration came not only from those of educated taste, "but also among the Sunday visitors," the ordinary working class.¹⁰⁸

After their spectacular debut in Paris, demand for Tanagras rose to a level where not even the black market could keep pace. The *Athenaeum* reported at the end of 1890 that some ten thousand specimens had been added to museum collections,¹⁰⁹ a number far exceeding the pool of genuine articles, earlier estimated at about seven thousand. While intact Tanagras were growing scarce, new Tanagras were

made every day from fragments “picked up and stuck together by the natives.”¹¹⁰ Beyond the figurines cobbled together from bits and pieces were brand new fabrications in the Tanagra fashion, created to appeal to modern taste but wrought to look properly ancient (see cat. nos. 12 and 13). “So perfect are the imitations, even to breaking a statuette into twenty pieces to add plausibility to it,” reported *The Times* in 1886, “that there are said to be only three people in Athens who are competent to determine their genuineness.”¹¹¹

As early as 1879, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston accepted a cache of twenty-two Tanagras “lately found in the Bœotian tombs,” the gift of Thomas Gold Appleton and the only collection of its kind then in the United States.¹¹² Scarcely two decades later, “cultured Boston received a severe shock” when it was announced that all but three of them were “rank fakes.”

*Heads were found to have been joined to bodies to which they did not belong, and made to fit by filling or scraping, and the bodies are either wholly modern or made up out of ancient fragments, more or less skillfully pieced together, with the missing parts freely “restored” in plaster. In some cases the original parts are so few, or so battered, that one wonders why the fabricator found it worth his while to use them at all.*¹¹³

Although some forgeries are so skilled that they can be detected only by an expert eye or technical examination, others are surprisingly easy to spot. After the Exposition Universelle, it appears that the customary standing figures, reticent and tightly wrapped, began to seem old-fashioned, and some connoisseurs sought out figurines with more sensational styles and stories. Their desires were satisfied, as if by magic, with elaborate little groups of figures bearing mythological subjects—the erotic *Leda and the Swan* (fig. 1.11), for instance, or the sentimental *Aphrodite and Eros* (fig. 1.12).



Figure 1.11: Photograph of a Tanagra statuette, *Leda and the Swan*, from the Ionides Album, ca. 1894. Carbonprint on paper in photograph album. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow; Bequeathed by Rosalind B. Philip (1958), GLAHA:46212. Image © The Hunterian, University of Glasgow.



Figure 1.12: Photograph of a Tanagra statuette, *Aphrodite and Eros*, from the Ionides Album, ca. 1894. Carbonprint on paper in photograph album. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow; Bequeathed by Rosalind B. Philip (1958), GLAHA:46290. Image © The Hunterian, University of Glasgow.

These wildly popular putative antiquities were “so extravagant in their poses,” as Reynold Higgins observes, “and so unconvincing in their subject-matter that it is surprising that

they deceived anybody.”¹¹⁴ A few Victorian scholars did view the newfound works askance. In 1888, for example, when some questionable figurines went on view at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, the British antiquarian Cecil Torr pointed out that “no terra-cotta of this class has ever been found in any excavation conducted by any government, or society, or responsible person.”¹¹⁵ The catalogue could defend their qualities only on stylistic grounds, noting that the sculptors in Asia (Myrina) “belong to the romantic school,” an explanation that was supposed to account for their more passionate expression. Murray lacked the evidence to rule them out completely but dismissed the newcomers “as foreign in spirit to all that is known of ancient Greek art.”¹¹⁶

Among the most credulous of connoisseurs was Marcus Huish, who had begun to collect Tanagras just before 1890, at the height of the craze: of the thirty or so examples he reproduced in his *Greek Terra-Cotta Statuettes* of 1900, many drawn from his own and the well-known Ionides collection, at least twenty-two, according to Higgins, “can be seen at a glance to be forgeries.”¹¹⁷ It is therefore no surprise that by the turn of the century museums had begun to relegate their holdings to storage in fear that their figurines might also prove to be fakes; for it was only prudent, wrote Higgins in 1962, “to regard all ‘Tanagras’ as forgeries until they are proved innocent.”¹¹⁸

OBJECT LESSONS IN ART

The *Athenaeum* prophesied in 1878 that of all the antiquities on display at the Exposition Universelle, the Tanagras would hold “the most attraction for artists”—and not just for sculptors, as their surfaces possessed a parallel to works in pastel or watercolor: “The general creamy tone with the faint indications of delicate colour gives an added grace to the exquisite forms.”¹¹⁹ The following year, the *Art Journal* expressed the hope that the terracottas would demonstrate, for those Victorian painters prone to grandiloquence, “that daintiness in Art can be arrived at with no possible loss of force.”¹²⁰ In a different era, the terracottas might not have appeared relevant to the development of contemporary art, but understood as decorative objects or drapery studies, they fit the frame of aestheticism, the philosophy of Art for Art’s Sake. Like the modern aestheticist artist, the ancient coroplast “seems to have been guided only by his whim,” as Rayet observed, “to have sought only novelty and grace.”¹²¹

By the 1890s, the Tanagra figurine had become so closely identified with refined artistic taste that Oscar Wilde bestowed one upon Basil Hallward, the artist in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, as an emblem of his aesthetic position.¹²² Whistler, on whom Wilde based the artist, did not himself possess a single Tanagra figurine (he could not have afforded one), yet his art naturally aligned with their style of grace and beauty. Whistler

was known for the delicacy of his color, the economy of his line, and the daintiness of his touch. Moreover, he consistently opposed the Victorian tendency to measure the worth of a work of art in inches. Among his artistic convictions was that a work’s size and medium were inconsequential: to him, the critic Théodore Duret explained, the Royal Academy extravaganzas which attracted public praise were little more than “merchandise,” while little things made from non-prestige materials—an etching, a paper fan, or “terracottas like those of Tanagra”—could always be “works of great art.”¹²³

It was late in the 1880s, just as popular appreciation for Tanagras was reaching its height, that Whistler began the series of works on paper which imply his own attraction to the figurines. He never admitted to the influence, nor mentioned the Tanagras in a meaningful way in any of his published works or the eight thousand letters that make up his personal correspondence; nevertheless, as Arthur Hoeber wrote of Bessie Potter Vonnoh, another American artist who succumbed to the Tanagras’ charm, “The influence may be traced, even if it be not acknowledged.”¹²⁴ Whistler’s delicate drawings are made from the same two or three professional models, just as the Tanagra figurines derive from a finite set of molds; they also adopt a similar repertoire of lively but casual poses—standing, seated, leaning, reclining, draping, dancing—as if to modernize the notion of the classical female figure.¹²⁵

Many of the same connoisseurs who pursued Tanagra figurines had a taste for Whistler’s draped figures. The New York collectors Louisine and Henry O. Havemeyer, for example, bought an impression of the rare color lithograph *Draped Figure, Reclining* (cat. no. 31) around the same time they purchased a dozen or so purportedly ancient figurines from the renowned Spitzer collection (see fig. 1.13).¹²⁶ Marcus Huish, the self-proclaimed authority on Tanagra figurines, was also the director of the Fine Art Society in London, and in that capacity organized a groundbreaking retrospective of Whistler’s lithographs in 1895. And the artist’s lifelong friend Alexander A. Ionides, also a patron of Whistler’s art, assembled one of earliest and most important collections of Tanagra figurines in England. We might, then, expect Whistler to have taken inspiration from the actual terracottas he could have seen in person, either in the collections of his friends or the galleries of the Louvre or the British Museum. Yet we should not overlook the probable importance of the illustrations of Tanagra figurines proliferating in contemporary books and periodicals. It is surely significant that Whistler’s only extant drawing of a Tanagra (fig. 1.14)—the mere adumbration of a figurine—was based not on an actual terracotta, but on a photograph of one (fig. 1.15), an image of an object already transposed into two dimensions and translated into black and white.



Figure 1.13: *Leda and the Swan*, 19th-century version of an ancient figurine. Terracotta, H: 23.5 cm (9 1/3 in.). Shelburne Museum, Vermont, 31.101.1-125.



Figure 1.14: James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834–1903). *Sketch after a Greek terracotta figure* (M.1419), from the *Ionides Album*, ca. 1895. Pencil on cream card, 15.5 x 12.7 cm (6 1/8 x 5 in.) Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow; Bequeathed by Rosalind B. Philip (1958), GLAHA:46205. Image © Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.



Figure 1.15: Photograph of a Tanagra statuette of a standing female figure, from the Ionides Album, ca. 1894. Carbonprint on paper in photograph album. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow; Bequeathed by Rosalind B. Philip (1958), GLAHA:4639 Image © Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.



Figure 1.16: Femme assise, figurine de Tanagra (collection de M. Paravey)* Seated woman, Tanagra figurine (collection of M. Paravey). In *Gazette archéologique*, edited by J. De Witte and François Lenormant, 2 (1876): plate XXXIII.

Although that sketch was never intended for public view—it remains hidden away on the cardboard backing of another photograph in a private album—Whistler’s improvisatory drawings on the Tanagra theme were meant to be multiplied, primarily in the form of lithographs. To understand why he chose that medium instead of etching, in which he was already well established, we might compare two illustrations of Tanagra figurines made by different printmaking processes. Both were published in a single volume of the *Gazette archéologique*: one is a steel engraving (an *intaglio*, or incised design on a metal plate, like an etching) of a seated Tanagra figurine (fig. 1.16); the second (fig. 1.17), of a pair of standing figures, is a lithograph made by a young student of Gérôme who styled himself P-A-J Dagnan, but later became known as the painter Pascal Dagnan-Bouveret (1852–1929).¹²⁷ The engraving appears linear and hard-edged, conveying the “austere severity” and stony permanence associated with the High Classical style: nothing about the picture suggests that the figure is small in scale or made from clay. Dagnan’s lithograph, on the other hand, retains the softness of his original sketch, probably made with a greasy lithographic crayon on a smooth limestone slab. Even in black and white, the medium renders a sensitive translation of the tiny, fragile terracotta figurines, lightly dusted with ephemeral pigments.



Figure 1.17: P-A-J Dagnan (later Dagnan-Bouveret) (French, 1852–1929). *Deux femmes drapes, figurines de Tanagra (collection privée de Paris)* (Two draped women, Tanagra figurines [private collection, Paris]). In *Gazette archéologique*, edited by J. De Witte and François Lenormant 2 (1876): plate XX. Image: Public domain.

Beyond its use for illustrations, lithography was put to work in the nineteenth century in the profitable business of reproducing paintings for a popular market. In that respect, the medium finds a parallel in the Tanagra terracottas.

“Suppose we regard them as popular editions of works by masters,” wrote Charles de Kay, “suited, by the material in which they are fashioned and the methods used to fashion them, to the slender purses of the people.”¹²⁸ Whistler may have recognized that the Tanagras, as works of art, transcended their commercial aspect, just as he saw the potential of lithography as a means of original artistic expression. In his hands, one journalist remarked in 1895, “the despised art of the stone long in commercial bondage is again set free for the artist’s service.”¹²⁹ Moreover, his meticulous attention to details of paper and printing transformed the commonplace “litho” into a precious object.

Nevertheless, Whistler failed to achieve the success he expected when adopting a medium more accessible and inexpensive than oil or etching. In the popular sphere, the “daintiness” of his style worked against him: his subject matter, distilled to its essence, appeared too slight, the drawing too cursory, to justify the cost even of a lithographic print.¹³⁰ More consequentially, perhaps, Whistler’s Tanagras challenged the norms of Victorian propriety. In a crucial departure from the modestly draped Tanagra figurines, his Tanagra-esque figures are mostly, and sometimes entirely, nude. He did away with opaque drapery as a means of liberating figures he intended to embody the unencumbered spirit of art. What he discovered was that, especially in America, “a nude figure suggests at once the absence of clothes—and general impropriety—only!” His New York dealer informed him that *Cameo, No. 1* (cat. no. 39), for example, could not be sold at the price Whistler set “because of the thinness of the drapery.” Indeed, the model’s bare leg is fully exposed as she sits on the side of the bed to bend and kiss a sleeping child—an innocent image if ever there was one, but objectionable to a nation, Whistler observed, “that requires the legs of the piano to be draped.”¹³¹

Although Whistler’s Tanagras, primarily executed as lithographs and pastels, imply an interest confined to works on paper, an episode in the early 1880s suggests that the artist may have explored the medium of small-scale sculpture, if only in terms of polychromy. The evidence is a photograph taken in Whistler’s London studio in 1881 (fig. 1.18), which shows a modern statuette of a female figure standing no more than eight inches high, though elevated to become part of the circle of friends: the gathering includes Whistler and Frederick Lawless, the Irish sculptor who set up the photograph; Frank Miles, an English society painter who lived across the street; and the two talented sons of the American neoclassical sculptor William Wetmore Story—Julian, a painter, and Waldo, a sculptor, who happened to be visiting London that year from Rome.¹³² Made at the time of the terracotta craze and similar in stance and size to a Tanagra statuette, the figurine seems to have been only one in a series of plaster statuettes striking haughty poses and wearing stylish clothing—“charming little swaggerers,” as Whistler referred to them in a letter, “looking prettier than ever.”¹³³



Figure 1.18: Photograph of Julian and Waldo Story, James McNeill Whistler, Frank Miles, and the Honorable F. Lawless in Whistler’s London studio, 1881. Joseph and Elizabeth Robins Pennell Collection of Whistleriana. Library of Congress. Image: Public domain.

When the figurines were eventually packed up and sent home to Waldo Story, Whistler referred to them fondly as “tokens of our work in the studio together,” which suggests a degree of collaboration.¹³⁴ It is reasonable to assume that Story modeled the figure (shaped it in plaster) and Whistler dressed it with paint; Lawless recollected twenty years later that Whistler had made the figurine himself, though no one else could remember the artist ever trying his hand at sculpture.¹³⁵ Margaret F. MacDonald also gives Whistler full credit, citing his convincingly comparable, contemporary watercolors of fashionable young women in “swaggering” attitudes, particularly *Lady in Gray*, of a model who holds a large picture-hat in a similar position to the figure in the photograph.¹³⁶ The physical evidence that might have settled the question was lost when the “lovely figurines,” though carefully packed, arrived in Rome in pieces.¹³⁷

In a way that Whistler’s works on paper do not, Story’s little figure looks quaint, almost certainly because of her contemporary dress. In his Tanagra lithographs and pastels, Whistler was able to effectively avoid the trammels of Victorian fashion, which proved particularly exasperating to sculptors of his time. “The freer garb of classic maidenhood presented easier and more inspiring problems to the ancient masters of clay and stone,” wrote Hoeber in 1897, who dearly hoped that “the hideous fashionable dress of the present may by proper treatment be softened and mitigated.”¹³⁸ Bessie Potter Vonnoh, looking back on the last decades of the nineteenth century, recalled the difficulty of trying to accommodate the “atrocious fashions of the day”—“balloon sleeves, pinched waists, full skirts, funny little hats”—especially on the small scale in which she worked. Although she sometimes depicted modern women in the costume of an earlier, more graceful era, as in the bronze *Girl Dancing* (cat. no. 46), Vonnoh rarely resorted to classical drapery. Greek sculpture held little appeal

for her. What she wanted, she said, was “to catch the joy and swing of modern American life, using the methods of the Greeks but not their subject-matter.”¹³⁹

Tanagra figurines were gaining popularity in the United States just as Vonnoh was coming into her own as a sculptor. They obviously provided a congenial model for her work, yet she initially denied their influence because, according to Julie Aronson, “they subverted her self-image as a pioneering recorder of modern life in a modern idiom.”¹⁴⁰ Eventually, Vonnoh acknowledged her own efforts to capture what one contemporary journalist called “the spirit of the Tanagra statuette, translated into the idiom of the Twentieth Century.”¹⁴¹ Although her statuettes were somewhat larger than the average Tanagra figurine and their facial features more defined, “the fundamental idea and the manner of treatment,” noted the critic Helen Zimmern, “are *mutatis mutandis* the same”: there were differences between them, in other words, but only because certain aspects had to be altered.¹⁴²

Vonnoh’s *Girl Dancing* adapts a traditional Tanagra theme that was also the modern one of a young woman dressed up for a quadrille, and “somehow brings to the gazer’s mind,” the critic Elizabeth Semple remarked, “a vivid sense of what is meant by the phrase ‘poetry of motion.’”¹⁴³ *The Fan* (cat. no. 47) transports another Tanagra model of femininity into the modern age with a pensive young woman in a fashionable tea gown standing with an open feather fan at her side. This figurine is an extremely rare surviving example—one of three—of Vonnoh’s work in terracotta,¹⁴⁴ which she took up around 1910, experimenting with different types of clay and degrees of firing and even acquiring a kiln of her own. “Of all the work I have ever done,” she said, the terracottas best reflected her ambition “to have each figure as complete an example of personal work as a picture is of that of the painter.”¹⁴⁵

An undated photograph of Bessie Potter Vonnoh shows the sculptor dressed in an artist’s smock, seated in the studio, lost in admiration of one of her own figurines (fig. 1.19). Although the circumstances of the photograph are unknown, Vonnoh appears to have fallen, perhaps ironically, into what had become, by the turn of the century, a visual trope in American art. The archetype may be Gérôme’s female coroplast: Vonnoh, too, is the creator of the work of art she contemplates, of which copies would be made for the marketplace. Other American works on the theme show well-dressed modern women passively appreciating objects of ancient artistry: *Tanagra* (1901) by Elliott Daingerfield (fig. 1.20), *The Tanagra* (by 1909) by Thomas Anshutz (fig. 4.13), and *The Tanagra Figure* (1924) by Alice Pike Barney (1857–1931) all present the principal female figure reflecting upon her miniaturized equivalent in clay.¹⁴⁶



Figure 1.19: *Bessie Potter Vonnoh with a plaster figurine*, n.d. Bessie Potter Vonnoh papers, circa 1860–1991. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Box 1, Folder 18. Image: Public domain

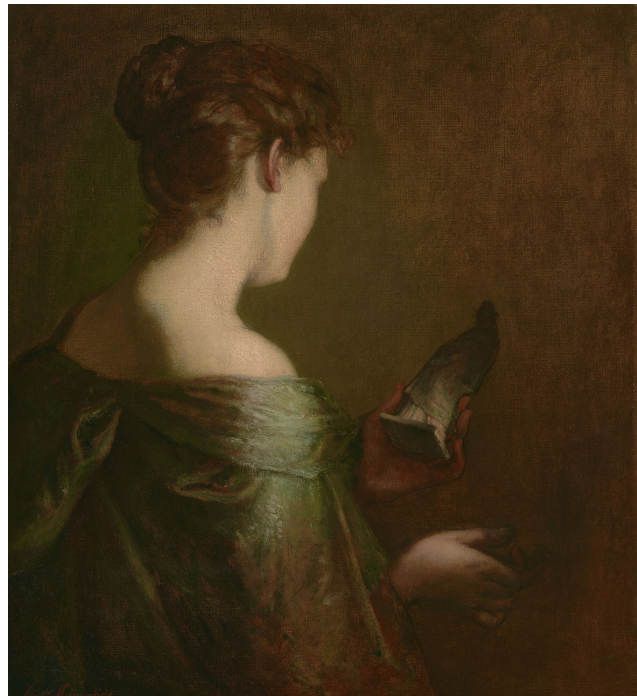


Figure 1.20: Elliott Daingerfield (American, 1859–1932), *Tanagra*, 1901. Oil on canvas, 28 1/16 x 24 1/8 in. High Museum of Art, Atlanta; Gift of the West Foundation in honor of Gudmund Vigtel, 2010.118. Photo by James Shoomaker. Image courtesy the High Museum of Art, Atlanta, GA.

A late example of the theme is *Tanagra (The Builders)* (cat. no. 45) by the American Impressionist Childe Hassam (1859–1935). Its two-part title, considered by the contemporary critic Royal Cortissoz “only nominally relevant,”¹⁴⁷ may express the artist’s ambivalence about the premise of the painting, which he defined in 1920 as a “blonde Aryan girl holding a Tanagra figurine.” We can just see “the builders” through the top-floor window of the New York apartment; the secondary theme of

urban progress is symbolized, according to Hassam, by the Chinese lilies, “springing up from the bulbs.”¹⁴⁸ Yet the figurine is not a Tanagra at all. It may be a replica in miniature of a Greco-Roman Venus, perhaps made of faience or colored marble of the kind one might purchase in a souvenir shop. More consistent with the Tanagra type is the life-size figure with the Archaic smile, an overgrown example wearing a Knidian hairstyle and a draping negligée. Her chalky complexion and pallid features suggest a fading polychromy; her disproportionately long left arm might be appropriated from a different figurine, or else dislocated from its socket, as it turns from the elbow at an unnatural angle.

The figure stands wedged between a polished mahogany table and a Japanese folding screen, whose vivid colors and patterns are abstracted and dimly reflected in her filmy garment so that she appears pinned to the décor. The tall window offers no escape, as a table has been set in front of it for the purpose of forcing the paperwhite bulbs; sheer curtains have been pulled aside to admit daylight and reveal the view, with only a high, pale rectangle of sky representing the natural world. The oppressive air of *Tanagra* (*The Builders*) belies the optimistic message Hassam claims to have intended, “the groth [sic] of a great city.”¹⁴⁹ The layers of culture confining the figure may be meant to buffer the shock of the modern—the outside world that had recently entered the First World War. Perhaps the artist regarded the so-called Tanagra figurine as an emblem of Western civilization, which the “Aryan” woman holds out like a talisman against the inevitability of change.

CONVERSING WITH THE PAST

For the ancient Greeks who made and consumed the Tanagra figurines, the terracottas represented the feminine ideal, “a well-dressed, mature woman . . . valued in the home, in the sanctuary, and in the afterlife.”¹⁵⁰ For the late Victorian scholars who studied and collected them, they reconfigured their concept of antique statuary, casting it in living color and offering access to “a Greece they could feel close to, . . . a Greece that was already bourgeois.”¹⁵¹ But after the turn of the twentieth century, the Tanagras began to lose their glamour. They were dispersed from private collections and removed from museum displays out of a combined fear of forgery and antipathy toward Victorian taste. The term “Tanagra,” however, lived on, and expanded to embrace the new movement of women’s liberation. The Italian feminist Rosa Genoni (1867–1954), an outspoken opponent of the first World War and the Fascist regime, designed the Tanagra Dress in 1908 to wear when addressing the first Italian National Congress of Women. Challenging the contemporary taste for closely tailored styles, the dress balanced “the stitched and the draped,” as the fashion historian Eugenia Paulicelli has noted, and made “a statement of a strong female identity and personality.”¹⁵²

In *The Modern Parisienne* of 1912, Octave Uzanne writes that “the lady of society” had at last achieved the freedom to choose how she “set off her elegance and beauty” while at home: “She has rediscovered the art of drapery, of arranging materials of harmonious folds, and sometimes delights to wrap herself in clinging gauzy stuffs like the delicious Tanagra statuettes.”¹⁵³ That new attitude toward tailoring became public in 1913, with a new “silhouette à la mode” predicated on a misunderstanding of Tanagra drapery as “drawn up in front and low at the back” (fig. 1.21).¹⁵⁴ Although the new fashion was adopted by Parisian ladies as markers of their modernity, they still felt compelled, as the writer Colette noted in her memoirs, to wear a long “Tanagra corset” underneath, lest their loose garb reflect upon their morals.¹⁵⁵ The liberating connotations of the term “Tanagra” were also cast on the art of dance, most famously in Martha Graham’s debut performance as a choreographer in 1926. In *Tanagra*, Graham (1894–1991) appeared on stage as a figurine in motion, “a Greek figure with a fan, who handled her soft draperies deftly and made beautiful pictures against the black back-drop” (fig. 1.22).¹⁵⁶



Figure 1.21: “La Silhouette à la mode: Fashion’s Newest Lines,” *Illustrated London News*, 12 Apr 1913, 476. Image: Public domain.



Figure 1.22: Martha Graham performing *Tanagra*. Photographer unknown, ca. 1926. Photograph, 7 x 10 in. Library of Congress, Music Division, Washington, D.C. Image: Public domain.

Like all popular manias, the enthusiasm for Tanagra figurines, and even for the lilting tone of the word itself, eventually faded away. During the postwar period, the terracottas all but disappeared from view, except to the scholars who studied them, and even they were discomfited by the Tanagras' easy charm: in 1948, one classicist belittled them in his book on Greek ceramics as "young women of light calibre pulling their dresses into pretty patterns."¹⁵⁷ Although Reynold Higgins confidently expected a revival of the taste for them as part of the resurgence of Victoriana in the 1960s,¹⁵⁸ the twentieth century, it seems, took little notice of the ancient terracottas.

It was only in 2003 that the figurines returned to the limelight, introduced to the new millennium with *Tanagra: Mythe et archéologie*, an exhibition organized by the Louvre and the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.¹⁵⁹ Though dominated by terracottas from the Louvre's collection, the exhibition gathered figurines from various European museums, which were shown together with a number of nineteenth-century works cast in their image. Another version of that exhibition, *Tanagras: Figurines for Life and Eternity*, was staged in Valencia, Spain, in 2010.¹⁶⁰ Dispensing with the nineteenth-century context, it focused entirely on the Louvre Tanagras, and its outstanding catalogue, published in Spanish and English,

offers new art-historical scholarship and technical research, providing a fresh foundation for the further study of Tanagra figurines.

Whistler's lithographs, after a period of acclaim in the 1890s, had also fallen out of public favor in the twentieth century. For all the artist's efforts to the contrary, lithography remained closely associated with industrial printing and poster art, and the particular delicacy of Whistler's lithographs made them difficult to reproduce to good advantage. Moreover, in comparison with his etchings, which had always been held in high esteem, and his paintings, which included one of the icons of American art, Whistler's lithographs seemed insubstantial and insignificant. In 1998, however, an exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago revived popular and scholarly enthusiasm for this aspect of Whistler's production.¹⁶¹ *Songs on Stone: James McNeill Whistler and the Art of Lithography* not only brought the prints out of storage but celebrated the publication of a catalogue raisonné, *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, the product of a decade's research by a gifted team of scholars.¹⁶² The comprehensive exhibition and magisterial catalogue together reinstated the significance, and demonstrated the unutterable charm, of this genre of Whistler's art.

Emanating from Paris and Chicago, those projects are models of art-historical and technical research. They recontextualize the art of Hellenistic terracottas and Whistler lithographs for the twenty-first century, taking their nineteenth-century "discovery" into account. *Recasting Antiquity* could not have been organized without them, and our work draws from their scholarship to configure a new, and appropriately miniaturized, interpretation of Whistler's art and Tanagra terracottas. Comprising some fifty objects, the exhibition juxtaposes modern works on paper with the ancient figurines that inspired them, allowing us to better understand how artists conduct conversations with the past, and how the notion of Tanagras as models of ideal femininity was recast from antiquity to suit the desires of the modern day.

1. Frederic Vors, "The Tanagra Figurines," *New-York Tribune*, Oct 27, 1879, 5. The epigraph is from Reynold Higgins, "The Discovery of Tanagra Statuettes," *Apollo* 71 (1962): 592.
2. Marcus B. Huish, "Tanagra Terra-cottas," *Studio* 14 (Jul 15, 1898): 99.
3. Néguine Mathieux, "Tanagras in Paris: a bourgeois dream," in Violaine Jeammet, ed., *Tanagras: Figurines for Life & Eternity: The Musée du Louvre's Collection of Greek Figurines* (Valencia, Spain: Fundación Bancaja, 2010), 17.
4. Henri Houssay, "Deux Figurines de la nécropole de Tanagra," in J. de Witte and François Lenormant, ed., *Gazette archéologique: Recueil de Monuments pour servir a la connaissance et a l'histoire de l'art antique* 2 (1876), 73.
5. Charles de Kay, "A Side Light on Greek Art: Some of the Newly Discovered Terra Cottas," *Century Illustrated Magazine* 39, 4 (Feb 1890): 560.

6. C.A. Hutton, *Greek Terracotta Statuettes* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899), 44.
7. Higgins, "Discovery of Tanagra," 589; Marcus B. Huish, *Greek terracotta statuettes: their origin, evolution, and uses* (London: John Murray, 1900), 100. See for example J. P. Mahaffy, *Greek Pictures: Drawn with Pen and Pencil* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1890), 111: "We must not therefore accept the jibes of the witty Athenians, in whose assumed contempt of the Bœotians, there lay the same suspicion of conscious inferiority that lies in the Irish ridicule of English stolidity."
8. Olivier Rayet, "Les Figurines de Tanagra au Musée du Louvre," in three parts, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, second series, 11 (1875): 57.
9. Hutton, *Greek Terracotta Statuettes*, 49; R.R.R. Smith, "Goddesses and Women," in *Hellenistic Sculpture: A Handbook* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991), 84.
10. "Fine Arts. The Tanagrine Figures," *Athenaeum*, 19 Nov 1892, 708.
11. Mary F. Curtis, *Tanagra Figurines* (Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Co., 1879), 36.
12. "Tanagra," *Academy*, Dec 9, 1899, 667; Jaimee P. Uhlenbrock, "History, Trade, and the Terracottas," *Gifts to the Goddesses: Cyrene's Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone* 34, nos. 1–2 (1992): 20.
13. Huish, *Greek terra-cotta statuettes*, 4.
14. Wilhelm Fröhner, *Catalogue of Objects of Greek Ceramic Art exhibited in 1888* (London: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1888), 64.
15. Violaine Jeammet, "The clothes worn by Tanagra figurines: a question of fashion or ritual?" in Jeammet, *Tanagras* (2010), 135.
16. "Greek Terra-Cottas from Tanagra and Elsewhere," *Scribner's Monthly* 21, no. 6 (Apr 1881): 911.
17. Hutton, *Greek Terracotta Statuettes*, 1899, 44; "The Tanagra Statuettes," *The Art Journal* 5 (1879): 379.
18. Rosemary Barrow, "The Veiled Body: Tanagra Statuette," in *Gender, Identity and the Body in Greek and Roman Sculpture*, prepared for publication by M. Silk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 51; Olivier Rayet, from *Monuments de l'art antique*, quoted in "Greek Terra-Cottas from Tanagra and Elsewhere," *Scribner's Monthly* 21, no. 6 (Apr 1881): 915.
19. Sheila Dillon, "Case Study III: Hellenistic Tanagra Figurines," in *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, edited by Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon (John Wiley & Sons, 2012), 233; Malcolm Bell III, "Tanagras and the Idea of Type," *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 1, no. 3 (Spring 1993): 41, presenting the research of Dorothy Burr Thompson.
20. "Greek Terra-Cottas from Tanagra and Elsewhere," *Scribner's Monthly* 21, no. 6 (Apr 1881): 926.
21. See A. Muller, "Artisans, techniques de production et diffusion: le cas de la coroplathie," in *L'artisanat en Grèce ancienne: les productions, les diffusions. Actes du colloque de Lyon, Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen, 10-11 décembre 1998*, edited by F. Blondé and A. Muller (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Université Charles de Gaulle – Lille 3, 2000) (with thanks to Andrew Farinholt Ward).
22. "The Tanagra Statuettes," *Art Journal* 5 (1879): 380
23. For an example, see "The Painted Lady: Examining Ancient Pigment on Ancient Greek Terracotta figure in the Michael C. Carlos Museum," by Jada Chambers, Tyler Holman, and Bobby Wendt, Nov 26, 2022.
24. Fröhner, *Catalogue of Objects*, 65.
25. Arthur Muller, "The Technique of Tanagra coroplasts. From local craft to 'global industry,'" in Jeammet, *Tanagras* (2010), 101.
26. Bell, "Tanagras and the Idea of Type," 50.
27. On venting the figurines, see Allen, "Made of Earth, Adorned with Beauty."
28. Uhlenbrock, "History, Trade, and the Terracottas," 20.
29. Huish, *Greek terra-cotta statuettes*, 1.
30. Fröhner, *Catalogue of Objects*, 65; Lucilla Burn, "Terracottas," in *A Companion to Greek Art*, edited by Tyler Jo Smith and Dimitris Plantzos (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2012), 225.
31. Brigitte Bourgeois, "Arts and Crafts of Colour on the Louvre Tanagra Figurines," in Jeammet, *Tanagras* (2010), 239.
32. Fröhner, *Catalogue of Objects*, 65; Oscar Wilde, *An Ideal Husband*, 1893; reprint The Project Gutenberg, <https://gutenberg.org/cache/epub/885/pg885-images.html>
33. "Greece," in M. A. Racinet, *Le Costume Historique* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et Cie., 1888), no. 24, 2:52; Rayet, "Les Figurines de Tanagra" (1875), 61.
34. Dillon, "Case Study III: Hellenistic Tanagra Figurines," 233.
35. Henri Houssay, "Deux Figurines" (1876), 73.
36. On the polychromy of Tanagras, see Violaine Jeammet, Céline Knecht, and Sandrine Pagès-Camagna, "The polychrome decoration on Hellenistic terracottas: figurines from Tanagra and Myrina in the collection of the Musée du Louvre," in Jeammet, *Tanagras* (2010), 245–49.
37. Henri Houssay, "Deux Figurines" (1876), 73; Edmond Pottier, *Les statuettes de terre cuite dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1890), 254, quoted in Reynold Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 119.
38. Vors, "The Tanagra Figurines" (1879), 5.
39. "Greek Terra-Cottas from Tanagra and Elsewhere," *Scribner's Monthly* 21, no. 6 (Apr 1881): 925–26; Hutton, *Greek Terracotta Statuettes*, 44; "The Tanagra Statuettes," *Art Journal* 5 (1879): 380.
40. [Rupert Hughes] "The Field of Art," *Scribner's Magazine* 19 (Jan 1896): 126.
41. "Art Notes," *New York Times*, May 19, 1890, 4.
42. Sarah J. Lippert, "Jean-Léon Gérôme and Polychrome Sculpture: Reconstructing the Artist's Hierarchy of the Arts," *Dix-Neuf* 18, no. 1 (Apr 2014): 107.

43. Brigitte Bourgeois, "Art and Crafts of Colour on the Louvre Tanagra Figurines," in Jeammet, *Tanagras* (2010), 238; "Fine Arts. *La Collection Spitzer*," *Athenaeum*, Nov 1, 1890, 591.
44. "Ancient Art," *New York Times*, Nov 19, 1880, 3; Olivier Rayet, *Monuments de l'art antique*, 2 vols. (Paris: A. Quantin, 1884). The terracottas are reproduced and discussed in vol. 2, *Sculpture Grecque, Seconde Moitié du IV Siècle Ile et IIIe Siècles Sculpture Romaine, Terres Cuites*.
45. "Tanagra Figurines," *American Architect and Building News*, Oct 25, 1879, 131.
46. L. Huezey, "Terres cuites du musée du Louvre," *Le Magasin Pittoresque* 45 (1877): 382, quoted in Edouard Papet, "De l'objet archéologique aux babioles de luxe," in Violaine Jeammet, ed., *Tanagra: Mythe et archéologie* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2003), 43.
47. Huish, "Tanagra Terra-cottas" (1898), 103.
48. "Greek Terra-Cottas from Tanagra and Elsewhere," *Scribner's Monthly* 21, no. 6 (Apr 1881): 926.
49. "Tanagra Figurines," *American Architect and Building News*, Oct 25, 1879, 131–32.
50. A. S. Murray, "Fine Art," *Academy*, Mar 2, 1878, 194
51. "Greek Art at the Burlington Fine Arts Club," *Illustrated London News*, Jun 23, 1888, 692.
52. "Art Notes," *Illustrated London News*, Oct 24, 1891, 546.
53. "University Intelligence," *The Times*, Jun 19, 1882, 6; A. S. Murray in Hutton, *Greek Terracotta Statuettes*, vii.
54. "Miss Curtis's 'Tanagra Figurines,'" *Scribner's* 21, no. 6 (Apr 1881), 958.
55. Huish, *Greek terra-cotta statuettes*, 1–2.
56. "History in Terra Cotta," *Harper's Bazaar*, reprinted in *Current Literature* 14, no. 1 (Sep 1893): 77; Hutton, *Greek Terra-cotta Statuettes*, 45.
57. John Pentland Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies in Greece* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1876), 54.
58. Burn, "Terracottas," 226; Barrow, "The Veiled Body," 61.
59. Huish, *Greek terra-cotta statuettes*, 5.
60. Murray, "Fine Art," (1878), 194.
61. Rayet, "Les figurines de Tanagra" (1875), 65.
62. Curtis, *Tanagra Figurines*, 40, 20, and 22.
63. Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies*, 55; Vors, "The Tanagra Figurines" (1879), 5; Rayet, "Les Figurines de Tanagra" (1875): 68.
64. "Tanagra Figurines," *American Architect and Building News*, Oct 25, 1879, 131.
65. Daniel Grapler, "Tanagras as funeral offerings: the example of Tarentum," in Jeammet, *Tanagras* (2010), 219. See also *Tanagréenes d'Alexandrie: figurines en terre cuite hellénistiques des necropolis orientales* (Alexandria 2007) (with thanks to Andrew F. Ward).
66. Barrow, "The Veiled Body," 61.
67. Murray, "Fine Art" (1878), 194.
68. Burn, "Terracottas," 231–32.
69. de Kay, "Side Light on Greek Art" (1890), 554 and 557.
70. "Tanagra Figurines," *American Architect and Building News*, Oct 25 1879, 131; de Kay, "Side Light on Greek Art" (1890), 554.
71. Murray, "Fine Art" (1878), 194.
72. The "Jongleuse" [Juggler] is discussed in Olivier Rayet, "Exposition Universelle. L'Art Grec au Trocadéro," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, second series, 18 (1878): 358 (and reproduced on p. 359). The *Athenaeum* mentions "the nude female getting through a large ring" in a description of the Lécuyer collection ("Fine Arts," *Athenaeum*, Jun 8, 1878, 739). Edouard Papet identifies the object as "a famous fake" in Jeammet, *Tanagra* (2003), 50.
73. See Ruth Allen's essay for further discussion.
74. Hutton, *Greek Terra-cotta Statuettes*, 45.
75. "Greek," in Racinet, *Le Costume Historique*, no. 24; 2:51; Hutton, *Greek Terra-cotta Statuettes*, 45.
76. "Garmenture," reprinting a piece from the *Saturday Review* in *Newcastle Weekly Courant*, Sep 29, 1876, 7.
77. Barrow, "The Veiled Body," 58.
78. Ibid. 51, 59 and 55. Smith advances the alternate view that the women represented were from "the urban lower-middle and artisan classes," and "in drapery style and female representation, the Tanagras imitate their betters." *Hellenistic Sculpture*, 86.
79. Dillon, "Case Study III: Hellenistic Tanagra Figurines," 233–34.
80. Graepler, "Tanagras as funeral offerings," in Jeammet, *Tanagras* (2010), 219.
81. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, 79.
82. Rayet, "Les Figurines de Tanagra" (1875), 57.
83. Curtis, *Tanagra Figurines*, 28.
84. The pillar motif and crossed legs may come from *Standing Woman Leaning on a Pillar (Femme debout appuyée sur un pilier)*, a statuette from the Acropolis, Athens, ca. 330–300 BCE, reproduced in Jeammet, *Tanagra* (2003), 162, no. 110. See also "Aphrodite Leaning on a Pillar," no. 6, in Jeammet, *Tanagras* (2010), 144.
85. Burn, "Terracottas," 230–31.
86. "Our Notebook," *Illustrated London News*, Oct 24, 1885, 414.
87. Violaine Jeammet, Céline Knecht, and Sandrine Pagès-Camagna, "The polychrome decoration on Hellenistic terracottas: figurines from Tanagra and Myrina in the collection of the Musée du Louvre," in Jeammet, *Tanagras* (2010), 246–47. See also Ruth Allen's essay.
88. "Our Notebook," *Illustrated London News*, Oct 24 1885, 414.

89. "A Sculptor of Statuettes," *Current Literature* 34, no. 6 (Jun 1903): 699.
90. Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines*, 29.
91. Higgins, "Discovery of Tanagra," 587.
92. Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines*, 30; and Juliette Becq, "The discovery of the Tanagras," in Jeammet, *Tanagras* (2010), 16.
93. Vors, "The Tanagra Figurines" (1879), 5.
94. Becq, "Discovery of the Tanagras," in Jeammet, *Tanagras* (2010), 16; Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines*, 29–30.
95. Murray, "Fine Art" (1878), 194; "Notes and News," *Academy*, Jun 27, 1874, 730.
96. "Greek Terra-cottas from Tanagra and Elsewhere," *Scribner's Monthly* 21, no. 6 (Apr 1881): 912.
97. Oscar Wilde, "L'Envoi," introduction to Rennell Rodd, *Rose Leaf and Apple Leaf* (Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddart, 1882), n.p.
98. Oscar Wilde to J. P. Mahaffy [? Apr 1893], quoted in Alastair J. L. Blanshard, "Mahaffy and Wilde: A Study in Provocation," in *Oscar Wilde and Classical Antiquity*, edited by Kathleen Riley, Blanshard, and Iarla Manny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 19.
99. Mahaffy returned to Greece with Oscar Wilde and two other undergraduates in 1877, but there is no evidence to suggest that he saw collections of Tanagras again, and certainly not with Wilde, despite Matthew Sturgis's claim in *Oscar: A Life* (London: Head of Zeus, 2018), 10.
100. Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies*, 54 and 56.
101. Edmond Duranty, "La Curiosité, les statuettes de Tanagra," *La Vie Moderne*, Apr 17, 1879, 32, translated and quoted by Kathleen Pyne, *Art and the Higher Life: Painting and Evolutionary Thought in Late Nineteenth-century America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 329 n.87; Théodore Reinach "in a French periodical," 1899, quoted in Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines*, 176–77.
102. Vors, "The Tanagra Figurines" (1879), 5.
103. "Greek Figurines," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jan 20, 1877, 9. This article purports to record an interview with Mahaffy but is actually just unattributed quotations from his book.
104. "Notes and News," *Academy*, Jun 27, 1874.
105. "Curious Discovery," *York Herald*, Nov 30 1874, 6; "Literary and Art Gossip," *Leeds Mercury*, Nov 25, 1874, 3; "The British Museum," *The Times*, Apr 21, 1876, 7.
106. Rayet, "L'art grec au Tracadéro" (1878), 350.
107. "The Retrospective Collections," *Illustrated Paris Universal Exhibition*, issue 19 (Sep 14, 1878): n.p.
- The first documented use of *figurine* was in 1854, but the Tanagras seem to have given the word currency.
108. Rayet, "Exposition Universelle" (1878), 350.
109. "Fine Arts," *Athenaeum*, Nov 1, 1890, 591
110. Vors, "The Tanagra Figurines" (1879), 5.
111. "Archaeology in Italy," *The Times*, Jul 24, 1886, 5.
112. "Tanagra Figurines," *American Architect and Building News*, Oct 25, 1879, 131.
113. "Ancient Relics Made to Order," *Washington Post*, Nov 28, 1900, 3.
114. Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines*, 166.
115. "Greek Terra-Cottas," letter from Cecil Torr, *Athenaeum*, May 19, 1888, 639.
116. Fröhner, *Catalogue of Objects*, 66; Murray, "Burlington Fine Arts Club. Exhibition of Greek Ceramic Art," *Academy*, Jul 28, 1888, 58.
117. Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines*, 166.
118. Higgins, "Discovery of Tanagra," 587.
119. "Fine Arts," *Athenaeum*, Jun 8, 1878, 739.
120. "The Tanagra Statuettes," *The Art Journal* 5 (1879): 380.
121. Rayet, "Les Figurines des Tanagra" (1875), 58.
122. Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, 1890, reprint, The Project Gutenberg, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/174/174-h/174-h.htm>
123. Théodore Duret, *Histoire de J. McN. Whistler et de son œuvre* (Paris: H. Floury, 1914), 104.
124. Arthur Hoeber, "A New Note in American Sculpture," *Century Illustrated Magazine* 54, no. 5 (Sep 1896): 735.
125. Katharine A. Lochnan, "1887–1894: Return to Lithography," in Art Institute of Chicago, *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, edited by Harriet K. Stratis and Martha Tedeschi (Chicago: Art Institute & Arie and Ida Crown Memorial, 1998), 109.
126. Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, "The Forgotten Legacy: The Havemeyers' Collection of Decorative Arts," in Frelinghuysen, Gary Tinterow, Susan Alyson Stein, Gretchen Wold, and Julia Meech, *Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 106.
127. The artist christened Pascal-Adolphe-Jean Dagnan started signing his works "Dagnan-Bouveret" in honor of his grandfather. Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Against the Modern: Dagnan-Bouveret and the Transformation of the Academic Tradition* (New York: Dahesh Museum of Art and New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 19.
128. de Kay, "Side Light on Greek Art" (1890), 554.
129. "Afternoons in Studios—A Chat with Mr. Whistler," *The Studio* (London) 4 (Jan 1895): 118.
130. Martha Tedeschi, "Whistler and the English Print Market," *Print Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (Mar 1997): 37.
131. James McNeill Whistler (hereinafter JW) to E. G. Kennedy, Feb 4, 1894, GUW 09715.
132. Lawless quoted in E. R. Pennell and J. Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1908), 2:10.

133. JW to Thomas Waldo Story [Dec 1882] GUW 09434.
134. Ibid.
135. Pennell and Pennell, *Life of Whistler*, 2:10.
136. Margaret F. MacDonald, "Maud Franklin and the 'Charming Little Swaggerers,'" in Margaret F. MacDonald, Susan Grace Galassi, and Aileen Ribeiro, with Patricia de Montfort, *Whistler, Women, & Fashion* (New York: The Frick Collection, in association with Yale University Press), 153.
137. JW to Thomas Waldo Story [Feb 5, 1883] GUW 09430.
138. Arthur Hoeber, "A New Note in American Sculpture: Statuettes by Bessie Potter," *Century Illustrated Magazine* 54, 5 (Sep 1897): 734.
139. Bessie Potter Vonnoh, "Tears and Laughter Caught in Bronze: A Great Woman Sculptor Recalls Her Trials and Triumphs," *Delineator* 107 (Oct 1925): 9.
140. Julie Aronson, *Bessie Potter Vonnoh: Sculptor of Women* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008), 49.
141. "Notes of the Galleries," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Mar 25, 1923, 24.
142. H.Z. [Helen Zimmern] "Studio Talk," *International Studio* 2, no. 5 (Jul 1897): 52.
143. Elizabeth Anna Semple, "The Art of Bessie Potter Vonnoh," *Pictorial Review* 12 (Apr 1911): 13.
144. Aronson, *Vonnoh: Sculptor of Women*, 145.
145. Vonnoh quoted in Elizabeth Anna Semple, "The Art of Bessie Potter Vonnoh," *Pictorial Review* 12 (Apr 1911): 13.
146. A rare depiction of an ancient woman (in Greek dress) contemplating a Tanagra figurine is *Tanagra Figurine*, 1891, by Percival DeLuce (1847–1914), at Northwest Missouri State University in Maryville. Ernest Haskell's etching *La Tanagra* (20th century) shows a seated woman with a fan in a modern version of Greek drapery and an elaborate hairdo evocative of Tanagra figurines.
147. Royal Cortissoz, "Winter Exhibition of the Academy of Design," *New-York Tribune*, Dec 15, 1918, 47.
148. Childe Hassam to John W. Beatty, Mar 8, 1920, for the catalogue of the Nineteenth Carnegie International Exhibition, Carnegie Institute, Museum of Art records, 1883–1962, Box 59, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
149. Hassam to Beatty, Mar 8, 1920.
150. Barrow, "The Veiled Body," 61.
151. Mathieux, "Tanagras in Paris," in Jeammet, *Tanagras* (2010), 19.
152. Eugenia Paulicelli, "Draping the Feminist Revolution: On Rosa Genoni's Tanagra Dress," *Vestoj: The Platform for Critical Thinking on Fashion*, n.d., n.p., <http://vestoj.com/draping-the-feminist-revolution/>
153. Octave Uzanne, *The Modern Parisienne* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), 6.
154. "La Silhouette à la mode: Fashion's Newest Lines," *Illustrated London News*, Apr 12, 1913, 476.
155. Colette quoted in Ann Cooper Albright, "The Tanagra Effect: Wrapping the Modern Body in the Folds of Ancient Greece," in *The Ancient Dancer in the Modern World: Responses to Greek and Roman Dance*, edited by Fiona Macintosh (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010): 60.
156. "Martha Graham," *Dance Magazine* (Dec 1927), Martha Graham, Collection, Library of Congress, <https://loc.getarchive.net/media/martha-graham-1d8635>
157. Arthur Lane, *Greek Pottery*, quoted in Bell, "Tanagra and the Idea of Type," 39.
158. Higgins, "Discovery of Tanagra," 592.
159. *Tanagra: Mythe et archéologie*, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Sep 15, 2003–Jan 5, 2004; Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, Canada, Feb 5–May 9, 2004.
160. *Tanagras: Figurines for Life and Eternity: The Musée du Louvre's Collection of Greek Figurines*, Directed by Violaine Jeammet, Centro Cultural Bancajo, Fundación Bancajo, Valencia, Mar 29–Jul 7, 2010.
161. *Songs on Stone: James McNeill Whistler and the Art of Lithography*, The Art Institute of Chicago, Jun 6–Aug 30, 1998; National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Oct 2, 1998–Jan 3, 1999.
162. The Art Institute of Chicago, *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*. Vol 1., *A Catalogue Raisonné*, eds. Harriet K. Stratis and Martha Tedeschi. Vol. 2, *Correspondence and Technical Studies*, ed. Martha Tedeschi. Chicago: The Art Institute, 1998.

Made of Earth, Adorned with Beauty: Tanagra Figurines and the Materiality of the Greek Female Body

Ruth Allen

For James McNeill Whistler and his nineteenth-century peers, the word *Tanagra* conjured the image of a small terracotta figurine from Hellenistic Greece, typically depicting an elegantly draped woman, naturalistically modeled and enlivened with paint, perhaps veiled or wearing a wide-brimmed hat, and holding a fan or a floral garland. As Linda Merrill and Beth Cohen explore in their contributions to this catalogue, the word, and the ancient objects it evoked, not only revolutionized the nineteenth-century perception of Greek art, now recast as something modern, vibrant, and accessible in both demeanor and scale, in sharp contrast to the monumental public marbles that defined the prevailing image of classical art at the time, but it also quickly came to embody a certain aesthetic mood or style that gave classicizing form to the contemporary female body and to contemporary notions of ideal femininity. In this sense, the nineteenth-century reception of Tanagra figurines and the diffuse deployment of their image in art and fashion was not so far removed from their ancient function as models and modelers of ideal Greek womanhood.

The figurines themselves were produced across the Hellenistic world but take their modern name from the site of Tanagra in Boeotia in northern Greece, a leading center of production in antiquity. Significant numbers were first discovered in the 1870s, buried inside tombs.¹ Although representations of men, children, the elderly, and gods are also known (see e.g., cat. nos. 6 and 10), most extant Tanagras depict adult, mortal women, identifiable as such by their costumes, accessories, and poses.² Decorated with precious pigments, and in some instances also with gold, they give tantalizing insight into both the original appearance of large-scale painted sculpture and the dressed bodies of real women in antiquity (fig. 2.1). Indeed, as Linda Merrill demonstrates, it was the extensive survival of Tanagras' polychrome decoration, as well as their intimate, seemingly feminine character and scale, that excited nineteenth-century collectors, artists, and scholars, who interpreted them as bourgeois ornaments for the home and the tomb, the ancient precursors of so many Victorian gewgaws.



Figure 2.1: Statuette of a Draped Woman, known as the “Lady in Blue,” Greek, ca. 325–300 BCE. Terracotta, pigment, gilding. 12 6/8 x 4 1/2 x 3 5/8 in. (32.5 x 11.5 x 9.2 cm). Louvre Museum. MNB 907. Image © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

Yet, the archaeological evidence suggests that Tanagra figurines in fact most likely served as votives in both funerary and sanctuary contexts,³ implying significance beyond passive decoration or fashion archive. Hollow cast using two-piece molds (cat. no. 2), they were infinitely replicable, easily mass-produced, and more affordable than figurines made from metals or stone, facilitating widespread distribution across potentially broad social strata. Examples have been excavated in tombs alongside jewelry, mirrors, and perfume vessels, indicating a feminine context, and they seem to have been especially popular grave gifts for children, where they perhaps embodied the adult roles of wife and mother that the deceased child would now no longer achieve.⁴

Others have been found in sanctuaries dedicated to deities connected with marriage, sex, and fertility, or else with the passage from childhood to adulthood, including Aphrodite, Artemis, Demeter, and Kore.⁵ At the town of Priene, Tanagras have been documented in domestic contexts, again alongside

objects like loom weights and cooking utensils that are conventionally associated with women, thus prompting scholars to question whether they were made and purchased first as votives or were personal possessions later repurposed.⁶

Sheila Dillon has argued that the ways in which many of the female Tanagras are depicted—lavishly draped, veiled, and accessorized—defines them as both elite and ideally beautiful, and places them explicitly within the world of religious rituals and public festivals, that is, “the world of women on the public stage.”⁷ Indeed, as Dillon observes, it can be no coincidence that Tanagra figurines first emerged as a class of objects in Athens at the same time as marble portrait statues of women, which often share the same poses and costumes, begin to be dedicated in the city as votives to celebrate women’s public and religious roles as priestesses (fig. 2.2).⁸ This suggests a functional as well as formal relationship between the two types of sculpture, positioning female Tanagras as miniature monuments to Hellenistic women’s participation in, and contribution to, the ritual life of the city, the family, and the home.⁹



Figure 2.2: Large Herculaneum Woman, Greek, 1st century CE. Marble. H: 78 in. (2.0 m). National Archaeological Museum of Athens, 3622. Image: CC BY-SA 4.0.

This in turn opens the way for the Tanagra figurine to function as the epitome of femininity, defining women's ideal public roles and social identities by offering a model of appearance and behavior. Certainly, if we consider girls to be one primary audience, as the funerary evidence would suggest, then these Tanagras become terracotta Barbies, presenting an aspirational female physique, costume, demeanor, and role for their young viewers to grow into.¹⁰ Taking this as its starting point, this essay nuances our understanding of how Tanagra figurines defined and diffused an image and idea of Greek womanhood by drawing attention to the materiality of the statuettes alongside their iconography,¹¹ and by considering the significance of pigment and of clay, and of the processes of molding, casting, and painting, as metaphors for the construction and conceptualization of the female body and of female identity in the Greek world.

This returns agency to terracotta as a medium and to molding as a technique, both easily dismissed as nothing more than cheap alternatives to other materials and processes.¹² But by placing the Tanagras in conversation with an ancient literary discourse that defined women as manufactured objects, both hollow container and painted surface, a materialist approach such as this also creates space for the exploration of female subjectivity and the potential for self-fashioning through the same processes of adornment, draping, shaping, and molding that characterized both Tanagra production and dominant patriarchal views of female identity in the Greek world.¹³

SHAPING THE BODY

As has been widely discussed by Dillon and others, in terms of their costume, pose, and activities, the female Tanagras embody a socially determined ideal of mortal femininity, in contrast to divine, that is defined by the competing expectations of modesty, beauty, restraint, and sexual allure.¹⁴ In the Greek world, it was considered a woman's duty to be desirable to attract a husband and bear children. A wife was consequently required to maintain standards of beauty, cultivation, and refinement.¹⁵ Sartorial elegance was also a marker of privileged status.¹⁶ Yet, male anxiety around women's unchecked sexuality as a threat to male honor meant that modesty in dress and behavior was simultaneously promoted as a virtue; women's adornment was always viewed as potentially treacherous. For this reason, laws restricted the color, transparency, and cost of garments that women could wear during religious rituals, while treatises warned women against wearing gold, jewels, and imported silk to protect their reputations.¹⁷

It should not surprise us, therefore, that in modeling an image of the ideal Greek woman, Tanagra figurines play with contrasting ideas of visibility and invisibility, and of propriety and ostentation, making the contradictory demands that society placed on women integral to the form and fabric of her body. This is most apparent in terms of costume and pose.

Most female Tanagras are conventionally dressed according to contemporary fashion. A long, belted tunic (*chiton*) covers most of the feet beneath a lightweight mantle (*himation*) that is wrapped around the body and held in place with the arms, often covering the hands (cat. no. 4 is representative).¹⁸ Many pull their mantle over their hair (e.g., cat. no. 3), and some wear a face veil (*tegidion*) (e.g., cat. no. 8, here folded over the crown of the head like a kerchief);¹⁹ if heads appear uncovered, hair is always carefully coiffed and controlled.²⁰ Arms are often crossed over the torso or raised to the chin in a conventional gesture that signals modest restraint.

As a result, these women appear swaddled beneath their voluminous drapery, their bodies concealed and constricted in a way that was deemed appropriate for public appearances, especially at religious festivals,²¹ but that simultaneously embodied the desired feminine ideals of modesty, propriety, and submissiveness that endowed the respectable wife with ideal beauty.²² And yet, at the same time as it obscured the body, the volume of fabric worn by Hellenistic women, finely pleated, meticulously layered and draped, and brightly colored with expensive dyes, attracted the eye, distinguished the wearer from others, and signaled her wealth and prestige. So, too, did the sophisticated comportment required to control and move elegantly within it.²³ The care with which the makers of these figurines delineated the textures of different textiles, evoking the transparency of fine Coan silk or Egyptian linen, colored with paint made from the same costly pigments that dyed the fabrics themselves (cat. no. 6), suggests that the ways in which dress made the wearer visible and desirable was of equal importance to the expression of elite female identity as was the performance of modesty.²⁴

Even the poses work to bring the body beneath the fabric to the fore. One representative terracotta found at Tanagra itself, now in the Louvre (cat. no. 3), is shown with lowered gaze, clutching her mantle tightly over her head and across her torso with her right arm, which is raised beneath the cloak to her chest. She grips her skirt and the loose folds of the mantle with her left hand, held at her waist in a way that nevertheless accentuates the tilt of her hips and the curve of her right thigh. Another terracotta from ancient Myrina in Asia Minor, now also in the Louvre, even lifts her skirts and extends her body into a sensuous contrapposto curve, with one hip thrust languorously to the side (cat. no. 9). As Sarah Blundell notes, in almost every instance in which a woman is shown clutching at her clothes on Athenian vases, the gesture "carried intimations of eroticism."²⁵ The same is true here: even as they seemingly attempt to shield themselves from the gaze of onlookers, these figurines pull their drapery tight across hips, breasts, bellies, and thighs, effectively sculpting the body in a way that emphasizes its physical desirability. Indeed, their poses mimic the hipshot coquetry of the Aphrodite of Knidos, the famous cult statue of the goddess created by the Greek sculptor Praxiteles in the fourth century BCE, whose disingenuous attempts to shield her nudity with her arms

instead directed her viewer's desirous gaze precisely towards what was not meant to be seen (fig. 2.3; also cat. 10).²⁶



Figure 2.3: Statuette of the Aphrodite of Knidos, Greek, 3rd-2nd century BCE. Marble, 9 5/8 x 3 1/16 x 2 11/16 in. (24.5 x 7.8 x 6.9 cm). Walters Art Museum, 23.98. Image: CC BY-SA 4.0.

By evoking the Knidia, the Tanagras' body language hints at the fertility and sexual allure of the respectable wife, and of the pleasures of removing the drapery that signified her virtuous reserve.²⁷ At the same time, they remind their female viewer that only adornment offers mortal women Aphrodite's charm.²⁸ But in the case of the Tanagras, of course, there is no body beneath the cloth; they are completely hollow, thanks to the process by which they were made.²⁹ These figures are their drapery, making tangible the prevailing Greek notion that the mortal female body was a clothed body, or rather, that the dressed and adorned body was woman's natural state.³⁰ Pandora, the first woman of Greek myth, provides the paradigm.

Forthwith [Hephaistos] the famous Lame God molded clay in the likeness of a modest maid, as the son of Kronos purposed. And the goddess bright-eyed Athene girded and clothed her, and the divine Kharites and queenly Peitho put necklaces of gold upon her, and the rich-haired Horai crowned her head with spring flowers. And Pallas Athene bedecked her form with

*all manners of finery. Also [Hermes] the Guide, the Slayer of Argos, contrived within her lies and crafty words and a deceitful nature at the will of loud thundering Zeus, and the Herald of the gods put speech in her. And he called this woman Pandora (All-Gifts), because all they who dwelt on Olympos gave each a gift, a plague to men who eat bread.*³¹

In the version told by the Greek poet Hesiod (thought to be active around 700 BCE), Pandora comes into being through the act of dressing, so that she is one and the same with the finely worked garments and jewelry with which she is adorned (fig. 2.4).³² This is, in effect, to reduce Pandora and all women that come after her to decorated surfaces,³³ which for Hesiod and so many other Greek writers was to define woman as both highly crafted and deeply deceptive.³⁴ Pandora's beautifully wrought drapery and ornaments are as much a marker of her inherent craftiness as are her cunning words. Indeed, Greek and later Roman anti-cosmetic rhetoric consistently presented women's adornment as a deceptive art, closely and negatively associated with artificiality, to the extent that authors frequently likened women's bodies to luxury goods and manufactured objects, including vessels and woven textiles, objectifying the female by highlighting the constructedness and superficiality of her image.³⁵



Figure 2.4: Red-Figure Calyx Krater with the Creation of Pandora, attributed to The Niobid Painter. Greek, Athenian, 460-450 BCE. Terracotta. H: 19 in. (49 cm). British Museum. 1856,1213.1. Image © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Such analogies point to the potential gap between surface and substance that adornment might open, at the same time as suggesting woman's interior emptiness, which, to the Greek

mind, made her both a vehicle for reproduction and an insatiable glutton for luxury and sex.³⁶ Tanagras, of course, make this metaphorical hollowness literal by virtue of their being cast from two-piece molds. But they also make it visible: almost all figurines have a square or circular opening in the back, which was ostensibly to prevent the terracotta from exploding by releasing moisture and hot air during the firing process (fig. 2.5). Yet, the typical size of these openings is approximately one inch in height, which is much larger than is needed to vent air from inside a terracotta sculpture. It has been suggested that the holes may also have provided access to the interior of the figurines to facilitate the process of connecting the separately cast parts from the inside. In any case, one consequence of the enlarged size of the openings is that they draw attention to the figurine's emptiness as well as to its facture, making both intrinsic features of the idealized female body.



Figure 2.5: Statuette of a Draped Woman (reverse view), Greek, ca. 300–250 BCE. Terracotta, 9 11/16 x 3 7/8 x 2 in. (24.6 x 9.8 x 5.1 cm). Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Carlos Collection of Ancient Art, 1984.15. Image © Bruce M. White, 2014.

That Pandora should, like the Tanagras, also be molded from clay only reinforces her status as an artwork. Clay is the original stuff of creation used to make mankind in Sumerian, Egyptian, and Greek mythological traditions,³⁷ and retains its status as the archetypal artist's medium throughout Roman

histories of artistic production. Indeed, for the Roman historian Gaius Plinius Secundus (Pliny the Elder, ca. 23/24–79 CE), the origins of all art are dependent on it. We are told that the first portrait modeled in clay was made by a Greek tile-maker, Butades of Sikyon (thought to be active ca. 600 BCE), who created a likeness of the young man with whom his daughter was in love by pressing clay onto the surface of a wall on which she had traced his silhouetted profile.³⁸ This model was reportedly preserved in the Nymphaeum in Corinth until the Roman general Lucius Mummius sacked the city in 146 BCE, which was itself a critical moment in Rome's own telling of its history of encounter with Greek art.³⁹

Pliny goes on to relate how Butades used this new technique to make terracotta antefixes in the shape of faces to adorn the pediments of temples, a tradition supposedly exported to Italy in the seventh century BCE by Demaratos of Corinth, father of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, the first king of Rome.⁴⁰ In Italy at this time, clay was also used to create cult statues of gods, confirming its historical significance as a key medium in the development of three-dimensional figurative art.⁴¹ Indeed, Pliny is careful to stress how clay also undergirds the work of major Greek artists such as Lysistratos, brother of the celebrated sculptor Lysippos, who was the first to model sculptures in clay before casting them in bronze to better capture a faithful likeness.⁴²

Pliny's discussion of clay as an artist's medium is ultimately concerned with establishing the boundaries of morally viable cultural production in the new Roman world of empire, which threatened, with its expanded boundaries, infinite resources, and ever-more capacious categories for wealth, to push everything into luxuriousness.⁴³ Where luxury represented an abuse of nature and a profligate waste of resources,⁴⁴ clay, by contrast, was a material that could be extracted from the earth without endangering it, unlike quarrying for marbles or precious metals, and that did not increase the value of the objects it was used to create; likewise, its original association with temple decoration and the depiction of cult images ensured its moral value.⁴⁵ For our purposes, though, Pliny's discussion also helps us to understand how clay as a material was inextricably bound in the ancient mind to the idea of original composition, lifelike representation, and the touch of the artist's hand, and was also synonymous with the development of three-dimensional figurative art in history as well as in myth.

To make a body from clay, then, was in many ways to promote its status as handmade artwork—something rendered tangible in the many terracottas that preserve the fingerprints of their maker (fig. 2.6).⁴⁶ But it was also to engage with a literary discourse that frequently ascribed the same physical properties of clay, namely its malleability and the ease with which it receives impressions, to the female body. According to the philosopher Aristotle (384–322 BCE), the female of any species is “softer, quicker to be tamed, more receptive to handling, and readier to learn” than the male,⁴⁷ characteristics

we might collectively categorize as being more easily susceptible to outside forces, both physical and mental.⁴⁸



Figure 2.6: Statuette of a Draped Woman with fingerprints embedded in the clay (detail), Greek, ca. 320 BCE. Terracotta, pigment. 8 1/8 x 2 1/2 x 3 1/16 in. (20.6 x 6.4 x 7.8 cm). Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Gift of the Christian Humann Foundation, 1986.19.2. Image © Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University.

In texts by other male writers, women's flesh is considered spongier, more fluid and more permeable than men's,⁴⁹ and more in need of binding and shaping. So, the Greek physician Soranos of Ephesos (b. 98 CE), writing under the Roman Empire, states that all newborns need careful swaddling in order to "mold every part according to its natural shape," but that girls should be bound tighter across the chest and more loosely around the loins to achieve the ideal female form.⁵⁰ As adults, Roman women might further manipulate the shape of their bodies by bolstering hips, corseting stomachs, and even stitching cork into the soles of their shoes,⁵¹ suggesting how the female body remained malleable and open to change, even if only—or especially—in appearance.

That molding itself should be considered a female act is reinforced by the language of pregnancy and reproduction found in the same medical and philosophical texts. The Greek word *matrix* can mean both "uterus" and "mold," a synonymy exploited in the *Timaeus* by the philosopher Plato, who imagines the womb molding the fetus into shape as it develops. Indeed, the potential for a womb to be like a mold is even made tangible in the prevalence of mold-made terracotta uteri dedicated as votives across Italy from the fourth to the first century BCE (see fig. 2.7).⁵²



Figure 2.7: Group of votive uteri, probably Roman, ca. 200 BCE–200 BCE. Terracotta. Max: 5 13/15 x 2 1/2 x 2 3/16 in. (14.8 x 6.3 x 5.5 cm). Science Museum, Sir Henry Wellcome's Museum Collection, A636082. Image © The Board of Trustees of the Science Museum, London via CC BY-SA 4.0.

Plato's theorization of how phenomenal objects come into being and change state likewise imagines a maternal space—the so-called Receptacle—in which phenomena appear, disappear, and receive new form.⁵³ Verbs of molding, impressing, and modeling define Plato's concept of the Receptacle, as do gendered notions of pregnancy.⁵⁴ In this way, human reproduction becomes analogous to processes of mechanical mark-making and serial production. But we might imagine a viewer of a Tanagra figurine understanding the reverse to be true, too: cast from a mold that was itself cast from a hand-modeled prototype, then shaped and incised with tools, these terracottas make reproduction through replication and craft integral to the fabrication and function of the female body,⁵⁵ while at the same time embodying the common literary trope that likened women to vessels and reduced them to their wombs.⁵⁶ Those figurines that show draped women holding swaddled infants make even more explicit the conceptual link that is so deeply rooted in the Greek imagination between women's hollow clay bodies and their capacity for reproduction (cat. no. 7).

Indeed, a parallel metaphor common in Greek literature equated women's bodies to earth, which was considered the quintessential womb,⁵⁷ ready to be plowed and sown. So, we are told in the *Timaeus* that the male seed is sown upon the womb "as upon plowed soil,"⁵⁸ while the Athenian marriage agreement, made between the bride's father and her new husband, was probably sealed with the formula, "I hand over this woman to you for the plowing of legitimate children."⁵⁹ Not only does this reduce woman to a clay womb, a container for offspring,⁶⁰ at the same time as reiterating the clay-like softness and permeability of her flesh, but such metaphors of husbandry once again center the importance of cultivation—in the sense of both taming and refining—to the production of the female body and of female identity in the Greek world.⁶¹

This helps us to think about Pandora's clay fabric as critical to a gendered reading of her body, and hence also any female body, as both artwork and womb/mold, the handmade prototype from which all women are cast.⁶² This in turn suggests the potential for every female Tanagra to be a miniature Pandora, made of earth and adorned with finery. If we accept that any female viewer of a Tanagra figurine saw herself reflected in its image, dressed as she may have been dressed or as she aspired to be seen, then this opens the way for every woman to see herself as Pandora, too. Our contention in this essay is that, for a female viewer of Tanagra figurines, to see herself as Pandora may in the end have been empowering rather than limiting.

CRAFTING A LOOK

The suggestion that women required shaping and then cultivating through adornment is a trope later pushed to an extreme by the Roman poet Ovid (b. 43 BCE), who likens women's adorned bodies to a series of raw materials that are crude by nature but made elegant by artistry.⁶³

The statues of industrious Myron that now are famous

Were once dead weight and hard matter;

In order to make a ring, first gold is crushed;

The clothes that you wear were once filthy wool;

When it was made, your jewel was rough: now it is a noble gem,

*On which a nude Venus wrings out her spray-drenched hair.*⁶⁴

Here, Ovid's woman is not just equated to the gemstone she wears but also to the sensuous depiction of Venus engraved on it. The implication is that every woman needs work if she is to become civilized and fulfill the role of wife and mother that society demands. But by working on her appearance, she is contrived—nothing more than a shimmering image carved on the surface of a polished stone, concealing a dank, earthy, and hollow interior.⁶⁵

Ovid's analogy also justifies the emphasis placed in this essay on the potential for female viewers in antiquity to see themselves reflected in the images of women that they encountered—in both material and form—and for Tanagras therefore to be miniature mirrors and models for the women who looked at them. Even the Tanagras' painted surfaces suggest a material as well as visual correspondence between viewer and figurine. Most Tanagras were covered with a ground layer of white clay such as kaolinite, which created a smooth surface that would bind well with applied paint, and might even be burnished to add shine.⁶⁶ Women's faces were also frequently coated with a foundation layer composed of different clays and chalks that aimed to achieve a smooth, pale complexion, which was a much-desired indicator of social

status,⁶⁷ and at the same time reinforces the potential for women's bodies to be clay-like in their materiality.

According to ancient written sources, the most popular preparation was *cerussa*, a mixture of vinegar and lead white,⁶⁸ which was also a common ingredient in paints used to color the faces of female Tanagras.⁶⁹ White clay marl from the island of Melos, known as *melinum*, was likewise used to make white paint and to give a pale sheen to women's complexions.⁷⁰ Analyses of white pigments used in surviving samples of Roman period cosmetics reveal common use of calcite and gypsum.⁷¹ Similarly, chalk dust (*creta*) was used in antiquity both to brighten the complexion and to make sealings, which carried the impressions of intaglio-carved signets, like Ovid's spray-drenched Venus, suggesting how the female face could be similarly shaped and impressed with a new, more seductive look.⁷² Taken together, we might think of women sculpting their faces into plaster masks before painting them with added color.⁷³

As Kelly Olson notes, the literary sources indicate that rouge was the next most prominent cosmetic applied to women's faces in antiquity.⁷⁴ Roman authors mention red ochre (*rubrica*) and red chalk as common ingredients.⁷⁵ Like white lead, the former was also frequently used to create the red paints used for Tanagras and other painted surfaces such as wall paintings, including the billowing drapery of cat. no. 6 and the lips of cat. no. 5.⁷⁶ Likewise, soot, ashes, and lamp black were used as kohl to outline the eyes and darken the brows,⁷⁷ just as carbon black was the preferred ingredient for black paint.⁷⁸ As mentioned previously, the materials used to color the vibrant costumes of Tanagra figurines were often also used to dye the real fabrics worn by Hellenistic women, including cinnabar, red ochre,⁷⁹ madder lake,⁸⁰ and Tyrian purple made from the shells of the Murex snail.⁸¹

The figurine of Nike Phainomeride (Nike of the Visible Thigh) excavated in a tomb in Myrina and acquired by the Louvre in 1883 (cat. no. 6), wears a diaphanous pink *peplos* (a robe with a distinctive overfold) that has been carefully colored with a diffuse layer of pink-mauve paint composed of madder mixed with lead white and calcium phosphate, applied over a layer of red ochre. Bands of lead white decorate the lower edge of the dress, delineated by thin lines of yellow ochre.⁸² The effect here is not only to recreate the iridescent sheen of fine layered silks, as worn by real women, but also to suggest movement, enhanced by the luminosity of the pigments and the play of light on their surface. On some Tanagras, such as the so-called Lady in Blue (fig. 2.1),⁸³ the application of gilding to the borders of draped mantles likewise replicates the use of gold thread in the embellishment of real textiles.⁸⁴

Even the binders that were mixed with the pigments to make paint, as well as the varnishes used to protect and embellish the finished surfaces of the Tanagras, find parallels in ancient cosmetics. Both are rare to survive but were likely composed of animal or vegetable gums, egg, and vegetable resins,⁸⁵ all

of which are listed as ingredients in the ointments and face masks women wore to smooth and polish their complexions. To purify the face, Pliny recommends a wash of egg white,⁸⁶ or a skin cream made from the jelly of a bull's calf bone,⁸⁷ while Ovid offers four recipes for face packs that promise to make a woman's face "shine smoother than her own mirror,"⁸⁸ including gum arabic,⁸⁹ frankincense, and myrrh.⁹⁰

It has long been recognized that the application of varnishes to polychrome surfaces in antiquity aimed to enliven the painted image by contrasting matte areas with shiny and so creating opportunities for light-play and the suggestion of movement.⁹¹ This was to satisfy the dominant aesthetic of *poikilia*, a term used variously in Greek literature to describe shimmering or dappled things and that conveys the spectacle of intricately worked, polychrome, and multi-textured surfaces.⁹² But where the application of surface polish to a Tanagra figurine stimulated the senses through the play of light and suggested movement, effectively breathing life into the terracotta body, like another Pygmalion's statue,⁹³ it is clear from the written texts that to make a woman's complexion glossy was to reverse Pygmalion's fantasy and turn her into a glittering artwork, or, in Ovid's words, a shimmering image reflected in a mirror.⁹⁴

MOLDING THE SELF

Where it is easy to understand Tanagra figurines as miniature facsimiles of the women who may have dedicated them in temples or with whom they were buried, literature's emphasis on the "make" in "make-up" encourages us to turn the relationship on its head and instead consider the female viewers of Tanagras as facsimiles of the figurines. They, too, were massaged and molded into ideal form, prepared, painted, and polished with lotions and pigments, and finally adorned with costly textiles and jewelry, posed and artfully manipulated to attract the eye of the viewer and to suggest the desirability of the body beneath—a body prepared for marriage and motherhood, to be exchanged as a commodity between father and husband just like any other artwork. As we have seen, this synonymy is encouraged not just by the representation of contemporary dress and the suggestion of familiar and idealized contexts of behavior and action, but in the suggestive correspondence of the Tanagras' material and manufacture to cultural ideas about women's physical ontology—their earthy, malleable flesh and mold-like capacity for reproduction—as well as in the common ingredients of their painted decoration. We might even think about the process of mechanical reproduction used to create the Tanagras, by which multiple identical figurines could be cast from the same two-piece mold (fig. 2.8), dressed in uniform and with anonymous faces, as analogous to the cultural production of a homogenized and collective female identity that occluded individual character in favor of ideal social roles

(namely mother, daughter, wife, priestess), and that was both achieved and understood through adornment.⁹⁵



Figure 2.8: Three statuettes made from the same mold. Greek, ca. 330–200 BCE. Terracotta, pigment, 8 9/16 x 3 7/16 x 2 3/8 in. (21.7 x 8.7 x 6.1 cm); 10 x 3 5/8 x 2 7/8 in. (25.4 x 9.2 x 7.3 cm); 8 13/16 x 3 1/16 x 2 3/4 in. (22.3 x 7.7 x 6.9 cm). Louvre Museum, MNB 452, MNB 494, MNB 559. Image © RMN Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

If adornment, then, was the process by which women made themselves into artworks to be consumed by male viewers, then the Tanagras should be understood as promoting adornment's capacity to objectify the wearer. The figurines typically stand on a low rectangular base (cat. no. 4), ostensibly to stabilize the hollow form, but also to underscore the terracotta's status not as a representation of a real woman but as an *objet d'art*, or better, as a representation of a woman turned into an artwork—like Pygmalion's lover or another Pandora. This potentially positions the female viewers of Tanagra figurines as both willing participants in and products of a male-imposed system of cosmetic control that sought to satisfy male desire and diminish women's agency by indicating their inherent falseness.⁹⁶ Sarah Blundell has posited in her discussion of scenes of female adornment on Athenian vessels, which were typically used by women as containers for make-up, perfume, or jewelry, that female viewers had learned to be pleased by images of themselves that were pleasing to men and that reproduced dominant patriarchal views of women's roles,⁹⁷ and subsequently sought to model their bodies in their likeness. If Tanagras were designed according to male ideals about women's appearances, and were in turn produced by male artisans,⁹⁸ then this also opens the door for them to appeal to male viewers as well.

Recent scholarship, however, has argued for a more positive view of adornment, seeing it less as a process of objectification and more as a means of positive self-construction. Olson has promoted a view of women's adornment as "a deliberate act,

indicative of both female agency and a knowledge of the power of the visual, by which a woman could communicate the self to others and infuse the self with a sense of esteem and legitimacy."⁹⁹ She suggests that we need to view women as knowledgeable social actors who used adornment as a "creative way by which to exercise a means of authority and influence, a means to become sexually and economically visible and attract attention."¹⁰⁰ For Leslie Shumka, the capacity to design and maintain a look through makeup, jewelry, and dress was one of the few ways in which Roman women could express themselves, and constituted a different kind of craft, a means of shaping one's own identity.¹⁰¹ She notes the prevalence of representations of toiletry articles on Roman women's tombstones as evidence for the ways in which women's personal ornamentation was viewed positively by women as a vehicle of self-expression.¹⁰²

This encourages us to look at the Tanagras as comparable embodiments of Hellenistic women's capacity to manipulate their own image and through it their identity. Like the tombstones that Shumka discusses, the presence of so many Tanagras in what were likely female graves implies a positive association between these idealized images of femininity and the women who viewed them. Certainly, the evocation of women's public presence and religious roles, as suggested by the Tanagras' dress, opens space for female celebration of women's social visibility and their participation in the civic life of the community. We have also seen how women's manipulation of their drapery and their body language could be a means of commanding attention, arousing desire, and communicating wealth on a public stage.¹⁰³

But where we might view this as evidence of women's acceptance of the narrow remit of their public visibility, which was limited by function and controlled by dress, Nancy Sorokin Rabinowitz, in her discussion of Athenian vases, has pointed to the ways in which images of women that promoted an ideal look or behavior contributed to women's sense of themselves as a community and subsequently to the establishment of a female culture that prioritized female viewers (and hence also female makers) of female bodies, to the exclusion of the male.¹⁰⁴

Tanagras embody this potential for a self-supporting and self-regarding community of women cast in each other's image.¹⁰⁵ Unlike the life-size marble statues of women with which they were clearly in conversation, displayed publicly and seen by both men and women, the contexts within which the terracottas were viewed implies a more intimate and perhaps exclusively female audience. It is unlikely that men would have frequented the sanctuary spaces in which the female Tanagras were dedicated, while the figures' small-scale restricted how many people could look closely at any one time, facilitating women's private contemplation of the female form and inviting personal communion between image and viewer.

If we accept the gendered associations of molding as a technique, then we might also view Tanagras as female-made, at least conceptually. This is further encouraged when we consider that molds were sometimes cast directly from other terracotta figurines, establishing family-trees of mother, daughter, and sister casts, which evokes Hesiod's description of Pandora propagating the race of women, seemingly independently of men.¹⁰⁶ But the depiction of a female potter on the so-called Caputi Hydria, an Athenian red-figure hydria attributed to the Leningrad Painter, now in the Torno collection in Milan,¹⁰⁷ provides tantalizing evidence for the real existence of female artisans working with clay. This encourages us to consider the possibility that at least some Tanagras were made by female coroplasts, and making Gerome's fantasy of a female-run Tanagra workshop less fanciful than it might seem (see fig 1.5).¹⁰⁸

Although we may in truth never know the gender of the artisans that made Tanagras in antiquity, reframing these figurines as female-made, female-viewed, and self-generated gives new agency to their clay medium and to the perceived clay-like bodies of real women. Rather than the passive product of an artist's hand, they become autochthonous, "born from the earth," like Erichthonios, the mythical first king of Athens, and so are intrinsically capable of endlessly recasting themselves and their appearances. We have already hinted at how the poses that the Tanagras strike and the ways that they manipulate their dress enacts a kind of body modulation, so that they sculpt their form by pulling, gathering, and draping their garments into new shapes that echo the erotic curves of the Knidia. That this is so often done with hands and arms that are enclosed within the folds of the fabric that they handle (e.g., cat. nos. 3, 4, 5) reiterates that this is an interior, autonomous action, a moment of self-craft that encourages the Tanagras' female viewers to feel empowered by the opportunities that adornment presented to engage in self-production.¹⁰⁹ If we take Sarah Blundell's lead and recognize the erotic frisson of images of women shown clutching their clothes,¹¹⁰ then we might go one step further and even see the Tanagras as embodiments of the pleasures of self-expression through adornment, which becomes a form of self-love once we prioritize women as both the makers and the viewers of the adorned female body.

Certainly, without a male audience, posing like Aphrodite becomes a way of declaring one's desirability to oneself, recalibrating the misogynistic view of adornment as a means of cultivating the wayward female body instead into a model of self-care. And it is worth noting here that many of the same ingredients that were used for women's cosmetics and for the decoration of Tanagra figurines were also used as therapeutic medicines in antiquity.¹¹¹ Even clay was a popular remedy for various conditions. For example, Pliny notes that red clay from Lemnos was used as a red pigment but could also be applied as a liniment or ingested to counteract snake bites and other poisons, treat sore eyes, and even to control menstruation.¹¹²

The clay was reportedly sold in sealed packages, formed into a tablet known as a *sphragis*, or “seal,” and impressed with a signet bearing the image of the goddess Artemis, underscoring a material and functional relationship between medicine, cosmetics, pigments, and objects of adornment,¹¹³ and implying an intimate connection to the female body.

Indeed, as Amy Richlin notes, the properties of cosmetics, medicines, poisons, and even magic were frequently conflated in antiquity as comparable crafts that aimed at “a certain kind of control over the body and its surroundings.”¹¹⁴ Unsurprisingly, for most male commentators, this reiterated the danger of the cosmetically enhanced woman, whose constructed appearance was not only untrustworthy but also potentially harmful. But from a female perspective, we might instead see the therapeutic possibilities of cosmetics as a means of soothing and bolstering the self, either physically or psychologically. With the medicinal uses of clay in mind, Tanagras’ draped and painted terracotta bodies go one step further and promote adornment as a means of protecting and healing the body, giving it a shinier, more powerful, and more vital appearance.

UNMAKING THE SELF

Tanagra figurines, then, not only offered an image of ideal femininity to their female viewers, but also a model for its construction that was contingent on the material possibilities of clay and paint as substances intimately connected to the female body in the Greek imagination, and of molding as a method that was evocative of pregnancy and reproduction. If the female body was a dressed body, then Tanagras suggest possibilities for draping and adorning with jewelry and cosmetics to be a means of constructing and even caring for the self in a way that was empowering both in private and in public.

Produced in multiples and perhaps viewed serially, they also established a female look that enabled women to find pleasure in their capacity to satisfy the male gaze, but more importantly, also to find pleasure in their capacity to shape a self that was visible, desirable, self-generated, self-sustaining, and able to define women’s sense of themselves as a community. They also invite an embodied form of viewing. By endlessly repeating the same gestures of clutching, grasping, and manipulating their drapery, Tanagras encourage their viewers to imagine the feel of different fabrics and the sensation of moving within billowing skirts, in a way that reiterates the pleasures of adornment, both material and experiential.

But some Tanagras offer a riposte to this model of female self-production through dress and demeanor. The so-called *Titeux Dancer*, perhaps the most iconic Tanagra of the nineteenth century,¹¹⁵ discovered in Athens in 1846 and widely referenced by numerous artists of the period, exemplifies a popular class

of terracottas depicting veiled dancers that were found across the Mediterranean from the early fourth century BCE (cat. no. 1).¹¹⁶ She is shown mid-pirouette, with her thin drapery falling loosely away from her body in tumbling waves that swirl around her ankles; her garment is so delicate and her movement so rapid that it washes over breasts, stomach, and legs like water, so that she appears almost naked despite being fully draped. In fact, she looks more like representations of maenads, the mythical female followers of Dionysos, god of ecstasy, abandon, and altered states, who symbolized women’s wild, unfettered nature, and were typically shown in various states of undress (fig. 2.9).



Figure 2.9: Marble relief with a dancing maenad. Roman, ca. 27-14 CE. Marble. HL 56 5/16 in. (143 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, 35.11.3. Image: Public Domain courtesy of the Met’s Open Access Policy.

Unlike her demure terracotta sisters, therefore, this Tanagra offers an alternative to the strict control of dress and deportment that conventionally defined women’s social standing. Hers is a body instead striving to free itself from its

drapery, and in so doing, redefines adornment as a potentially de-civilizing force. It has been argued that these veiled dancers depict female worshippers engaged in specific ritual practice, which may, indeed, have been associated with Dionysos and other ecstatic deities. They may also be professional dancers, perhaps performing the *baukismos*, a spinning dance of Ionian origin that is defined in the ancient sources by its grace, intricacy, and sensuality. According to Julius Pollux, a Greek writer of the second century CE, the *baukismos* was “a dainty type of dance that liquefies the body,”¹¹⁷ while the cultic dances associated with Dionysos and others offered similar possibilities for the dissolution of physical and metaphysical boundaries and for release from all constraint. This hints at how the fluid dress worn by the *Titeux Dancer* and other terracotta dancers might instead promote the potential for adornment to take the wearer beyond even the limits of self-production: to be a means not only of shaping oneself into ideal form, but of liberating the self entirely from society’s strictures and becoming formless.¹¹⁸ Defined by their ever-malleable materiality, in this way Tanagra figurines come to symbolize models of both manufacture and emancipation for the Greek female body and its female viewers.

1. Production of so-called Tanagra style figurines is generally considered to have lasted from 330 to 200 BCE, with Tanagra and Thebes as major centers of manufacture. The style originated, however, in Athens in the third quarter of the fourth century BCE; see Jeammet 2010, 62–69. The literature on Tanagra figurines is lengthy. Key publications include Reynold A. Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Violaine Jeammet, *Tanagra: mythe et archéologie : Musée du Louvre, Paris, 15 septembre 2003-5 janvier 2004 : Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, 5 février-9 mai 2004* (Réunion des musées nationaux ; Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, Paris, Montréal, 2003); Violaine Jeammet, *Tanagras: Figurines for Life and Eternity: the Musée du Louvre’s Collection of Figurines* (Valencia: Fundación Bancaja, 2010); Sheila Dillon, “Case Study III: Hellenistic Tanagra Figurines,” in *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, edited by Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2012), 231–234. For a review of their discovery and reception, see Linda Merrill, “‘Darlings of Victorian Taste’: Tanagras & the Nineteenth Century.”
2. Rosemary J. Barrow, *Gender, Identity, and the Body in Greek and Roman Sculpture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 49. It has even been suggested that the existence of so many draped female figurines in museum collections today is as much due to the tastes of nineteenth-century collectors as to the preponderance of female subjects in antiquity; see Lucilla Burn and Reynold A. Higgins, *Catalogue of Greek Terracottas in the British Museum*, vol. 3 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 2001), 20. See also essays in this volume by Linda Merrill and Beth Cohen.
3. Violaine Jeammet, “The clothes worn by the Tanagra figurines: a question of fashion or ritual?,” in Jeammet *Tanagras* (2010), 134.
4. *Ibid.*, 160–161.
5. *Ibid.*, 160–161.
6. Rosemary J. Barrow, *Gender, Identity, and the Body in Greek and Roman Sculpture*, 61. See also Alexandra Harami, “Les fouilles de sauvetage des nécropoles de l’antique Tanagra,” in *Tanagras. De l’objet de collection à l’objet archéologique*. Actes du colloque musée du Louvre/Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris, 22 Nov. 2003), edited by Violaine Jeammet (Paris: Picard, 2007), 68.
7. Dillon, “Case Study III: Hellenistic Tanagra Figurines,” 233.
8. *Ibid.*
9. On women’s increased presence in public life during the Hellenistic period, see Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, “House and veil in ancient Greece,” *British School at Athens Studies*, 2007, Vol. 15, Building Communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond (2007), 256–257; see also Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt. From Alexander to Cleopatra* (New York: Schocken Books, 1984),
10. Terracotta dolls with articulated limbs were also popular grave gifts. Just like Barbie, these dolls encouraged little girls to cultivate adult toilette habits by playing dress-up with contemporary-styled clothing and jewelry; Leslie Shumka, “Designing women: the representation of women’s toiletries in funerary monuments in Roman Italy,” in *Roman Dress and the Fabric of Roman Culture*, edited by Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 174.
11. Much scholarship on Tanagras has been concerned with typology and iconography, that is, on pose, drapery style, and attributes, useful for determining questions of production, chronology, and social significance. Little attention has been given to the materiality of Tanagra figurines, beyond scientific analyses of their clay fabric and surface decoration, often for the purposes of determining production techniques and workshop locations. See for example, Brigitte Bourgeois, “Arts and crafts of colour on the Louvre’s Tanagra Figurines,” in Jeammet, *Tanagras* (2010), 238–244.
12. Indeed, the perceived ordinariness of terracotta was part of what appealed to the Victorian viewers of Tanagras; see Linda Merrill, “‘Darlings of Victorian Taste’: Tanagras & the Nineteenth Century.”
13. I am inspired here by Sue Blundell and Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz’s discussion of adornment scenes in Attic vase-painting; Sue Blundell and Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz, “Women’s bodies, women’s pots: adornment scenes in Attic vase-painting,” *Phoenix*, Vol. 62, No. 1/2 (Spring/Summer 2008), 115–144.
14. Dillon, “Case Study III: Hellenistic Tanagra Figurines,” 88.
15. Eve D’Ambra “Nudity and adornment in female portrait sculpture of the 2nd century AD,” in *I, Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome*, edited by Diana E. E. Kleiner and Susan B. Matheson (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1996), 102. See also Diana E. E. Kleiner and Susan B. Matheson, “Introduction,” in *I, Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome*, edited by Diana E. E. Kleiner and Susan B. Matheson, 13.
16. Dillon, “Case Study III: Hellenistic Tanagra Figurines,” 100.
17. Sheila Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 100, citing Riet van Bremen, *The Limits of Participation: Women and Civic Life in the*

- Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (J.C. Gieben, Amsterdam, 1996), 142–144.
18. This new style of dress may have developed in this period specifically for portrait statues of women; see Dillon, “Case Study III: Hellenistic Tanagra Figurines,” 5.
 19. See Llewellyn Jones, “House and veil in ancient Greece,” (2007).
 20. On loose hair as a sign of unrestrained morals in adult women, see Molly M. Levine, “The gendered grammar of ancient Mediterranean hair,” in *Off with Her Head!: The Denial of Women’s Identity in Myth Religion, and Culture*, edited by Howard Eilberg-Schwartz and Wendy Doniger, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 76–130.
 21. Llewellyn-Jones suggests female veiling was commonplace in ancient Greece; see Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite’s Tortoise: The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece* (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2003). Dillon argues for a specific ritual context; Dillon, “Case Study III: Hellenistic Tanagra Figurines,” 231. See also Nathalie Martin, “Terracotta veiled women: a symbol of transition from *nymphe* to *gyne*,” in *Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas*. Monumenta Graeca et Romana, Vol. 23, edited by Giorgos Papantoniou, Demetrios Michaelides, and Maria Dikomitou-Eliadou (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 223–236.
 22. Dillon, “Case Study III: Hellenistic Tanagra Figurines,” 133; see also Judith Sebesta, *The World of Roman Costume* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 128.
 23. Dillon, “Case Study III: Hellenistic Tanagra Figurines,” 233.
 24. *Ibid.*
 25. Sue Blundell, “Clutching at clothes,” in *Women’s Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, edited by Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2002), 162.
 26. According to Pseudo-Lucian (*Amores* 17), the Knidia was so attractive that young men even attempted to have sex with the statue.
 27. As Dillon observes, concealing the body beneath layers of sumptuous fabric, constantly manipulated to hint at the physical form beneath, was also a stratagem deployed by prostitutes in ancient Greece. This underscores the potential ambiguity of female adornment and increased female visibility, which made women’s bodies hard to categorize; Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World* (2008), 100.
 28. Ruth Allen, “A cultural history of engraved Roman gemstones - their material, iconography, and function,” Ph.D. dissertation (University of Cambridge, 2016), 93.
 29. See Merrill, “‘Darlings of Victorian Taste’: Tanagras & the Nineteenth Century.”
 30. Dillon, “Case Study III: Hellenistic Tanagra Figurines,” 60.
 31. Hesiod, *Works and Days* 54–80 (trans. Evelyn-White). See also Hesiod, *Theogony*, 570–89.
 32. Or, as Jean-Pierre Vernant states, “Pandora’s clothing is integrated into her anatomy” Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals*, edited by Froma I. Zeitlin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 38. See also Judith L. Sebesta, “Visions of gleaming textiles and a clay core: textiles, Greek women, and Pandora,” in *Women’s Dress in the Ancient World*, edited by Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Duckworth: Classical Press of Wales, 2002); and Amy Lather, *Materiality and Aesthetics in Archaic and Classical Greek Poetry* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021), 104–108.
 33. Following Nicole Loraux, “Herakles: the super-male and the feminine,” in *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, edited by David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler, Froma I. Zeitlin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 30.
 34. Verity Platt, *Facing the Gods: Epiphany and Representation in Graeco-Roman Art, Literature and Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 112.
 35. For discussion of the trope, particularly in literature, see Alison Sharrock, “Womanaufacture,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 81, 36–49; also Kelly Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-presentation and Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008); Eve D’Ambra, “Nudity and adornment in female portrait sculpture of the 2nd century AD,” in *I, Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome*, edited by Diana E. E. Kleiner and Susan B. Matheson, 101–115; Victoria Rimell, *Ovid’s Lovers: Desire, Difference and the Poetic Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1; Eric Downing, “Anti-Pygmalion: the *praeceptor*” in *Ars Amatoria*, Book 3, *Helios* 17 (1999), Maria Wyke, “Woman in the mirror: the rhetoric of adornment in the Roman world,” in *Women in Ancient Societies: An Illusion of the Night*, edited by Léonie J. Archer, Susan Fischler, Maria Wyke (New York: Routledge, 1994), 141–146, who notes that objects of adornment themselves decorated with scenes of adornment “all connect the adorned female body intimately with craftsmanship” (144).
 36. See Eve D. Reeder, “Women as containers,” in *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece* (Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery, 1995), 195–199. This is articulated by Hesiod’s extended simile comparing women to drone bees “reaping the labor of others into their bellies” (*Theogony* 595–600).
 37. On Prometheus, see Pseudo-Apollodoros *Bib.* 1.7.1. For the Sumerian myth of Enki fashioning man, see The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature, c.1.1.2.
 38. Pliny, *Natural History*, (henceforward *NH*) 35.43. For discussion of the passage, and Pliny’s attitude to clay, see Verity Platt, “Earth, terracotta, and the plastic arts,” in *Wonder and Wakefulness: The Nature of Pliny the Elder*, exh. cat., edited by Verity Platt and Amy Wieslogel (forthcoming).
 39. See, for example, Miranda Marvin, *The Language of the Muses: the Dialogue Between Roman and Greek Sculpture* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008).
 40. Polybius 6.11a.7. See John North Hopkins, *Unbound from Rome: Art and Craft in a Fluid Landscape, ca. 650-250 BCE*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2024).
 41. Pliny *NH* 35.45.
 42. Pliny *NH* 35.44. He likewise cites Varro’s praise of the first-century sculptor Pasiteles, who we are told never completed any work in

- bronze without first modeling it in clay; *NH* 35.45. He concludes from this that the art of modelling in clay is more ancient and therefore more venerable than working in bronze.
43. On Pliny and luxury, see Eugenia Lao, "Luxury and the creation of a good consumer," in *Pliny the Elder: Themes and Contexts*, edited by Roy Gibson and Ruth Morello (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 35-56; and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "Pliny the Elder and man's unnatural history," *Greece and Rome* 37, no. 1, 80-96.
 44. See Emanuela Zanda, *Fighting Hydra-Like Luxury: Sumptuary Regulation in the Roman Republic* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing), 1; Mark Bradley, *Colour and Meaning in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 88.
 45. Sarah Blake McHam, "'We penetrate the earth's innards and search for riches': Pliny's hierarchy of materials and its influence on the Renaissance," *Material World. NIKI Studies in Netherlandish-Italian Art History* 15 (21 May 2021), 95.
 46. On clay as the embodiment of authentic creativity in eighteenth-century Europe, see Lauren R. Cannady, "The validation of terracotta in eighteenth-century image and text," *Athanos* 25 (2007): 77-83.
 47. *History of Animals* 8 (9): 1.608
 48. On Aristotle's biology, see Robert Mayhew, *The Female in Aristotle's Biology: Reason or Rationalization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 99.
 49. See, for example, Euripides, *Hippolytos*, 730-731. See Ellen D. Reeder, "Women as containers," 199; Jean-Baptiste Bonnard, "Male and female bodies according to ancient Greek physicians," *Clio: Histoire, Femmes et Societes*, Vol. 37 (2013), 21-39.
 50. On *Gynecology* 2.15. For discussion of swaddling practice and its representation in Hellenistic and early Roman material culture, see Emma-Jane Graham, "The making of infants in Hellenistic and early Roman Italy: a votive perspective," *World Archaeology* 45, no. 2 (2013): 215-231. On swaddling as a means of shaping the newborn body according to culturally defined and gendered aesthetics, see Leslie Shumka, "Designing women: the representation of women's toiletries on funerary monuments in Roman Italy," (2008), 173. Earlier Greek views seem similar to these Roman theories on the softness of newborn bodies: massage is mentioned in the Hippocratic treatise *On Regimen* 1.19, and Plato uses the analogy of an artisan molding figures from wax to describe the development of a child just after pregnancy (*Laws* 7.789e); see Véronique Dasen, "Childbirth and infancy in Greek and Roman antiquity," in *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, edited by Beryl Rawson (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2010), 302.
 51. Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogos*, 3.6.3-4.
 52. Plato, *Timaeus*, 91d. See Rebecca Flemming, "Wombs for the gods," in *Bodies of Evidence: Ancient Anatomical Votives, Past, Present and Future*, edited by Jane Draycott and Emma-Jayne Graham (London: Routledge, 2017), 112-130; and Jessica Hughes, *Votive Body Parts in Greek and Roman Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), esp. 103.
 53. See Jean-Baptiste Bonnard, "Male and female bodies according to ancient Greek physicians," (2013), 12; Emanuela Bianchi, "Receptable/Chora: figuring the errant feminine in Plato's *Timaeus*," *Hypatia* 1, no. 4 (Autumn 2006), 124-146.
 54. The Greek word for 'receptacle,' *hupodoche*, derives from the verb *hupodechomai*, which can mean 'to host/entertain' or, of a woman, 'to conceive/become pregnant'; Emanuela Bianchi, "Receptacle/Chora: figuring the errant feminine in Plato's *Timaeus*," (2006), 130. At *Timaeus* 50c-e, the Receptacle is described as an *ekmageion*, a word that denotes impress, model, or mold; Emanuela Bianchi, "Receptacle/Chora: figuring the errant feminine in Plato's *Timaeus*," 127.
 55. On the seriality of Tanagras, and techniques of production and diffusion, see Arthur Muller, "The technique of tanagra coroplasts. From local craft to 'global industry,'" in Jeammet, *Tanagras* (2010), 100-109. On the generative function of women's bodies as prime emphasis of the Hippocratic treatises, see Rebecca Flemming, "Wombs for the gods," 116.
 56. On which, see Ellen D. Reeder, "Women as containers."
 57. Ellen D. Reeder, "Women as containers," 195.
 58. Plato, *Timaeus* 91d.
 59. Menander frag. 720; cf. Sue Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995), 122.
 60. See Ellen D. Reeder, "Women as containers."
 61. On the yoke as a metaphor for marriage, see Euripides, *Medea*, 240-245. Women were often characterized as wild animals that needed to be tamed, often through pregnancy; e.g. Plato, *Timaeus*, 91c.
 62. So, Hesiod declares, "For from her is the race of women and female kind" (*Theogony* 590).
 63. For discussion of the trope, see Kelly Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman. Self-presentation and Society*, 304. In Ovid's *Remedia*, 351-6, the *pyxis* with its repulsive contents is made analogous to the made-up woman; Amy Richlin, "Making up a woman: the face of Roman gender," in *Off with Her Head!: The Denial of Women's Identity in Myth, Religion, and Culture*, 190; Victoria Rimell, *Ovid's Lovers: Desire, Difference and the Poetic Imagination*, 38. For the association of female make-up with poison, see Sarah Currie, "Poisonous women and unnatural history in Roman culture," in *Parchments of Gender: Deciphering the Bodies of Antiquity*, edited by Maria Wyke (Oxford: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1998), 147-198; and with medicine, pointing to women's inherent inferiority, see Rebecca Flemming, *Medicine and the Making of Roman Women: Gender, Nature, and Authority from Celsus to Galen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
 64. *Ars Amatoria* 3.219-224.
 65. See Rita Berg, "Wearing wealth. *Mundus muliebris* and *ornatus* as status markers for women in Imperia Rome," in *Women, Wealth and Power in the Roman Empire*, edited by Päivi Setälä (Rome: Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 25, 2002), 21-23.
 66. See Brigitte Bourgeois and Violaine Jeammet, "La polychromie des terres cuites grecques: Approche matérielle d'une culture picturale," *Revue Archéologique* 69, no. 1 (2020), 3-28.

67. Kelly Olson, "Cosmetics in Roman antiquity: substance, remedy, poison," *Classical World* 102, no. 3, (Spring 2009), 294.
68. Pliny *NH* 34.175–176; 28.139, 183, 34; 35.37; see Kelly Olson, "Cosmetics in Roman antiquity: substance, remedy, poison," 295.
69. E.g. Konstantina Tsatsouli and Elisavet Nikolaou, "The ancient Demetrias figurines: new insights on pigments and decoration techniques used on Hellenistic clay figurines," *STAR: Science & Technology of Archaeological Research*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (2017), 345.
70. Pliny *NH* 35.37.
71. E. Welcomme, P. Walter, E. Vanelslande, G. Tsoucaris, "Investigation of white pigments used as make-up during the Greco-Roman period," *Applied Physics A: Materials Science and Processing*, Vol. 83, No. 4 (June, 2006), 551–556.
72. For sealings, Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 37. As facial whitener: Martial 2.42, 8.33.17; Plautus, *Truculentus*, 294; Petronius 23.
73. On the use of plaster casts in antiquity, see Elizabeth Bartman, *Ancient Sculptural Copies in Miniature* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 68. Leather patches might even be pasted onto the face to conceal imperfections; Kelly Olson, "Cosmetics in Roman antiquity: substance, remedy, poison," 302.
74. Kelly Olson, "Cosmetics in Roman antiquity: substance, remedy, poison," 296.
75. See Pat Hannah, "The cosmetic use of red ochre (miltos)," in *Colour in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, edited by Liza Cleland, Karen Stears, Glenys Davies (Oxford: Hedges, 2004), 100–105.
76. Konstantina Tsatsouli and Elisavet Nikolaou, "The ancient Demetrias figurines: new insights on pigments and decoration techniques used on Hellenistic clay figurines," 346–347; Brigitte Bourgeois and Violaine Jeammet, "La polychromie des terres cuites grecques: Approche matérielle d'une culture picturale," 11.
77. Soot and lamp black as kohl: Pliny *NH* 28.163; Juv. 2.93. Ashes (of goats' meat) mixed with oil: Ovid, *Ars amatoria* 3.203; Pliny *NH* 28.166. See also Kelly Olson, "Cosmetics in Roman antiquity: substance, remedy, poison," 298–299.
78. Reynold A. Higgins "The polychrome decoration of Greek terracottas," in *Studies in Conservation* 15: 272–277; L. A. Mau, and E. Farrell, "A pigment analysis of Greek Hellenistic Tanagra figurines," in *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 1, no. 3 (Spring 1993): 55–62.
79. Brigitte Bourgeois and Violaine Jeammet, "La polychromie des terres cuites grecques: Approche matérielle d'une culture picturale," 11.
80. *Ibid.*, 12.
81. *Ibid.*, 12.
82. Violaine Jeammet, Céline Knecht, Sandrine Pagès-Camagna, "The polychrome decoration on Hellenistic terracottas: figurines from Tanagra and Myrina in the collection of the Musée du Louvre," in Jeammet, *Tanagras* (2010), 246.
83. Violaine Jeammet, "The Lady in Blue," in Jeammet, *Tanagras*, 118.
84. For an overview of gold textiles in the ancient Mediterranean, including material and literary evidence, see Margarita Gleba "Auratae vestae: gold textiles in the ancient Mediterranean, in *Purpureae Vestes II, Vestidos, Textiles y Tintes: Estudios sobre la producción de bienes de consumo en la antigüedad*, edited by C. Alfaro and L. Karali (Valencia, University of Valencia, 2008), 63–80.
85. Brigitte Bourgeois and Violaine Jeammet, "La polychromie des terres cuites grecques: Approche matérielle d'une culture picturale," 14–15.
86. Pliny *NH* 32.85.
87. Pliny *NH* 28.184.
88. On Ovid's *Medicamina*, see Victoria Rimell, *Ovid's Lovers: Desire, Difference and the Poetic Imagination*, 2006.
89. Ovid, *Medicamina*, 65; Pliny *NH* 24.106.
90. Ovid, *Medicamina*, 83–85.
91. Violaine Jeammet, Céline Knecht, and Sandrine Pagès-Camagna, "The polychrome decoration on Hellenistic terracottas: figurines from Tanagra and Myrina in the collection of the Musée du Louvre," in Jeammet, *Tanagras* (2010), 246.
92. See Adeline Grand-Clément, "Poikilia," in *A Companion to Ancient Aesthetics*, edited by Pierre Destrée and Penelope Murray (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015).
93. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.243–297.
94. On Ovid's Pygmalion myth as model and metaphor for elegy's transformation of the female love-object into an art-object, see Alison Sharrock, "Womanaufacture."
95. See Dillon, "Case Study III: Hellenistic Tanagra Figurines," 133, in the context of large-scale female portrait statues.
96. On beauty norms as a mechanism of patriarchal social control, see generally Robin Lakoff and Raquel Scherr, *Face Value: the Politics of Beauty*, 2nd edition (Milton: Taylor & Francis Group, 2022); Joshua I. Miller "Beauty and democratic power," *Fashion Theory* 6, no. 3 (2002): 277–297; for antiquity specifically, Richlin, "Making up a woman: the face of Roman gender," (1995); Wyke, "Woman in the mirror: the rhetoric of adornment in the Roman world" (1994).
97. Sue Blundell and Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz, "Women's bodies, women's pots: adornment scenes in Attic vase-painting," 118.
98. It is generally assumed that ancient Greek artisans in all media were male; certainly the majority of artists whose names survive in either the literary or epigraphic record are men, although female artists are also attested (see, e.g. Pliny *NH* 35.147–147).
99. Kelly Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman. Self-presentation and Society*, vol. 5, 110. For the importance of "pleasure" in feminist cultural theory and a new discourse that centers on the "liberatory possibilities of female viewing practices and pleasures", see Suzanna D. Walters, *Material Girls: Making Sense of Feminist Cultural Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 89; Frost, "Doing looks': women, appearance, and mental health," in *Women's Bodies: Discipline and Transgression*, edited by Jane Arthurs and Jean Grimshaw (London: Cassell, 1999), 134.

100. Kelly Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman. Self-presentation and Society*, 95; see also Eve D'Ambra, "Nudity and adornment in female portrait sculpture of the 2nd century AD," 111, and *Roman Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 32. On women as knowledgeable and adept cultural actors, see also Paula Black and Ursula Sharma, "Men are real, women are 'made up': beauty therapy and the construction of femininity," *The Sociological Review* 49, iss. 1 (2001): 13; Kathy Davis "Remaking the she-devil: a critical look at feminist approaches to beauty," *Hypatia* 6, no .2 (1991), 21–43. It is precisely because a woman could create space to assert herself socially through her agency that cosmetics and ornaments were censured in ancient discourses; Kelly Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman. Self-presentation and Society*, 108.
101. Leslie Shumka, "Designing women: the representation of women's toiletries on funerary monuments in Roman Italy," 173. See also Maria Wyke, "Woman in the mirror: the rhetoric of adornment in the Roman world," 137.
102. Leslie Shumka, "Designing women: the representation of women's toiletries on funerary monuments in Roman Italy," 183–186.
103. Greek women controlled their dowries and could accumulate wealth, often in the form of textiles and jewelry; Sue Blundell and Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz, "Women's bodies, women's pots: adornment scenes in Attic vase-painting," 127.
104. *Ibid.*, 120. Following Jean-Paul Sartre's contention that the gaze renders whatever it sees as an object, Simone de Beauvoir argues that the very concept of 'woman' is a male concept: that woman is always the subject of the male gaze and hence is constructed by it; Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (English trans.) (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2012). Repositioning women as the viewers of female bodies allows us to think about women's self-creation through a self-regarding female gaze.
105. On the power of replication across large-scale public portraits of women in the Roman period, see Jennifer Tremble, *Women and Visual Replication in Roman Imperial Art and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
106. *Theogony*, 590
107. See Richard Green, "The Caputi Hydria," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 81 (1961): 73–75.
108. See Linda Merrill. On female potters in the Early Iron Age in Greece, see Sarah C. Murray, Irum Chorghay, and Jennifer MacPherson, "The Dipylon Mistress: social and economic complexity, the gendering of craft production, and early Greek ceramic material culture," *American Journal of Archaeology* 124, no. 2 (April 2020), 215–244. On clay as medium associated with women-makers across cultures, see Moira Vincentelli, *Women Potters: Transforming Traditions* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004).
109. Sue Blundell and Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz, "Women's bodies, women's pots: adornment scenes in Attic vase-painting," 139.
110. Sue Blundell, "Clutching at clothes," (2002).
111. Kelly Olson, "Cosmetics in Roman antiquity: substance, remedy, poison," 305. The most common Roman word for make-up, *medicamentum*, can also be translated as "remedy" or "poison."
112. Pliny *NH* 35.33–34; 28.104; cf. Krzysztof Spalek and Izabela Spielrogl, "The use of medicinal clay from Silesia 'Terra sigillata Silesiaca', Central Europe - A New Chance for Natural Medicine?," *Biomedical Journal of Scientific and Technical Research* (2019).
113. On signets' function as emblems of personal identity, see Ruth Allen, "A cultural history of engraved Roman gemstones - their material, iconography, and function."
114. Amy Richlin, "Making up a woman: the face of Roman gender," in *Off with Her Head!: The Denial of Women's Identity in Myth, Religion, and Culture*, edited by Howard Eilberg-Schwartz and Wendy Doniger (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 186.
115. See Beth Cohen, "Tanagra Mania and Art: Fashioning Modernity via Ancient Greek Female Imagery."
116. Violaine Jeammet, "Veiled dancers," in Jeammet, *Tanagras* (2010), 89–91.
117. *Onomasticon*, 4.100; cf. Ismene Lada-Richards, *Silent Eloquence: Lucian and Pantomime Dance*. (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013), 179.
118. Pre-empting, perhaps, the inspiration drawn by feminist dress reformers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, who saw in the loose folds of the Tanagras' drapery opportunities for emancipation from the corset and from male control of female bodies; see Eugenia Paulicelli, *Rosa Genoni. Fashion is a serious business: the Milan World Fair of 1906 and the Great War* (Milan: Deleyva editore, 2015).

Models of Antiquity: Whistler & Tanagra

Linda Merrill

Professional models are a purely modern invention. To the Greeks, for instance, they were quite unknown.

—Oscar Wilde, “London Models,” 1899

The models who arrived at Whistler’s studio around 1890 were invited to remove their hats, coats, corsets, and boots, and leave their cares and inhibitions at the door. Once inside, they might don some diaphanous drapery, perhaps with a kerchief to hold back their hair, or they might wear nothing at all. The furnishings were sparse in the cavernous space, but there was a stove for warmth, a sofa for naps, and other small comforts to help the models feel at home. We know from one eyewitness that Whistler did not expect them to strike a pose; they were free to wander about the studio—lounging, dancing, reading—until some unconscious movement or attitude caught the artist’s eye and “seemed to him a picture.”¹ The resulting “figures” (as images of nude and draped models are known) were often rendered in the form of lithographs, prints that capture and multiply the lightest touch of the artist’s hand.

Although Whistler referred to these easygoing studio pictures simply as “draped & nude figures,”² scholars and collectors often call them “Tanagras,” a title of convenience we are happy to adopt.³ The term is properly applied to the ancient terracotta figurines unearthed during the final decades of the nineteenth century around the ancient city of Tanagra, in the Boeotian region of Greece, but it evokes the delicate grace that distinguishes this category of Whistler’s imagery. His so-called Tanagras do not depict Tanagra figurines, in which the body is

typically enveloped in drapery, but they represent a similarly informal interpretation of a statelier classical style.

If Whistler never explicitly related his assertively modern works to the ancient terracottas, he tacitly acknowledged the aesthetic affinities that were obvious to his contemporaries. Perhaps the first to make the connection was Oscar Wilde, who in 1882 associated Whistler’s art with Tanagra figurines, each “as delicate in perfect workmanship and as simple in natural motive” as the other.⁴ Elizabeth Robins Pennell, in an 1897 article for *Scribner’s Magazine* written in close consultation with the artist, observed that “these studies have been likened, more than once, to the work of Tanagra; and justly, for theirs is the same flawless daintiness, the same purity of pose, the same harmony of line, the same grace of contour.”⁵

James Abbott (later McNeill) Whistler was born in Massachusetts, but his life as an artist began in Paris. Arriving at age twenty-one, he was already fluent in French from a childhood spent in imperial Saint Petersburg, and he was conversant with the culture of the Latin Quarter from repeated readings of Henri Murger’s *Scenes of Bohemian Life*. Nominally an art student, Whistler never submitted to the traditional academic training that would have compelled him to draw from plaster casts of classical sculptures before proceeding, at length, to drawing from life (the nude model), and it was not until years later, when he was already established as an artist in London, that he came to appreciate the cost of his neglect. In 1867, a well-respected art critic condemned Whistler’s figures as poorly drawn, “an impertinence of which the artist

ought to be as much ashamed as we hope he would be if found in a drawing-room with a dirty face.”⁶ He was indeed chagrined. “What a frightful education I gave myself,” Whistler lamented to Henri Fantin-Latour, his best friend in Paris, “or rather what a terrible lack of education I feel I have had!” Under the “odious” influence of Gustave Courbet, he had allowed the attractions of Realism to lure him from the studio. Now, at age thirty-three, he would have to start over from the very beginning. “I’m sure I will make up for the time I’ve wasted—but what difficulties,” he wrote. “I spend the whole day drawing from models!!”⁷

With his new friend Albert Joseph Moore (1841–1893), an English artist equally lacking in formal training, Whistler practiced making “academy studies” from the nude figure. Until then, his artworks had depicted scenes from modern life, while Moore’s had tended toward antiquity, visions of beauty remote from the contemporary world. With his meticulous working methods and high aesthetic ideals, Moore was the antithesis of—and for Whistler, the antidote to—Realism and Courbet. Whistler carried out his remedial project from a rented studio overlooking the British Museum, which housed the architectural sculpture from the Parthenon. For Whistler and his contemporaries, the Elgin Marbles represented the summit of artistic achievement: “the best and highest—never likely, or even possible, to be excelled in any future age of the world.”⁸ Thus it was that Whistler attempted to formulate an original approach to ideal, or abstract, beauty in the shadow of that epitome of perfection.

In keeping with the seriousness of his enterprise, Whistler’s “academic” drawings from the latter 1860s appear studiously remote and disaffected. He was undoubtedly intimidated by his project, as a passage in Pennell’s *Scribner’s* article implies: “By his drawing of the nude, the measure of an artist’s capacity—or incapacity—may be judged. By it he stands convicted of perfection, or of failure as it may be and too often is.”⁹ *Standing Nude* (fig. 3.1), an overdetermined effort to portray the calm repose of classical art, betrays Whistler’s own discomfort with both the female nude and the academic exercise. The unnamed figure (inevitably called “Venus”) is vaguely reminiscent of antique statuary—like the Medici Venus, her right arm shields her breasts, and like the Venus de Milo, her left arm is absent altogether—which suggests, as Margaret MacDonald has observed, “that the themes and variations of classical art were more or less absorbed in Whistler’s consciousness.”¹⁰



Figure 3.1: James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834–1903), *Standing Nude (Venus)* (M.357), 1869. Black crayon with touches of white chalk on brown paper, 47 x 24 3/16 in. (119.4 x 61.4 cm). Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution; Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1904.66. Image CC0 1.0.

Although shaded like a finished drawing, Whistler’s *Standing Nude* was intended as a cartoon, or full-size pattern for a painting, in which the figure would be clothed, or as the artist informed a potential patron in 1869, “clad in thin transparent drapery.”¹¹ A small oil sketch made to determine the color scheme (cat no. 14), a custom adopted from Moore, provides a key to Whistler’s vision for the final work. A violet scarf tied around the figure’s head swirls behind her to connect with the white-dotted sash pulled across her body and gathered lightly with a swathe of pink drapery in one hand; the other holds a circular Japanese fan like the ones pinned arbitrarily to the wall behind her. That unexpected accessory emblemizes the wave of inspiration flowing from Japan, which Moore and Whistler both insinuated into their classicizing art. Standing beside the figure is a slender blue and white vase evocative of Chinese porcelain; it holds vivid purple irises that pick up the shade of the sash like the thread of an embroidery, as Whistler

explained his technique, “the whole forming in this way an harmonious *pattern*.”¹²

Whistler’s little oil, known for decades as *Tanagra*, was long believed by many scholars (including myself) to be an homage to the ancient terracottas.¹³ We were led astray by the title, posthumously assigned to the sketch because of its presumed connection with a pastel drawing once exhibited by that name.¹⁴ But even without its Greek misnomer, Whistler’s elegantly draped figure, fan in hand, resembles a Tanagra figurine, and the small scale, delicate facture, and muted colors of the work lend further support to the association. It is unlikely, however, that Whistler or anyone else in his circle had ever laid eyes on an actual Tanagra as early as 1869, when the oil sketch was made.¹⁵ As the Louvre historian Négueine Mathieux has remarked, certain artists were painting “Tanagras,” or “young draped women depicted with an idealized grace and in pastel colours,” even before the actual Tanagra figurines were unearthed in Greece.¹⁶

That Whistler fell under the spell of the terracotta figurines has never been in doubt. They offered a welcome alternative to the implacable perfection of classical Greek art, adhering to a more attainable standard of beauty and personifying a more modern sensibility. “The calm repose of antique art is here replaced by vivacity and movement,” the antiquarian Frederic Voss observed in 1879: “They are the embodiment of momentary action and transitory motion.”¹⁷ Whistler’s silence on the subject makes it impossible to know exactly when, or how, he first encountered the Tanagras, though hints of influence begin turning up in his works around 1873, just as the figurines were making their way into museum collections and private hands. Katharine Lochnan has identified an etching of a draped standing figure (fig. 3.2) as the first of the “Tanagras,” detecting in the hairstyle a hint of the distinctive “melon” coiffure and noting in the drapery the arrangement of chiton and mantle that make up the Tanagra costume.¹⁸

Beyond such visual clues, which might also point to a continuing engagement with the classical, only circumstantial evidence supports the speculation that as early as the 1870s, Tanagras inspired Whistler’s creativity. In fact, the only irrefutable physical evidence that the artist ever acknowledged the aesthetic possibilities of the ancient terracottas is a faint pencil sketch (fig. 3.3) of a photograph of a single statuette

(fig. 3.4), which could not have been made before the mid 1890s. The sketch is preserved in an album that was probably lent to the artist by his friend Alexander A. Ionides (1840–1898), who possessed a celebrated collection of Tanagras and thus became, in the words of John Sandberg, the artist’s “direct path to classical antiquity.”¹⁹



Figure 3.2: James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834–1903), *The Model Resting (Draped Model)* (G.109), 1873–74. Drypoint, printed in black ink on ivory laid paper, ninth state of eleven, 8 1/8 x 5 1/8 in. (20.7 x 13 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art., New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1917; 17.3.67. Image: Public domain courtesy of the Met’s Open Access Policy.



Figure 3.3: Photograph of a Tanagra statuette of a standing female figure, probably 1894. In from the Ionides Album, ca. 1894. Carbonprint on paper in photograph album. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow; Bequeathed by Rosalind B. Philip (1958), GLAHA:4639. Image © The Hunterian, University of Glasgow.



Figure 3.4: James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834–1903), *Sketch after a Greek terracotta figure (M.1419)*, probably 1895. Pencil on cream card, 6 1/8 x 5 in. (15.5 x 12.7 cm). Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow; Bequeathed by Rosalind B. Philip (1958), GLAHA:46205. Image © The Hunterian, University of Glasgow.

A CONNOISSEUR'S TREASURES

Aleco, as Alexander Alexander Ionides was known to his friends, met Whistler in Paris in 1855. He was there to improve his French, although at sixteen he already spoke the language like a native, according to George du Maurier, whose 1894 novel *Trilby* is based on his own reminiscences of his art-student days. "The Greek," as du Maurier calls Aleco, was popular with the artists "for his *bonhomie*, his niceness, his warm geniality," and also because "he was the capitalist of this select circle (and nobly lavish of his capital)." When Whistler and his Parisian colleagues "transferred their bohemia to London" around 1860, they were warmly welcomed to the Ionides's gracious family home in Tulse Hill, on the outskirts of town.²⁰

The patriarch was Alexander Constantine Ionides (1810–1890), who had fled Constantinople in 1827, eventually settling in London with his wife, Euterpe Sgouta. Over the years, he shifted the family business from the import trade to merchant banking, and from 1854 to 1866 acted as consul general for Greece. Within months of Aleco's birth in 1840, his father commissioned a family portrait, in which the chubby-cheeked baby poses with his elder brothers Constantine (1833–1900) and Luke (1837–1924), both in traditional Greek costume. The

portraitist, George Frederic Watts, became a close family friend, and it was he who called the elder Ionides's attention to the first work Whistler exhibited at the Royal Academy, *At the Piano*. Consequently, Ionides commissioned Whistler to paint a Thames scene and a portrait of his son Luke,²¹ and went on to encourage his own children and others in his extended family to support young artists trying to find a foothold in the competitive London art world.²²

Euterpe Ionides sold her diamonds in 1864, or so the story goes, to buy No. 1 Holland Park, a newly constructed mansion in a fashionable Kensington neighborhood. Whistler was a frequent visitor to the house until 1867, when he was involved in a dispute with his own brother-in-law, and Aleco was the only member of his family to take the artist's side.²³ Some years later, when Whistler's brother William married Aleco's cousin Helen (known as Nellie), the friendship was sealed with a family bond. By then, Aleco Ionides had become "a swell," as Whistler remarked in 1873, by which he meant a distinguished person with a prospering career in the City. Aleco was also beginning to manage the household in Holland Park while his parents gradually retired to Windycroft, their country home near Hastings.²⁴

In 1875, Aleco Ionides married Isabella Sechiari, another member of the Anglo-Greek community, though born in Marseille. On their honeymoon in Paris, they visited the Louvre expressly to see the Tanagra figurines. The museum had made its initial acquisitions in 1872, assisted by the young archaeologist Olivier Rayet, who had been in Athens when the figurines first appeared on the market. By 1874, over sixty "specimens" went on display in mahogany cases lining the walls of the Charles X Gallery (fig. 3.5).²⁵ Aleco and Isabella may have been motivated to see the collection for themselves by an illustrated article published in the April issue of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (cat. no. 49). Written by Rayet himself, it provided an "historic and descriptive account of the curious statuettes and other small works of Greek art discovered at Tanagra in Boeotia."²⁶



Figure 3.5: Charles X Gallery, former room L, Louvre Museum, May 1922. Photographic print, °TP_004458. Image © Département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines, musée du Louvre.

Although the Louvre collection was considerably larger, the Ionides family's collection was "as perfect," the newlyweds decided.²⁷ From that observation we may surmise that it had effectively taken shape by 1875. Marcus B. Huish, writing in 1898, begins his chronicle of the Ionides collection "some five-and-twenty years ago," when "the spade awoke from their sleep of centuries the assemblage of elegant and coquettish figurines which had only to be seen to be appreciated." Aleco Ionides was "on the spot," according to Huish—a statement that cannot be verified and may have been contrived to confirm the collection's authenticity.²⁸ Nevertheless, Aleco's father probably retained diplomatic ties from his term as consul general, and the family's connections with the Archaeological Society of Athens (though it did not begin to excavate the site until 1874) may also have facilitated the acquisition and export of fresh antiquities from Tanagra.²⁹

Over the next few years, as Aleco's social standing rose—he himself was appointed Greek consul general in 1883—his holdings of Tanagra figurines continued to expand, and in January 1885 the collection earned official sanction with an exhibition at the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria & Albert).³⁰ Once back at Holland Park, the figurines were installed in a drawing room recently remodeled into an "antiquities room," which gave them pride of place. The artist Walter Crane (1845–1915) had been commissioned to create a showcase for their display (fig. 3.6), a two-tiered, pedimented structure which surmounted the fireplace like an overmantel, that typically Victorian construction designed to draw attention to the hearth of the home by surrounding it with the owner's possessions. Crane described his construction as "a sort of temple-like cabinet" made of ebony, with columns of red and yellow marble, "midway in tone between the extremes of light terra-cotta and dark limestone." On the lower level, Doric columns defined seven arched niches with gilded recesses for

individual figurines; the upper tier, in the correct Ionic order, was divided into three sections to give special prominence to prized terracottas.³¹



Figure 3.6: The fireplace in the drawing room at No. 1 Holland Park, London, with the Ionides Collection of Tanagra figurines, 1889. Photograph (albumen print) by Bedford Lemere & Co., BL09466. Image © Historic England Archive.

The shrine was designed to hold the collection as it stood in 1889, when it was photographed by Bedford Lemere, together with other rooms and works of art at Holland Park. Those photographs illustrate an account of the Ionides house written by the designer Lewis F. Day and published in the *Art Journal* in 1893 (cat. no. 53). According to Day, who would have heard it from Aleco, those original figurines were “among the first found at Tanagra, before ever forgeries were thought of.” By then, the trade in forgeries was openly acknowledged: the first had been made around 1876, and ten years later it was estimated that three times as many fake as genuine terracottas were sold each year.³² Nevertheless, Aleco persevered, trusting his eye and intuition despite persistent reports of fraud in the antiquities market. Indeed, Day mentions two recently acquired Tanagra statuettes that were too new and probably too ornate to find a place in the overmantel. Those mythological subjects, sure to appeal to late-Victorian taste, were almost certainly forgeries (fig. 3.7).³³



Figure 3.7: Photograph of a Tanagra Statuette of the *Rape of Europa* from the Ionides Album, ca. 1894. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow, Bequeathed by Rosalind B. Philip (1958), GLAHA:46220. Image © The Hunterian, University of Glasgow.

In the dining room, lavishly decorated by Crane and William Morris, Whistler’s self-portrait, *Arrangement in Grey*, hung prominently beside the fireplace. Aleco had inherited the painting upon his father’s death in November 1890,³⁴ just after acquiring a Whistler of his own, *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Valparaiso*, a more radical example of the artist’s increasingly abstract style. Because the walls at Holland Park were by then replete with pictures, the *Nocturne* would hang at Homewood, the family’s country house in Surrey, where the light, in any case, was “so much better for it,” Aleco assured his friend.³⁵ At least initially, Aleco proved to be among the rare few who lived up to the artist’s expectations of those who owned his works—or cared for them on his behalf, as Whistler understood the situation. Aleco generously allowed his new acquisition to be exhibited in the Grand Palais des Champs-Élysées in 1890 and again in London in 1892, at the Whistler retrospective held at the Goupil Gallery. Indeed, on the latter occasion, Aleco offered to lend every Whistler painting in his possession.³⁶

The reason for his magnanimity became apparent when Aleco Ionides allowed *Nocturne in Blue and Gold* to be sold from the walls of the Goupil exhibition. To Whistler’s dismay, Aleco had become one of many old friends and acquaintances who capitalized on the phenomenal rise in the artist’s reputation. “How shockingly they have all behaved about my pictures,” Whistler complained to his sister-in-law about her Greek relations, Aleco in particular. A few months later he informed her bitterly that Aleco had received £200 for “another little sea piece of mine,” purchased for around £20 soon after it was painted in Trouville in 1865, or so the artist recollected.³⁷ As it happened, the sale of the Whistlers portended a precipitous fall in the fortunes of Aleco Ionides. In March 1894, he approached David Croal Thomson, Whistler’s dealer at Goupil, about selling *Brown and Silver: Old Battersea Bridge*, the

painting his father had commissioned and he had inherited when his mother died in 1892. "I fear he is very hard pressed at the present," Thomson wrote to Whistler, "for he spoke of getting rid of his whole house & its contents."³⁸

Whistler, affronted that Aleco had not told him personally, was nonetheless aware of his old friend's straitened circumstances and agreed to help him sell his collection of Tanagra figurines.³⁹ Aleco probably enlisted Whistler's assistance because the artist owed him a favor, after his generosity as a lender. Moreover, Whistler's rising reputation in the international art world meant that he would have the connections necessary to effect a sale of such significance. The artist's first (perhaps only) thought was of Professor Emil Heilbut, a scholar, collector, critic, and occasional art agent, who had been the first person in Germany to acquire French Impressionist paintings; because Heilbut was also one of Whistler's greatest admirers, he could be counted on to cooperate. In April 1894, Whistler offered to send photographs of the Ionides Tanagras as soon as they were ready, and in July, Heilbut paid a visit in person to Holland Park, later writing to Whistler that he had found the collection "admirable" and would do what he could to help sell it.⁴⁰

A German buyer was not forthcoming, however, probably because of the well-founded fear of forgeries. Thomson tried, to no avail, to interest the American industrialist Alfred Atmore Pope in the Tanagras, arranging for him to visit Holland Park, which Thomson had "represented," Pope wrote afterward to Whistler, "as the most artistically decorated house in London."⁴¹ While the collection languished, the strain on Aleco began to tell. In a letter Whistler wrote that June to his brother William, he mentioned Aleco's distracted state: "I never know whether he is not thinking of something else."⁴² Finally in 1895, the "lovely company of Tanagra figures," together with the other remaining works of art at No. 1 Holland Park, were packed up and sent to Bond Street for exhibition, and implicitly for sale, in a show discreetly titled *A Connoisseur's Treasures*. Even though the connoisseur was named only as "a distinguished amateur," his identity would have been an open secret in the London art world.⁴³

Whistler was living in Paris at the time, but he heard from Thomson that the Ionides show was attracting many visitors, although "very little business is being done."⁴⁴ The Tanagras did not attract the attention Aleco expected; he had informed Marcus Huish "that of all his beautiful things none have so quickly appealed to all, no matter how varied their tastes, as these groups and figures."⁴⁵ One work did sell, however—*Arrangement in Grey*, for the considerable sum of £700, "a large price for a head," Whistler reflected, "even though it be my own."⁴⁶ Yet the artist was again irrationally incensed that Ionides had realized so much profit from one of his works. "Out of softness of heart," he wrote to Aleco, in what would be his last letter to his old friend,

I let you off a while ago—and tried to help you in the sale of your Tanagras.

But it is intolerable that all of you in England should under my nose, in this sly way—turn these pictures of mine over & over again, & without a word to me pocket sums that properly you should offer to me on your bended knees saying behold the price we are at last able to obtain for these valuable works we have had the privilege of living with all these years for eighteen pence!

Whistler seems to have regarded the album of Tanagra photographs, which had remained in Thomson's hands for the duration of the exhibition, as now belonging to him, perhaps in compensation for what he regarded as his friend's ill-gotten gains.⁴⁷ He kept it for the rest of his life, and at some point between 1895 and his death in 1903 sketched one of the figurines on a blank album page (see fig. 3.3).

The Tanagra terracottas remained unsold. Ionides had provided for this eventuality in his will of 1889, stipulating that the collection remain within the house at Holland Park as long as it was occupied but then return to Greece, to the National Archaeological Museum in Athens.⁴⁸ The rest of the story is shrouded in mystery. A childhood friend of Aleco's who paid a call in 1897 found him as "kind and affectionate as ever," though "down on his luck and ill."⁴⁹ At the end of that year, the *Studio* published a richly illustrated account of the palace of art in Holland Park, "An Epoch-Making House" by Gleeson White, and six months later Marcus Huish's article devoted to the Tanagras appeared in the same publication.⁵⁰ Shortly after that, at the end of July 1898, Alexander A. Ionides died at home, age 58, in circumstances that have never been disclosed. No obituary appeared in the papers; indeed, for all the family's prominence in London, there seems to have been no official notice of his passing.

His fortune had dwindled, but Aleco Ionides did not die destitute. The total estate was valued at around £19,000—the equivalent today of some \$3.25 million—with small bequests to charitable institutions in Athens, but most of the fortune was left to his family.⁵¹ Isabella Ionides and the children deserted Holland Park for their country home but kept the London house until 1908, when it was sold to the trustees for the sixth Earl of Ilchester. By then, the terracottas were long gone, though they had not returned to Greece in accordance with Aleco's wishes. "The Well-known Collection of Objects of Art formed by the late Alexander A. Ionides Esq. of 1 Holland Park W., including an important series of Antiquities from Bœotia, Tanagra, Greece, etc.," had been dispersed at a Christie's auction on March 14, 1902, with the terracottas selling as a single lot for £5,250.⁵² Apart from a few minor examples held by the Harvard Art Museums (cat. no. 11), the Ionides collection has since disappeared.⁵³

THE MODELS OF CHELSEA

In February 1885, just as popular appreciation for Tanagra figurines was coming into full flower, Whistler delivered a lecture on art titled the “Ten O’Clock” after the late-night hour of its presentation. In that formal declaration of the aestheticist creed, Whistler defines the artist as one “who delights in the dainty, the sharp, bright gaiety of beauty.” “Dainty” is not a word we often use today, except in reference to something ridiculously delicate and out-of-date, but that unassuming little adjective evoked, for Whistler, the highest form of aesthetic beauty. Indeed, he envisioned art itself (Art for Art’s Sake) as “a goddess of dainty thought—reticent of habit, abjuring all obtrusiveness, purposing in no way to better others.”⁵⁴ Rather like a Tanagra figurine, Whistler’s muse is classical in her allegorical aspect but naturalistic, even human, in her capricious affections—which the artist had learned, to his grief, never to take for granted.

We might expect to find Tanagras somewhere in the “Ten O’Clock,” if only listed among the artworks sanctioned by the goddess, but they are never mentioned by name. This may have been because they were so much in fashion. Whistler’s discourse even criticizes the vogue for classical antiquity, a flicker of hypocrisy seized upon by his sometime friend and neighbor Oscar Wilde: “Has not Tite-street been thrilled with the tidings that the models of Chelsea were posing to the master, in peplums, for pastels?”⁵⁵ Whistler was in fact making “striking drawings of very graceful figures” around that time, according to one visitor to his Tite Street studio, though his models never posed in “peplums.” They posed in the nude, or draped in sheer fabrics that revealed their natural form. As one critic noted dryly, their “excessively slight drapery is the result of some half dozen strokes of the crayon.”⁵⁶

Those works in pastel built upon—indeed, superseded—the serious studies from the life model that Whistler had made in the 1860s and '70s to atone for his misspent youth. In at least one case, *Note in Violet and Green* (fig. 3.8), infrared photography reveals that Whistler simply added color to an older drawing.⁵⁷ And we can see from the reversal of the image that the pastel known as *The Greek Slave Girl* (*Variations in Violet and Rose*) was made from a tracing of Whistler’s early lithograph *Study* (see fig. 3.12).⁵⁸ As revisions of monochrome figures, these colorful pastels may have been inspired by the growing publicity surrounding Tanagra figurines, which often called attention to “the finely powdered remains of a suit of paint.”⁵⁹ The vestiges of color clinging to the clay surfaces accounted for much of their popular appeal; in an age obsessed with the myth of Pygmalion, even the hint of color on an antique statue made it seem to come alive, or at least appear more accessible than the polished white marbles in the British Museum.



Figure 3.8: James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834–1903), *Note in Violet and Green* (M.1074), ca. 1872/1885. Crayon and pastel on brown paper, 27.8 x 16.7 cm (10 15/16 x 6 9/16 in.). National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Collection, Washington, D.C., Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1905.128a-b. Image: Public domain via CC0.

Upon seeing a selection of Whistler’s pastels in 1885, the neoclassical sculptor William Wetmore Story thrilled the artist with his exclamation, “Whistler, they are as charming and complete as a Tanagra statue!”⁶⁰ The analogy may have been prompted by a work such as *A Study in Red* (fig. 3.9), whose French title, *Danseuse athénienne* (although not Whistler’s), provides a clue to a possible source of inspiration: the famous terracotta figurine of a veiled dancer discovered in 1846 near the Athenian Acropolis and known as *Danseuse Titeux*, or the *Titeux Dancer* (cat. no. 1). That terracotta prototype, a pre-Tanagra figurine, had become widely known to artists and antiquarians throughout Europe,⁶¹ and Whistler may have intended to recall the figure with his own dancing girl, drawn in pastels on the rough brown paper that approximated the texture and tonality of fired clay.



Figure 3.9: James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834–1903), *A Study in Red (Danseuse athénienne)* (M.1072), 1890. Crayon and pastel on brown paper, 27.7 x 18.3 cm (10 7/8 x 7 3/16 in.). National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Collection, Washington, D.C., Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1909.123. Image courtesy of the National Museum of Asian Art.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* described Whistler's "pastel pictures" of 1885 as "very slight in themselves, of the female nude, dignified and graceful in line and charmingly chaste."⁶² That final quality may have been intended to distinguish Whistler's works from the more lubricious, life-size Venuses that had crowded the spring exhibitions. A letter to *The Times* in May from "A British Matron" protested "the display of nudity at the two principal galleries of modern art in London," prompting a flurry of correspondence as artists and laypeople weighed in on the assumption—as one artist summarized the Matron's point of view—"that purity and drapery are inseparable."⁶³ The controversy culminated with the Royal Academician John Callcott Horsley accusing his fellow artists of debasing young girls by persuading them "so to ignore their natural modesty, and quench their sense of true shame as to expose their nakedness before men, and thus destroy all that is pure and lovely in their womanhood."⁶⁴ Thus the British Matron's moral outrage was appended to a plea for social reform: behind

every nude picture, Horsley averred, lay a woman posing naked for a pittance, scarcely better than a prostitute.

In a *Punch* cartoon by Edward Linley Sambourne (fig. 3.10), the priggish Horsley becomes the artist's model, attired in bombazine to impersonate the anonymous author of the letter to *The Times*. Recoiling in horror from the Medici Venus, the Matron mutters, "Oh, dear! Oh, dear! Who could ha' sat for that?"⁶⁵ Models posing in the nude were not a recent phenomenon, Sambourne implies, and Whistler himself could hardly wait "to twit Horsley about the nude & his absurd onslaught on it," as his friend Alan Cole noted in his diary.⁶⁶



Figure 3.10: Edward Linley Sambourne (British, 1844–1910), "The Model 'British Matron.'" *Punch* 89 (24 October 1885): 195. Image © Punch Cartoon Library / TopFoto.

The opportunity arose in December 1885, when Whistler's own nearly nude figures went on display at the Society of British Artists. To the frame of one of them (probably *Note in Violet and Green*, fig. 3.8), he affixed a label imprinted, "Horsley soit qui mal y pense." If now abstruse, the quip was readily understood in its time as a play on the Old Anglo-Norman motto of the chivalric Order of the Garter, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, meaning, "Shame on anyone who thinks evil of it." One journalist construed Whistler's act as "an indignant protest against the idea that there is any immorality in the nude,"⁶⁷ but the artist's objection was more encompassing. He regarded the current debate as the extreme conclusion of the misguided conflation of art and morality that had long encumbered British culture. To Whistler, the nude female

figure, far from representing immorality, embodied art in its purest, most liberated, and most impractical form.

In the end, the moral controversy incited by the British Matron had little effect on the production of the Victorian nude, as Alison Smith has argued, though it did lift the artist's model "out of the private space of the studio and life class into the realm of public debate."⁶⁸ Until then, the model had remained effectively invisible in England. Respectable painters designed their studios with separate entrances so that models could come and go without being seen by other members of the household; and in the context of the paintings for which they posed, models were understood only in terms of the characters they impersonated. "They career gaily through all centuries and through all costumes," Oscar Wilde wrote of London models, "and, like actors, are only interesting when they are not themselves."⁶⁹

That paradigm was shattered in 1887, when *The Reading Girl* (fig. 3.11) was exhibited at the New English Art Club. The "girl" in Théodore Roussel's painting is transparently the artist's model, who has shed, for the moment, both her costume and her character. Although at work, she is not working, but is "buried," as one critic remarked, "(but the British matron will regret to find not hidden) in the newspaper." Although the painting has the polish of a French Salon nude, the model herself, with reddened hands and calloused feet, is shockingly real. "There has been no attempt to idealise the figure," the critic continued. "It is simply a portrait of a rather underfed woman, who is content (at a shilling an hour) to be naked and not ashamed."⁷⁰



Figure 3.11: Théodore Roussel (English, born in France, 1847–1926), *The Reading Girl*, 1886–87. Oil on canvas, 152.7 x 162 cm (60.1 x 63.8 in.). Tate, London; Presented by Mrs. Walter Herriot and Miss R. Herriot in memory of the artist, 1927, N04361. Image © Tate.

Indeed, as with Manet's *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, exhibited some twenty-five years earlier, it was the model's lack of shame that most unsettled the critics. As surely as her "underfed" form defied the prevailing preference for the plump, her apparent ease with her own nakedness—especially in the tacit presence of the artist—openly resisted the Victorian ideal of femininity. "No human being, we should imagine, could take any pleasure in such a picture as this," wrote the *Spectator*. "It is a degradation of Art."⁷¹

Whistler regarded *The Reading Girl* as "an extraordinary picture."⁷² Roussel had been his "deferential disciple" since 1885,⁷³ and during the years of their closest association they explored similar subjects, employed the same models, and nourished each other's creativity. It has been suggested that Whistler's lithograph *The Little Nude Model, Reading* (cat. no. 19) was made in response to Roussel's painting, "adapting it to a more spontaneous medium and intimate scale," which may certainly be the case, although the influence, it seems to me, could have flowed in either direction.⁷⁴

Whistler's "little" nude (relative, perhaps, to Roussel's big one) perches on the edge of a low cabinet, attending to her reading. Apart from the headscarf (which Whistler always calls a cap), she wears not a stitch of clothing, though her discarded draperies are heaped behind her on the tabletop; the sketchy fireplace a few feet away implies the warmth that is the necessary condition for posing in the nude. Like the girl in Roussel's painting, this one unwittingly draws attention to herself as a *model*, as distinct from the impersonal image of a generic body known simply as a *figure*.

Indeed, from this point forward, the word "model" slips into Whistler's nomenclature, indicating the subtle shift in direction we can follow in his art; the small group of lithographs made in London just before 1890 depicts the model outside her customary role, a strategy that allows us to recognize the model behind the "figure." Often, she is portrayed at rest—absorbed in a book (cat. no. 18), drinking tea (cat. no. 16), pulling on (or lifting off) her drapery (cat. no. 17) as though preparing for a session that has yet to begin. And even though her occupation depends on her ability to stand as still as a statue, Whistler sometimes shows her in motion, or at least alive to its potential. In *The Dancing Girl* (cat. no. 15), for example, the model gingerly points one toe, as though testing the waters; not yet prepared to abandon caution to the dance, she extends one arm to release a cascade of drapery.

What we do not see in these images is evidence of *work*, of models earning their hourly wage by holding inauthentic attitudes under the artist's direction. "It is the secret of much of the artificiality of modern art," wrote Oscar Wilde, "this constant posing of pretty people." Whistler's follower Mortimer Menpes confirms that the artist never prescribed a pose: "There was no pulling about of drapery, no gazing through arched hands, no special placing of the body." Whistler's unusually accommodating attitude may reflect his

conviction that “industry in Art is a necessity—not a virtue,” as he wrote in 1884, “and any evidence of the same, in the production, is a blemish, not a quality; a proof, not of achievement, but of absolutely insufficient work, for work alone will efface the footsteps of work.”⁷⁵ Not even the quasi-classical drapery that so often features in these works performs its ostensible function. Too transparent to conceal the body, too thin to keep it warm, and too generic to represent a costume or disguise, the gossamer fabric simply removes the model from the mundane. Formally, it enhances the contours of the nude body, a trick Whistler learned from his study of the Elgin Marbles. The “secret of repeated line,” as he calls the device in the “Ten O’Clock,” creates “the measured rhyme of lovely limb and draperies flowing in unison.”⁷⁶

By doing away with poses that presume a plot and costumes that identify a character, Whistler allows the model to feature as an undisguised element in the process of art-making. To his way of thinking, a picture of a female model is a picture of nothing: a work of art without a subject, to be regarded on its own terms and appreciated for its own sake—a work of art about the work of art. His insubstantial little images thus threatened to dispel the grand illusion supporting the industry of Victorian subject painting. Edward J. Poynter, the estimable director of the National Gallery and soon-to-be president of the Royal Academy, confided to Whistler in 1894 that he had not read *Trilby*, the popular novel about an artist’s model in bohemian Paris, because, he said, “I generally dislike pictures of behind the scenes of an artist’s life being put before the public.”⁷⁷ Whistler’s Tanagra lithographs—like *Trilby*, but in a lower key—offer up the rudiments of art, stripping away the *mise-en-scène* and laying bare the secrets of the studio.

THE MASTER OF THE LITHOGRAPH

A lithograph is a work of art on paper, printed in ink, and existing in multiple examples, called impressions. Of the many processes for making prints, lithography is the most direct: the image is rendered on a flat stone slab just as a sketch is drawn on a piece of paper. The printing method depends on the simple concept that oil and water do not mix. The lithographic stone is prepared so that ink will adhere only to the greasy sketched lines of the image, while a film of water clings to the rest of the surface, preserving a pristine background. Under immense pressure, the image is transferred to sheets of

dampened paper, though the resulting impressions rarely show signs of the force of gravity. An etching, in contrast, which is printed from an incised rather than a flat surface, always bears the mark of the metal plate where its sharp edges were impressed into the soft paper. In a lithograph, as if by magic, the drawing is replicated without leaving a trace of the effort involved in its production.⁷⁸

Although lithography had always held potential as an artistic medium, from the time of its invention in the late eighteenth century it was used primarily as a cheap means of reproducing images, particularly in commercial advertisements. In England, it was Thomas Way (1836–1915), a professional printer with a family business in Covent Garden, who “made this matter of art printing his particular affair,” as Whistler wrote in retrospect, “and it is to him entirely that is due the revival of artistic lithography in England.”⁷⁹ The two men became acquainted in 1877, when Whistler was already acknowledged as a virtuoso etcher and was also at the height of his powers as a painter. Within the year, Way had persuaded him to give artistic lithography a try, and to their mutual and continuing delight, “the master,” as Way called Whistler, discovered that the medium responded “to his most sensitive touch.” Although Whistler’s biographers the Pennells assert that the artist adopted lithography simply because it “happened to be the method of artistic expression which, at the time, met his need and mood,”⁸⁰ it is likely that he was also influenced by his French colleagues, notably Henri Fantin-Latour and Edgar Degas, who were engaged in lithographic experiments of their own.⁸¹

Whistler’s first attempts were carried out in the traditional way, by drawing with a greasy lithographic crayon directly onto a porous limestone slab. The resulting prints, such as *Study*, 1879 (fig. 3.12), have the soft-edged look of charcoal sketches, in contrast to the precise, pen-and-ink appearance of an etching such as *The Model Resting (Draped Model)* (see fig. 3.2). The classically draped figure depicted in *Study*, the only early lithograph related to the Tanagra series, stands in a highly contrived, contrapposto pose. Her head, in almost perfect profile, turns toward the artist’s signature butterfly, which hovers conspicuously just above her elegantly disposed left hand. The butterfly cipher, originally fashioned as a monogram, had been used in rudimental form in *Standing Nude*, 1869 (see fig. 3.1); it was to assume particular importance in the formally concise lithographs, and Whistler would be fastidious about its placement and proportions.



Figure 3.12: James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834–1903), *Study*, 1879 (C.19). Lithograph on a prepared half-tint ground, 26 x 16.5 cm (10 1/4 x 6 1/2 in.). The Art Institute of Chicago; Bryan Lathrop Collection, 1934.521. Image: Public domain via CC0.

After *Study*, the artist abandoned his efforts in lithography for nearly a decade. In 1887, when he resumed the medium, he employed the more convenient method of transfer lithography, which his contemporaries in France had also adopted. With that technique, he could draw on specially treated paper that allowed the seamless transfer of the image to the stone. In the process, the composition was reversed, so that when an impression was printed, the original orientation of the image was restored. Despite being one step further removed from the stone, the transfer lithograph was even closer to the artist's original than a print made in the traditional manner. It was partly for that reason that Camille Corot advanced transfer lithography as the ideal method for producing multiples of drawings.⁸² And "from the artist's point of view," as Lochnan has remarked, "a simpler method of printmaking could not be conceived."⁸³

Nevertheless, it took time for Whistler to master the process. The commercially produced, mechanically grained transfer paper was disagreeable to work with; mistakes were hard to

spot and tedious to correct. Because an image drawn with lithographic crayon is visible only as a faint stain on transfer paper, stray lines and other imperfections become apparent only when a proof impression is pulled from the press.⁸⁴ In *Model Draping* (cat. no. 17), for example, Whistler neglected to remove the horizontal line at the model's feet used to block out the square column of her drapery; in *The Novel: Girl Reading* (cat. no. 18), the viewer can barely make out the model's facial features, and the delineation of her drapery gives way, around the middle, to what can only be considered scribbling. "There is nothing more difficult in art than to draw the figure," Elizabeth Pennell points out in her article on Whistler as "Master of the Lithograph," "and the difficulty is increased a hundredfold when the medium is as inexorable as the lithographic chalk."⁸⁵

The charm of these images easily conceals their defects: only under close examination, for instance, do we discover in *The Horoscope* (cat. no. 16) that the model may have three legs entangled in her drapery. "That was a very early and bungling struggle," Whistler later had occasion to explain, "with the difficulties of a new material."⁸⁶ Indeed, Whistler was so disheartened by his initial efforts—the first of the Tanagra lithographs—that he instructed Way, by then assisted by his son, Thomas R. Way, to expunge them all from their stones. Happily, this did not occur, and impressions were eventually printed with the artist's approval. In Way's estimation, the salvaged prints were among Whistler's finest—"of extreme delicacy, yet with a certainty of line unsurpassed during any other period"—and the artist himself named three of them among the four images on the Tanagra theme that he considered "most representative—and according to my own choice of quality."⁸⁷ The aspect of ease that distinguishes the Tanagra lithographs was therefore obtained only through unremitting effort: "The work of the master," Whistler maintained, "reeks not of the sweat of the brow."⁸⁸

According to T. R. Way, Whistler might never have persevered were it not for his wife, "herself an artist of real skill," who took a particular interest in his experiments with lithography, "as though she felt it offered him a field where he might surpass his reputation in any other of his works."⁸⁹ Like so many women of her time who managed to overcome cultural expectations to become artists, Beatrice (later Beatrix) Philip (1856–1896) was first the daughter and then the wife of one. Her father was the sculptor John Birnie Philip, who died in 1875; her husband, whom she married the following year, at age eighteen, was the architect and "aesthetic polymath" Edward W. Godwin.⁹⁰ Among her earliest works were designs for the carved bricks embellishing Godwin's Queen Anne-style buildings; she also designed wallpaper and ceramic tiles, and painted decorative panels for art furniture.⁹¹

In 1885, Whistler—one of Godwin's closest friends—happened to see a small figure painting in oil by Beatrix and was so impressed, Godwin proudly reported, that "he took it away to show as the work of a pupil of his." Her painting was exhibited

that year at the Society of British Artists, and even though she had previously shown works under her own name (or rather her husband's, as Mrs. E. W. Godwin), Beatrix was persuaded, presumably by Whistler himself, to adopt the pseudonym Rix Birnie, which disguised both her gender and her identity. She was also identified in the catalogue as Whistler's pupil, even though she may not yet have been.⁹²

Beatrix Godwin was, however, spending many hours in the artist's studio posing for her portrait, *Harmony in Red: Lamplight*, in which she gazes at the artist with loving eyes. The Godwins were by then estranged. His health had been failing since 1885, and he died intestate in October 1886, leaving his widow and their eleven-year-old son, Teddy, financially insecure. Ostensibly in recognition of Edward Godwin's "great services to art in England," Whistler started a petition to raise funds "for advance to Mrs. Godwin, to enable her to take an assured position as an artist."⁹³ Perhaps supported by the magnanimity of her late husband's friends, Beatrix pursued further artistic training, briefly in Paris but also in London, where Whistler taught her how to etch. By 1888, she was recognized in the press as "a remarkably clever artist and decorative draughtswoman," whose talents had only ripened "under the influence of the great James McNeill."⁹⁴

As part of her re-education, Beatrix Godwin made numerous studies from the nude figure, working on a larger scale and in a more naturalistic style than her influential mentor. The two artists appear to have worked companionably in the studio, sometimes from the same model. Beatrix's *Nude woman with an open fan* (fig. 3.13) might be compared, for example, to Whistler's *The Tall Flower*. The model's pose is only slightly different, but Whistler's treatment of the nude, perhaps owing to the watercolor medium, is the more delicate and tentative. Beatrix's drawing is fluent and assured. The model holds a fully opened fan by her side, as if to indicate that nothing was to be concealed from view; her downcast eyes imply her modesty, lending a touch of irony to Beatrix's frank image of female nudity.

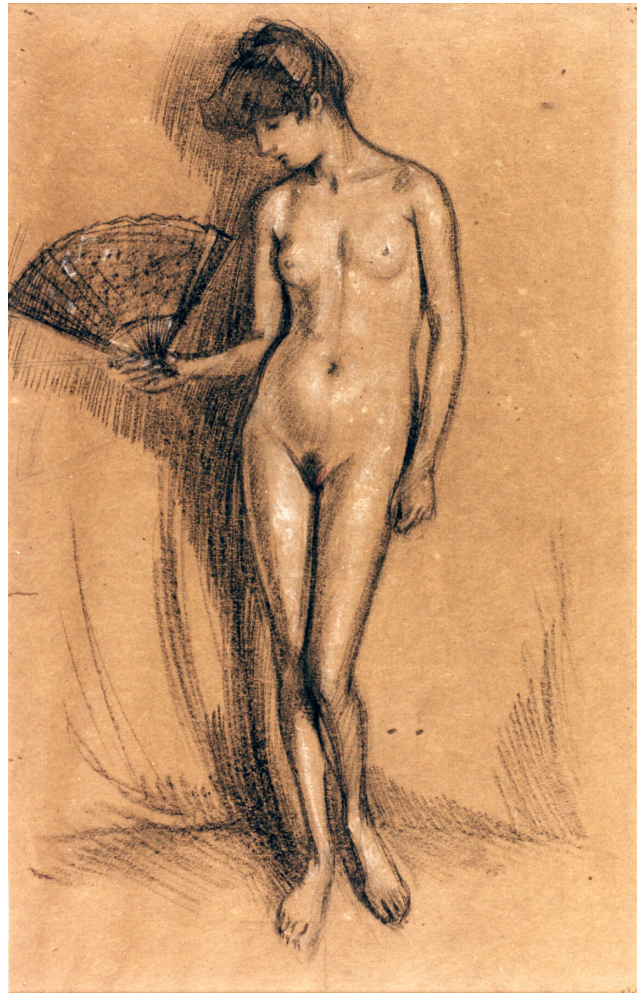


Figure 3.13: Beatrix Whistler (British, 1857–1896), *Nude woman with an open fan*, ca. 1887. Black and white chalk on brown paper, 56.5 x 36 cm (22.2 x 14.2 in.). Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow, Donated by Rosalind B. Philip (1935), GLAHA:46542. Image © The Hunterian, University of Glasgow.

The model for both works was Rose Pettigrew (1872–1958) (fig. 3.14), the youngest of three sisters who came to London from Portsmouth in 1884, after their widowed mother was persuaded that respectable artists would pay well to paint them. Their first engagement was with the Royal Academician J. E. Millais, who portrayed all three in *An Idyll of 1745*; after that, they never wanted for work and soon became, in Rosie's words, "the best paid posers in England." We have seen Hetty, the eldest, as the model for Roussel's *Reading Girl* (fig. 3.11). She and Lily posed together in a series of paintings by John William Godward, including *Mischief and Repose* (Lily is Mischief), and for a series of photographs by the *Punch* cartoonist Linley Sambourne, who sometimes posed them in the nude, relying on the images as "a very useful adjunct to art" when live models were unavailable.⁹⁵



Figure 3.14: Photograph of Rose Amy Pettigrew (1872–1958), ca. 1889. Image courtesy of The Warner Family.

All three Pettigrews started working for Whistler around 1887, a date we can deduce from Rosie's memoirs, in which she slyly mentions knowing "several of Whistler's 'wives.'" This suggests that the Pettigrews' early sittings took place while Maud Franklin, the artist's longtime model and companion, who liked to be called Mrs. Whistler, was still in the picture.⁹⁶ The Pettigrews' arrival in the studio coincides with the commencement of the Tanagra lithographs: it was almost certainly Rosie who sat, at age fifteen, for *The Little Nude Model, Reading*.⁹⁷ She also posed for *Peach Blossom* (cat. no. 48), Beatrix Godwin's more conventional and ladylike rendition of Whistler's theme, in which the model reads her book while fully clothed and seated in a proper chair. The peach-colored dress ("pink, trimmed with mauve") that in Whistlerian fashion sets the picture's color scheme was probably among the "lovely little frocks" that Beatrix made for Rosie.⁹⁸ "The wife I really loved," the model wrote, "was the real one."⁹⁹

Whistler and Beatrix Godwin were married on August 11, 1888. At age thirty-one, Beatrix had been a widow for less than two years, but she was said to be bohemian, like her second husband (then fifty-six), which implies that neither was particularly concerned about the propriety of their relationship. They had considered marriage only "in a vague sort of way" before their friend Henry Labouchère intervened and set the date, arranging for a quiet wedding when Maud

Franklin would be out of town. "Half the artist world would have gone to see Mr. Whistler married," one newspaper reported, "if they had but known of it."¹⁰⁰ The Whistlers settled into a studio flat in Tower House, one of the Tite Street buildings that Godwin had designed.

Beatrix fixed her affections on Rosie Pettigrew, perhaps because her own child was away at school. "Mrs. Whistler loved me as much as I loved her," writes Rosie, adding, "She wanted to adopt me, but mother wouldn't hear of it."¹⁰¹ From the young model's recollection of Mrs. Whistler being ever present when she posed, "to my great joy," we are given a glimpse of Whistler's studio—not at all the transactional space of popular imagination, where innocent girls were regularly exploited by aggressive painters, but a comfortable environment contentedly occupied by three young women and presided over by the artist's wife, whose maternal care modulated Whistler's aesthetic detachment. His own presence in the studio is marked only by his butterfly signature, now artfully intertwined with Beatrix's trefoil monogram. The lithographs created during the years of their marriage, particularly the figural works we call Tanagras, appear to be the emanations of a jubilant state of mind, for as Whistler declared in the "Ten O'Clock," "Art and Joy go together."¹⁰²

THE BEAUTIFUL ROSIES

The polychrome decoration of Tanagra figurines that appears to have inspired Whistler's pastels in the 1880s may also account for his experiments in color lithography, which occupied his attention for three years, beginning late in 1890. His ambition was to find a way to supersede the conventional methods of chromolithography, in which primary colors were overlaid to produce secondary hues that often ended up leaden and murky. Whistler aspired to the clarity of color found in Japanese woodblock prints, where brilliant hues were juxtaposed, "as in a mosaic."¹⁰³ Whistler's method, according to Joseph Pennell, was to begin with a single drawing on transfer paper, printed in the usual way; he then would make as many drawings as there were to be colors in the final print, transparent overlays keyed to the master (or "keystone") drawing. After that, the tedium began: "Those parts of the drawing that are not wanted, that is all but the red, for example, must be scratched or etched away, and the same for the other colours."¹⁰⁴ Finally, for each impression, a sheet of paper (antique or Japanese, carefully selected by Whistler himself) would pass through the press as many times as there were colors to be added.

His first attempt, *Figure Study in Colors* (cat. nos. 20 and 21), printed by Thomas Way, is a straightforward image of a draped model sitting uncharacteristically still, her hands clasped around one knee, as though waiting patiently for something—anything—to begin. Whistler inadvertently bungled the process, making two of the drawings on the wrong side of the paper, and he gave up in exasperation after

a handful of partially colored impressions emerged from the press.¹⁰⁵

When he finally had the heart to try again, Whistler sought an experienced color printer in Paris, where other artists of the Belle Époque, such as Jules Chéret, had taken up the process for poster art. On a brief trip to the Continent in June 1891, Whistler met Henry Belfond, whom he considered the only person in Paris to print “with intelligence and feeling.”¹⁰⁶ At Belfond’s shop in the rue Gaillon, Whistler discovered a new kind of transfer paper, poor in quality but rich in potential, on which he made several drawings that were probably intended to be developed into color lithographs. The patchy lines in *Nude Model, Standing* (cat. no. 24), for example, indicate the difficulty of drawing on the finely grained paper, with the chalk skipping across the slippery surface. Although he abandoned the design, a pastel made around the same time, *Blue Girl* (cat. no. 42), gives us an idea of how it might have looked if Whistler taken the lithograph further. *Draped Model, Dancing* (cat. no. 25), another practice lithograph, shows a similarly irregular quality of line, yet the dancer’s body and drapery are depicted “with equal evanescence,” as Sarah Kelly notes, “mingling and obscuring her form with that of the sheer fabric.”¹⁰⁷ Both prints, though technical failures, possess a beauty as fragile and imperfect as the delicate transfer paper on which they were drawn.

A few months later, Whistler returned to Paris for a longer stay, and he and Belfond worked out a system—or “arrived at a solution,” as he later phrased it, “of the uncertainties of colours in lithography.”¹⁰⁸ The artist would stand beside the press, mixing the oily inks himself, adjusting the hues according to the shade of the paper used for printing, and applying the color to the stone “in the most personal manner, delicately, exquisitely.”¹⁰⁹ That deft touch, opposite in effect to the heavy-handed application of commercial chromolithographs, especially distinguishes *Draped Figure, Standing* (cat. nos. 22 and 23). Drawn in France from a model identified only as “Tootsie,” the figure is reminiscent of a Tanagra figurine; she pulls her drapery over her head and touches her hair in a gesture associated with the goddess Aphrodite (fig. 3.15).¹¹⁰



Figure 3.15: Aphrodite, Boeotia, first half of the 4th century BCE. Terracotta, 24.7 x 9.7 x 5.5 cm (9.7 x 3.6 x 2.2 in.). National Museums of Berlin, Antiquities Collection / Johannes Laurentius. Image: Public domain via CC BY-SA 4.0.

The enhancement with color completes what Nicholas Burry Smale aptly describes as “the realist subversion of the ideal.”¹¹¹ A more complicated image, *Draped Figure, Reclining*, demonstrates Whistler’s fastidious attention to nuances of color; each impression represents a variation in tonal arrangement (cat. nos. 30 and 31). Although printed in Paris, the image had been drawn in London from one of the Pettigrews,¹¹² who does not just recline in this print, as the title says, but falls asleep. Originally called *La belle dame paresseuse* (“the lovely, lazy lady”), the lithograph is a further expression of the model not-at-work, the embodiment of an art whose sole purpose is to look beautiful.¹¹³

In a related color lithograph titled *Lady and Child* (fig. 3.16) (not, it should be noted, “Mother and Child”), we encounter a new addition to the family of Pettigrew models: Edith Gertrude, born in March 1889, the fourth child of the sisters’ elder brother Alfred. The little girl in her ruffled bonnet is propped on the studio sofa with a yellow toy of some sort in her lap; she gazes steadily at the artist while her aunt, nearly unrecognizable in street clothes and a bergère hat, takes the opportunity to rest her eyes. In *Cameo, No. 1* (cat. no. 39), a rare etching from this period that was originally titled *Little Edith*,¹¹⁴ it is the baby who is coaxed to nap by her loving aunt, all draped up and ready for work; in *Cameo, No. 2* (cat. no. 40),

the baby sleeps. Whistler also made several drawings of Edith with her Pettigrew relation (probably Rosie) on transfer paper, presumably meant as keystone drawings for color prints. As with the single-figure Tanagra lithographs, the models appear to have been free to do whatever they pleased—play, sit, cuddle, or sleep—while the artist waited for the pose that formed the picture.



Figure 3.16: James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834–1903), *Lady and Child* (C.55), 1892. Color lithograph, 16 x 25.7 cm (6 5/16 x 10 1/8 in.). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Rosenwald Collection, 1946.21.370. Image: Public domain.

The first of the four transfer lithographs titled *Mother and Child* (cat. no. 26) can be dated to June 1891 because the old *papier viennois* on which it is drawn makes it contemporary with the two Cameo etchings. The other three, all horizontal, must have been made later in the year, as they are drawn on the tissue-thin *papier végétal* that Whistler brought back with him that summer from Paris (cat. nos. 27, 28, and 29). Whistler fell out with Belfond before the drawings could be developed into color lithographs and they were put away, but not forgotten. At Beatrix's request, the drawings were retrieved in 1895, and impressions were printed in London by the Ways with varying degrees of success. Only then was the perfunctory title *Mother and Child* assigned to every picture in the series.

Had they evolved as originally intended, the images would more closely resemble Whistler's pastels on the same theme, such as *Rose and Red: The Little Pink Cap*, *The Purple Cap* (fig. 3.17), *The Pearl*, *The Shell*, and they would probably bear titles evocative of visual effects, not indicative of generic subjects. The serial title makes it easy to overlook the individual qualities of the lithographs, but Pennell, probably encouraged by Whistler, singled out the second of the four (cat. no. 28) in her *Scribner's* article. Simply titled *Mother and Child*, it forms the headpiece and is praised in terms both technical and art-historical, as being "instinct with maternal devotion as the Madonnas of Bellini or Fra Angelico, the plump nakedness of the child a marvel of masterly execution, of eloquent form."¹¹⁵



Figure 3.17: James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834–1903), *The Purple Cap* (M. 1287), ca. 1890. Chalk and pastel on grey paper, 27.6 x 18.1 cm (10 7/8 x 7 1/8 in.). National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Collection, Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1902.111a-c. Image courtesy of the National Museum of Asian Art.

How can we account for the efflorescence of this sentimental theme in nearly every medium of Whistler's practice during this late period of his career? It is possible that he found inspiration in the Tanagras called *kourotrophoi*, or "child nurturers," mortal women or divinities shown with an infant or small child (cat. no. 7). "The Tanagra potter was particularly happy in his renderings of figures or scenes in which gentle grace predominates," observed the Victorian writer Caroline A. Hutton, citing an example in the British Museum possessed of "all the sweet serenity of a mediæval Madonna." (That figurine has been revealed to be a reconstruction, with a pretty young head appended to the body of an elderly nursemaid.)¹¹⁶

More often advanced as precedents for Whistler's lithographic theme are the comparatively ornate statuettes of Aphrodite and Eros, particularly an example in the Ionides collection in which the figures are recumbent.¹¹⁷ (Although it would not have mattered to Whistler, that now unlocated figurine was almost certainly a modern forgery.)¹¹⁸ According to Olivier Rayet, the coroplasts were simply developing a theme

frequently explored by poets of the fourth and third centuries, of love (in the form of Eros) attempting to fly away from the beautiful young woman who tries to hold onto it. One example shown at the 1878 Exposition Universelle in Paris, in which a seated draped figure plays with the naked baby in her lap (cat. no. 50), might plausibly relate to Whistler's *Mother and Child, No. 1* (cat. no. 26).¹¹⁹

Although Whistler was purging subject matter from his art, in the Tanagra renditions of the mother-and-child theme he may have recognized a relevant reconciliation of the human with the divine. Marcus Huish, in 1900, imagines a Tanagra potter charged with representing the "Goddess Mother" but finding little inspiration in the traditional type, while "in his own house, he had in his wife and infant one surpassing anything that he could imagine. If he possessed any artistic sense, he would be moved to translate this into clay."¹²⁰ In the same way, perhaps, Whistler recognized the mortal equivalents of his own muse, the being he considers the goddess of art, in the blithe young models who had the run of his studio.

Whistler might also have looked for inspiration to contemporary works for inspiration. His fellow American expatriate Mary Cassatt, for example, was experimenting with color printing at this very moment, and an aquatint such as *After the Bath* (fig. 3.18) approximates the quiet sensuality of Whistler's works.¹²¹ It is important to recognize that Cassatt's figures, like Whistler's, were based on hired models who were not necessarily related to the children they appear to mother. The maternal theme was a culturally appropriate way to express ideas about artistic creativity, especially for women artists, though Whistler himself once relied on the metaphor to describe the process of art-making: "It's the pain of giving birth!"¹²² But the overarching theme of Whistler's imagery, as Katharine Lochnan acknowledged, is probably not motherhood in itself, but the notion of "woman as nurturer,"¹²³ the Greek *kourotrophos*. If we accept Whistler's Tanagra images as the embodiments, or evocations, of his muse—the "loving and fruitful" goddess described in the "Ten O'Clock"¹²⁴—then the infant cared for so tenderly in the sheltered space of the studio may be considered the exquisite creation of the artist's hand, the work of art itself.



Figure 3.18: Mary Cassatt (American, 1844–1926), *After the Bath*, 1890–91. Color aquatint and drypoint from two plates on ivory laid paper, 34.6 x 28.8 cm (13 5/8 x 11 3/8 in.). The Art Institute of Chicago; Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson Collection, 1932.1286. Image: Public domain via CC0.

However they might have been understood by Whistler's contemporaries, these charming images would seem the most likely of all his works to appeal to popular taste. Yet Whistler rarely exhibited the mother-and-child pastels, and he printed the related lithographs in tiny editions. Of the handful that were sold, nearly all went to Charles Lang Freer, his highly sympathetic patron in Detroit. The majority remained in Whistler's studio at the time of his death.

Whistler and Beatrix seem to have regarded these works as a kind of joint endeavor, like aesthetic offspring, perhaps inspired by the ambiance of affection they created in the studio. To them, the images were highly personal, deeply private, and deliberately recondite. We see this in the letters written by the artist during his quick trip to Paris in June 1891, while the series was still in progress. Whistler reports to Beatrix on his visit to the gallery of Paul Durand-Ruel to view recent works by his Parisian contemporaries. "There is a little room full of Renoirs—You have no idea! I *don't* know what has happened to the eyes of every body—The things are simply *childish*—and a Degas absolutely shameful!" Had they been together, he wrote to his wife, they would have held hands and

summoned the memory of “the beautiful Rosies,” or Pettigrew pastels, presumably as a defense against bad art. Because they were apart, Whistler advised Beatrix to retrieve the delicate works from the cabinet in the studio where they were kept and handle them with care. “Take the two drawers, just as they are, and carry them up stairs—don’t let them be shaken, and cover them over with a little drapery and wait till I come back—We have no idea how precious they are!”¹²⁵

THE PINNACLE OF FAME

For those who know Whistler only as the author of the square and somber portrait of his mother, the drawings of lithe young women entwined with naked babies can be difficult to assimilate. The puzzle is only compounded when we learn that *Arrangement in Grey and Black* (“Whistler’s Mother”) was in the Whistlers’ new London home at 21 Cheyne Walk in 1891, while the “Rosies” were in progress. “It was hung rather low,” their parlor maid recollected, “and looked for all the world like life and seemed too natural for a picture.”¹²⁶ Yet Whistler’s variations on the theme of motherhood, created decades apart, in diverse media and on a vastly different scale, identically express his wish to liberate art from the expectations of convention. The portrait of his mother, as he explained around this time to the artist Henry Tonks, naturally possessed interest for him, “as he was very fond of her.” To anyone else, Whistler said, shifting the emphasis from sentimental subject to formal abstraction, “its beauty could be just as well seen if they looked at it upside down.”¹²⁷

Whistler’s Mother was the key that unlocked the artist’s lasting renown. In November 1891, it was purchased for the Luxembourg in Paris, the national collection of works by living artists, which destined the portrait, eventually, for the Louvre. Its acquisition by the French state set off a series of exhibitions and accolades that finally secured Whistler’s stature as an artist. As du Maurier noted in *Trilby*, “He is now perched on such a topping pinnacle (of fame and notoriety combined) that people can stare at him from two hemispheres at once.”¹²⁸ Responding to the demands of his rising reputation, Whistler was also living in two cities at once, making frequent trips across the English Channel, but by March 1892, he was ready to leave England for good, as his “strongest art sympathies,” he announced, were centered in Paris.¹²⁹ In England that year, Whistler’s French success was regarded with suspicion until it was categorically confirmed by the stunning retrospective of his paintings, *Nocturnes, Marines, and Chevalet Pieces*, at the Goupil Gallery. As D. C. Thomson wrote to Beatrix Whistler, then in Paris, “To those who have eyes to see, & fortunately they are increasing in number, the collection is the most notable event that has taken place in London for many many years & it will stand out for all future times as one of the epochs of art in this country.”¹³⁰

Seeking out the artist at the Goupil exhibition, a reporter for the *Illustrated London News* referred to a rumor that Whistler

had “invented a new process of lithography.” Whistler demurred, “I am simply busy with some coloured lithographs, which will be seen by-and-bye.” The “new process,” he said, was only “a return to simplicity,”¹³¹ but that may have been wishful thinking, for the permanent move to Paris had greatly complicated Whistler’s lithographic practice. While he continued working with Belfond on color lithographs, he relied on the Ways to print the monochrome impressions: “These things are of great delicacy, and I could not dream of running risks in other hands.”¹³² Rolled up in periodicals for protection, Whistler’s transfer-paper drawings were regularly posted to London, along with extensive instructions for the Ways: “Of course more margin at the bottom than at the top. About paper—the white you sent, is *rather* too white.”¹³³ Their richly detailed correspondence illuminates what T. R. Way regarded as “one long series of experiments, so frequently did he vary his materials and his manner of using them.”¹³⁴

The most consequential development in this period may have been Whistler’s adoption of the *crayon estompe*, or “stump,” a tool made of paper wound tightly into a stick, or stump, and suffused with tusche, a liquid drawing medium. Whistler discovered that the stump imparted a particular richness to his drawings, “a certain velvety daintiness—quite unlike anything I have ever seen.” The effect is especially striking in a pair of lithographs from 1893, referred to by the artist in typical shorthand as “the lying down figure” (cat. no. 34) and “the sitting figure” (cat. no. 33). Both were drawn from the same model, a young Italian named Carmen Rossi (born around 1878)—“a nice little Rosie,” as Whistler described her to Beatrix—who had turned up at Whistler’s Paris studio one day in January 1892. Together, the lithographs mark an important advance in Whistler’s process. “I am getting to use the stump just like a brush,” he informed Way, “and the work is beginning to have the mystery in execution of a painting.”¹³⁵

In *Nude Model, Reclining* (cat. no. 34), the heavy somnolence that had suffused *Draped Figure Reclining* (cat. no. 31), the color lithograph from the previous year, has given way to an atmosphere charged with possibility. The model’s quirky pose—head supported by one elbow while the other arm tents the drapery above one hip—could not have been maintained for long: as MacDonald has observed, “The brevity of this glimpse of the naked body is emphasized by the conciseness of the technique.”¹³⁶ The unusual disposition of the model’s legs may derive from a painting in the National Gallery, Tintoretto’s *Origin of the Milky Way*, of which Whistler kept photographs in the studio.¹³⁷ Although it is difficult to reconcile the quiet languor of Whistler’s image with the frenzy of Tintoretto’s scene—Hera’s hectic suckling of the infant Herakles just before she repels him in pain and spews divine milk across the heavens to accidentally create the Milky Way—the visual quotation may have been meant especially for Beatrix, as *The Origin of the Milky Way* was her favorite painting.¹³⁸

In the second of the pair (cat no. 32), the model has risen to a seated position on the Empire-style sofa, though she seems

even less alert than when she was recumbent. Seated Tanagra figurines are rare, but Whistler's *Draped Figure, Seated* may have been inspired by a lovely figurine purchased for the Louvre in 1876 (since identified as a forgery) of a woman seated on a rock. As one contemporary scholar helpfully pointed out, "rocks cannot have been used as furniture among the Greeks," so the rustic setting may identify the figure as a muse at rest in the natural world.¹³⁹ Whistler's draped figure is more luxuriously situated in the studio, with the suggestion of a folding screen behind the couch. Her body forms a sturdy pyramid, though one of her legs, slightly bent, suggests that she might attempt, unsteadily, to stand. In a telling visual echo of the Tanagra's gracefully bowed head, the dark halo of the modern model's hair and scarf shadows her downcast eyes, conjuring a sense of the semi-conscious, that hazy borderland between wakefulness and sleep, making her appear, like the terracotta, as if lost in a dream.

This was the figure that Whistler selected to represent his art in a portfolio of prints called *L'Estampe originale*. The publisher, André Marty, was the leading advocate of artistic lithography in France, and even though, as Whistler explained to T. R. Way, "there is as usual no money in the matter for me," the lithograph would appear in the distinguished company of works by such artists as Pierre Puvis de Chavannes and Félix Bracquemond—and so, Whistler decided, "Let us be very swell among them all." Marty himself collected Whistler's drawing in Paris and hand-delivered it to the Ways in London, also providing a ream of *gampi torinoko*, the sturdy Japanese paper on which a hundred impressions were printed. The resulting proofs, according to the artist, were "absolutely perfect."¹⁴⁰

As published in *L'Estampe originale* (cat. no. 33), the lithograph was unaccountably called *Danseuse* ("Dancer"); perhaps Georges Vicaire, who catalogued the prints in 1897, detected an affinity with a Tanagra dancer, such as the *Danseuse Titeux* (cat. no. 1), and imagined her in repose. Whistler himself gave one title to the lithograph in 1894—*The Seated Draped Figure*—when he sent an impression to London for exhibition at the Grafton Gallery, and quite another when the lithograph went on view with the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts: *La Songeuse*, or "Daydreamer."¹⁴¹ In fin de siècle France, that title positioned Whistler decisively within the Symbolist circle. French Symbolism was in many ways aligned with the aestheticism that Whistler had long espoused. The movement was a reaction to the art of description that had prevailed

throughout the nineteenth century in the various forms of naturalism, Realism, and Impressionism. Seeking something more elusive—essence rather than substance or even appearance—the Symbolists fashioned complex metaphors to suggest (but never describe) the faint correspondences they detected between the material and the spiritual. Their esoteric art was ambiguous by design.¹⁴²

Stéphane Mallarmé (1842–1898), the poet credited with endowing the Symbolist movement "with a sense of the mysterious and ineffable," had provided a French translation of Whistler's "Ten O'Clock" in 1888, affirming his own sympathy with the artist's aestheticist vision.¹⁴³ In return—as a symbol, so to speak, of their consonant "aesthetic of implication"—Whistler presented Mallarmé with an impression of *The Dancing Girl* (cat. no. 15),¹⁴⁴ one of the first of his Tanagra lithographs. From the Symbolist point of view, the dance is the ideal art form, "a purely visual text that is fleeting and transitory," as Sarah Kelly observes, which finds a parallel in Whistler's ephemeral lithographs. Moreover, as an instinctive, spontaneous expression of joy, dance is an apposite symbol of the creative impulse,¹⁴⁵ and Mallarmé reciprocated with "Billet à Whistler," a sonnet in which art is personified as a dancer twirling through space, "a muslin whirlwind."¹⁴⁶

Imbued with art and friendship, Whistler's contented Parisian life found expression in his lithographs—notably the images of his muse, who regularly communed with the artist at his new studio in Montparnasse (fig. 3.19). On the sixth floor of a modern building in the old-world street of Notre-Dame-des-Champs, the studio was "really perhaps the finest thing of the kind I have ever seen," Whistler informed his sister-in-law.¹⁴⁷ Its perfection was confirmed by Robert Sherard, the English journalist who visited the artist in Paris in 1893, though he was surprised to discover that apart from the printing press, "the only commercial-looking thing in all the place," there were no signs of work in the studio, "no easel visible, not one palette, none of the charming litter of the art."¹⁴⁸ It was as if Whistler were encouraging the production of art by denying the existence of labor, effacing "the footsteps of work" not only from his artistic inventions, but from his professional domain. The house in the rue du Bac, too, where he and Beatrix had taken up residence, was an ideal setting for aestheticism, "a sort of little fairy palace," as Whistler described it, "—a thing on a fan—or on a blue plate."¹⁴⁹



Figure 3.19: Paul François Arnold Cardon, called Dornac (French, 1859–1941). Photograph of Whistler in his studio on the rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs, Paris, 1893. Sheet: 7 3/4 x 10 1/4 in. (19.7 x 26 cm), mount: 35.6 x 43.2 cm (14 x 17 in.). Yale Center for British Art, Gift of Robert N. Whittemore, Yale BS 1943. Image: Public domain.

Everyone agreed that the artist had never been happier than during this interlude in Paris, “when he was acknowledged and taken seriously as a *maître d’école*, and found his work appreciated and sought for by collectors.”¹⁵⁰ His recent successes in lithography caused him to perceive the medium as defining his future prospects. “I fancy I see fortune looming on the horizon,” he wrote to Way in London, “and I might really be rich!” He had “endless things” in mind, he said, ideas that had been bottled up throughout “the hard siege and open war” of his previous, beleaguered life in London. One of those “things” was *Little Draped Figure, Leaning* (cat. no. 35), another in the series of lithographs drawn from Carmen Rossi late in 1893, which Whistler regarded as “a really delightful little drawing on paper,” by which he meant a transfer drawing intended for the lithographic stone, “unless I deceive myself greatly—Very simple and very fair.”¹⁵¹ It revives a favored compositional type dating back twenty years, and may be regarded as a languid rendition of the early lithograph *Study* (fig. 3.12). The model is more relaxed, legs crossed at the knee, arms resting lightly on the rail behind her, assuming an attitude that vaguely recalls the standard Tanagra type of the semi-nude Aphrodite leaning nonchalantly against a pillar (cat. no. 10).¹⁵²

Whistler repeated the motif some months later in a drawing of a leaning figure striking the same chiasmic pose (cat. no. 36). The drapery is as transparent as that in the previous image, where it is seen clearly only in the gathers forming a pattern against the wall; in *Little Draped Figure, Leaning*, the drapery forms a more emphatic element of the composition, not altogether successfully. Whistler had his doubts about the drawing, along with another made at the same time (cat. no. 37), which depicts the model from behind: facing the studio armchair instead of the artist, she lifts her gauzy drapery

overhead in a pose possibly inspired by Watteau.¹⁵³ Titled *Study* by default, the lithograph recalls the early, experimental *Model Draping* (cat. no. 17), one of the first works for which Rosie Pettigrew had posed, showing Whistler’s fascination with the graceful movements by which she donned her drapery.¹⁵⁴ In contrast, the unnamed model who posed for these Parisian pictures was “rather a poor one,” Whistler wrote to Way in explanation of these imperfect drawings, an excuse that betrays the importance he continued to attach to his model as muse. Whistler’s dissatisfaction only deepened when he received trial proofs, noting that the images needed “cleaning.” In the end, he must have regarded them both as beyond redemption, for no revisions were ever made and the stones were erased after a small number of proofs was pulled from the press.¹⁵⁵

And yet, Whistler wrote brightly to Thomson, “the lithographs are daily becoming more perfect.” Accordingly, he raised his prices. He had tried to appeal to a wider public by making the prints available “at an absurdly small price,” but they had attracted only “the same small clientele” that dependably purchased his more expensive etchings. Why, he wondered, had he ever thought “the ‘masses’ would rush in” just because he set the cost of his works within their means?¹⁵⁶ To the writer for the *Studio* who interviewed Whistler around this time, the artist avowed that he did not make prints for popular consumption: “Art is the worst aristocrat of all,” he declared. “It has nothing to do with the masses.”¹⁵⁷

Though impressing the *Studio* journalist with his “intimate knowledge of all the conventions and tricks of the craft,” Whistler described himself with rare humility as a beginner in the field of lithography: “There is a lot to be done yet.”¹⁵⁸ He still harbored hopes that he might “have another go with colour” at the Ways’ establishment in London, and he felt certain that “the fun and the mystery” of the medium would “begin in *earnest*” as soon as he discovered the perfect transfer paper.¹⁵⁹ He was experimenting with the perfectly smooth, transparent sheets of tracing paper used for making facsimiles of handwritten documents. Extremely thin and hard to handle, the paper nonetheless produced “a certain softness of quality, almost at times a blurred effect,” as T. R. Way allowed; because the glassy surface offered no resistance, the images drawn upon it convey an uncanny sense of the chalk gliding across the sheet, “exactly as his mind has directed it.”¹⁶⁰ These lithographs, especially, show no trace of effort, no footstep of work. “The line comes *straight from his pencil*,” Whistler wrote, insisting that a transfer lithograph would either perfectly represent his intentions or betray him utterly, “in his weakness and incapacity.”¹⁶¹

The last of the Tanagra lithographs, *Girl with Bowl* (cat. no. 38), represents the latter outcome—or so it appeared to Whistler’s American dealer Edward G. Kennedy, who feared that the lithograph could only damage Whistler’s reputation. Its cringing awkwardness was invisible to Whistler, however, who replied to Kennedy with surprising equanimity that the

objectionable print had been “a great success in Paris.”¹⁶² The lithograph had been made expressly for a short-lived Symbolist art journal titled *L'Ymagier*. In efforts to unsettle the traditional hierarchies of artistic genres, and to question the distinction between copies and originals, the quarterly juxtaposed contemporary works by artists such as Paul Gauguin and Émile Bernard with medieval woodcuts and popular imagery from Épinal prints. Whistler’s lithograph, which appeared in an issue featuring articles on monsters and Saint Nicholas, followed reproductions of woodcuts by Lucas Cranach the Elder.¹⁶³

In that eccentric panoply of prints, *Girl with Bowl* may show to best advantage. Whistler himself maintained a peculiar affection for it, naming the print among the few “choice” examples of his lithographs of nude and draped figures.¹⁶⁴ The standing model holds at her hip a porcelain vessel, an unprecedented prop in a lithograph though the bowl turns up in several other works on paper from this period, often as a container for a potted plant. In *Spring* (cat. no. 41), for instance, a glossy, white porcelain bowl emblazoned with a butterfly set inside a trefoil holds a flowering plant, presumably of some variety too rarefied to blossom in the common garden soil. In contrast, the vessel in *Girl with Bowl* remains empty, as if waiting to hold some symbolic significance.

Beatrix, by then, had fallen ill with cancer; the Whistlers’ Parisian idyll was over. The blow seemed even crueler, Whistler confided to Kennedy, because it came “just as ease & success—and even power & perhaps even knowledge seemed to be smiling upon us.”¹⁶⁵ In pursuit of medical attention, the Whistlers packed up their Paris home and returned unhappily to London, where the artist immersed himself in work, the only refuge for his abstracted mind. Thomas Wilmer Dewing, an American artist whom Whistler had recently met through Freer, their mutual patron, spent some dark days that winter with Whistler in a borrowed studio in Fitzroy Street. During that quiet period of the artists’ intimacy, Dewing drew his own draped model in pastel, *Figure in Grey and Pink Drapery* (cat. no. 43). If the medium, motif, and brown paper owe much to Whistler’s influence, the model’s insouciant attitude, as Susan Hobbs has noted, is again reminiscent of Tanagra figurines.¹⁶⁶

Lithography was the one medium Whistler was able to practice during the desperate days of Beatrix’s illness. T. R. Way remembered how Whistler insisted that proofs be pulled at once of each new drawing so he could show Beatrix what had been accomplished during their time apart. To Way, this resolve only confirmed her crucial importance to Whistler’s lithographic enterprise.¹⁶⁷ It is a sad irony that while Beatrix lay dying, Whistler’s reputation ascended as he became recognized as the leading exponent of artistic lithography; her decline exactly coincided with the centenary of lithography’s

invention, when “a craft that had gone into trade,” as one journalist described the renaissance, “takes its place again among the aristocracy of the portfolio.”¹⁶⁸

For *Centenaire de la lithographie*, the enormous exhibition staged in Paris that autumn, the Ways selected six prints on Whistler’s behalf that they believed to demonstrate the variety of his work “from a technical point of view.”¹⁶⁹ Whistler himself was spending those months in Lyme Regis with Beatrix (“still far from well”), but even in that remote locale he heard “that *everyone* is much agog about lithography and that the Paris Lithographic Exhibition is attracting great attention.”¹⁷⁰ Not to be outdone, London was to have an exhibition of its own, even though few artists in England were seriously engaged with the medium. Marcus Huish, who was the director of the Fine Art Society, where Whistler had long exhibited prints and pastels, wrote to Whistler that it seemed a pity for amateur practitioners, even if they were Royal Academicians, to be soaking up the glory while “the originator of the revival here” was getting insufficient credit. To balance the scales, Huish proposed an exhibition dedicated entirely to Whistler’s work in lithography.¹⁷¹

To Whistler at that time, an exhibition sounded like a lot of trouble, “and I am awfully handicapped with trouble already.”¹⁷² Eventually, if reluctantly, he was persuaded, and an exhibition of seventy-one lithographs opened on December 7, 1896, at the galleries in New Bond Street. *Mr. Whistler’s Lithographs* was an instant and utter success. The artist’s longtime friend Ernest G. Brown, who worked with Huish at the Fine Art Society, wrote to Whistler about the artists and connoisseurs—including the Prince of Wales—who were flocking to see the lithographs, “generally considered the very best things you have done. There is no doubt of your popularity now.”¹⁷³

In February 1896, when Whistler himself finally wrote to gloat to Kennedy about the exhibition, he and Beatrix were back in London: “Really it will make you quite jealous—for the success was quite stupendous.” Yet the brisk sales, brilliant reviews, continual commendations, all were as nothing, he said, “beside the health of our Lady, in whose happiness is all our hope & joy & invention.”¹⁷⁴ In hopes that a change of scene might lift their spirits, the Whistlers took a room on an upper floor of the Savoy Hotel, where Beatrix could look out on the river from a chaise longue set beside the window. Whistler worked by her side, consoling himself with views of the Thames in drawings destined for the lithographic stone: “I am now doing the best work of that kind, by far, that I have ever done,” he wrote to Kennedy.¹⁷⁵ He also portrayed Beatrix in bed, poignant images that reveal the gravity of her illness (fig. 3.20), even though he could not face up to it himself: he named one of those portraits, optimistically, *La belle dame convalescente*.¹⁷⁶



Figure 3.20: James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834–1903), *By the Balcony* (C.160), 1896. Lithograph, 21.7 x 14.2 cm (8 9/16 x 5 9/16 in.). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.: Rosenwald Collection, 1946.21.363. Image: Public domain.

After Beatrix died in May, Whistler's interest in lithography faded away.¹⁷⁷ At the end of his own life, however, he returned to the nude figure, this time in a series of small oil paintings. The one he particularly prized was *Purple and Gold: Phryne the Superb!—Builder of Temples* (fig. 3.21), begun by January 1898 but still in his studio—perhaps still in progress—when he died in July 1903. Its unusually detailed, allusive, and enthusiastic title announces the subject's importance: Phryne was the legendary Greek (indeed, Boeotian) courtesan who had the means to rebuild the city of Thebes after its destruction by Alexander the Great in 335 BCE, around the time the terracottas were starting to be made in the neighboring town of Tanagra. It was Phryne, too, who posed for the sculptor Praxiteles as the Aphrodite of Knidos (ca. 360–330 BCE), the first life-size female nude in antiquity (fig. 1.10).



Figure 3.21: James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834–1903), *Purple and Gold: Phryne the Superb!—Builder of Temples*, 1898–1903. Oil on wood panel, 24.2 x 14.2 cm (9 1/2 x 5 9/16 in.). National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Freer Collection, Washington D.C., Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1902.115. Image courtesy of the National Museum of Asian Art.

Whistler's modest portrait belies its imposing title. First, it is painted on a tiny panel, just nine by five inches—"small and dainty," as he considered paintings of these dimensions, and "most portable," easily tucked by rich Americans into their steamer trunks.¹⁷⁸ Whistler briefly considered creating a full-scale version of *Purple and Gold*, as he had once intended to enlarge the oil sketch known as *Tanagra* (cat. no. 14), but his preference for "the dainty" won out in the end. "Would she be more superb," Whistler wondered "more truly the Builder of Temples—had I painted her what is called life-size?"¹⁷⁹

Second, the painting presents Phryne as an ordinary artist's model, stripped of the accoutrements of her legendary wealth and power. Having allowed her drapery to fall to her feet, she stands stark naked before a makeshift backdrop, a deep purple curtain that weighs down the line strung across the

studio. Unlike Whistler's Tanagra models, Phryne strike a formal pose—perhaps owing to the greater exigency of oil painting—but it is not the *putica* stance, which would have recalled the Knidian Aphrodite and implied an unwarranted measure of shame. Were it not for the suggestion of a Corinthian terrace on one side of the picture, and the hint of Mediterranean sky at the top, Phryne might be just another Miss Pettigrew posing in the London studio.

Perhaps it was the painting's air of classical antiquity, combined with its unusually small scale, that caused Luke Ionides, Aleco's elder brother, to overlook the model's stark nudity and regard the *Phryne* as a veritable copy of a Tanagra figurine. "I've always said you're more or less of a plagiarist," he remarked upon seeing the panel in Whistler's studio in 1903, certain that the artist had appropriated the figure from a particular (though yet unidentified) statuette in the British Museum. Charmed by the idea, Whistler suggested that they go together to see the alleged prototype so he could judge for himself; but on the appointed afternoon, just as Ionides set off to meet his friend for their excursion, he learned that Whistler had died that very day.¹⁸⁰

1. Mortimer Menpes, *Whistler as I Knew Him* (New York: Macmillan, 1904), 72. Epigraph from Oscar Wilde, "London Models," *English Illustrated Magazine* (1899), 215.
2. James McNeill Whistler (JW) to A. F. Jaccaci [Apr/May 1896?] no. 02260, in *The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler, 1855–1903*, edited by Margaret F. MacDonald, Patricia de Montfort, and Nigel Thorp, University of Glasgow, online edition, <http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence> (hereinafter GUV).
3. On the use of "Tanagra" for works by Whistler on this theme, see, for example, Katharine A. Lochnan, *The Etchings of James McNeill Whistler* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 256; and Ewan Mundy and Celia Pilo, *James Abbott McNeill Whistler: An Exhibition of Etchings, Lithographs, Drawings & Watercolors* (Glasgow: Ewan Mundy Fine Art, 1990), cat. nos. 30 and 31.
4. Oscar Wilde, "L'Envoi," introduction to Rennell Rodd, *Rose Leaf and Apple Leaf* (Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddart & Co., 1882), n.p.
5. Elizabeth Robins Pennell, "The Master of the Lithograph—J. McNeill Whistler," *Scribner's* 21 (Mar 1897): 289. JW described the piece to E. G. Kennedy as "an exhaustive article on Whistlers lithographs in Scribners," not even mentioning Pennell's participation (JW to E. G. Kennedy [28 Mar 1896] GUV 09739), and he corresponded directly with A. F. Jaccaci, editor of *Scribner's*, about the lithographs that would be reproduced.
6. [F. G. Stephens] "Fine Arts: Royal Academy," *Athenaeum*, May 18 1867, 667. The critic refers to *Symphony in White, No. 3*.
7. JW to Henri Fantin-Latour [Sep 1867?] GUV 08045.
8. Lucy Crane, *Art and the Formation of Taste: Six Lectures* (London: Macmillan, 1882), 17.
9. Pennell, "Master of the Lithograph," 289.
10. Margaret F. MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler: Drawings, Pastels, and Watercolours; A Catalogue Raisonné* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), cat. no. 357, 120. David Park Curry retitled the drawing *Venus* in *James McNeill Whistler at the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1984), cat. no. 216, 244; MacDonald retains that title in the catalogue raisonné.
11. JW to Thomas Winans [Sep/Nov 1896] GUV 10632.
12. JW to Henri Fantin-Latour, Sep 30–Nov 22, 1868, GUV 11983.
13. See, for example, Denys Sutton, *Nocturne: The Art of James McNeill Whistler* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1964), 61; and Linda Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 100.
14. Andrew McLaren Young, Margaret MacDonald, Robin Spencer, and Hamish Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*, 2 vols. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980), cat. no. 92, 1:34–35.
15. There is no universal agreement as to the date of the work formerly known as *Tanagra*. The Maier Art Museum, which owns it, gives the date as 1867–70, presumably because of its resemblance to Whistler's so-called Six Projects, which were under way during that period. The Whistler catalogue raisonné (cited above) dates the oil sketch ca. 1869 based on JW's letter to Winans, but the online version revises the date to 1869/1873 because of the butterfly signature, which closely resembles that of *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony*, a painting in progress throughout the latter 1860s but not exhibited until 1870 (with further changes made later on). [Margaret F. MacDonald and Grischka Petri, *James McNeill Whistler: The paintings, a catalogue raisonné*, online catalogue (University of Glasgow, 2020), <http://whistlerpaintings.gla.ac.uk>. The revised dating may be unnecessary because the butterfly in the cartouche in the oil sketch is exactly like the one that appears for the first time in the dated cartoon, *Standing Nude*, of 1869.
16. Néguine Mathieux, "Tanagras in Paris: a bourgeois dream," in *Tanagras: Figurines for Life & Eternity: The Musée du Louvre's Collection of Greek Figurines*, edited by Violaine Jeammet (Valencia: Fundación Bancaja, 2010), 19 n.6.
17. Frederic Voss, "The Tanagra Figurines," *New York Tribune*, Oct 27, 1879, 5.
18. Lochnan, *Etchings of Whistler*, 152–53. In *Etchings of Whistler, The Model Resting* is dated 1870, which would be too early to suggest the influence of Tanagras, but the etching has since been redated to 1873/74. See *Draped Model* (G.109) in Margaret F. MacDonald, Grischka Petri, Meg Hausberg, and Joanna Meacock, *James McNeill Whistler: The Etchings, a catalogue raisonné* (University of Glasgow, 2012), online at <http://etchings.arts.gla.ac.uk>.
19. John Sandberg, "Whistler Studies," *Art Bulletin* 50 (March 1968): 61. The album was bequeathed to the university in 1958 by Rosalind Birnie Philip, the sister of Whistler's wife, Beatrix.
20. George du Maurier, *Trilby: A Novel* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1894), 140.
21. Caroline Dakers, *The Holland Park Circle: Artists and Victorian Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 108.

22. On the Ionides family as art patrons, see Julia Ionides, “The Greek Connection—The Ionides Family and their Connections with Pre-Raphaelite and Victorian Art Circles,” in *Pre-Raphaelite Art in its European Context*, edited by Susan P. Casteras and Alicia Craig Faxon (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1995), 160–74.
23. William Michael Rossetti, diary entry for May 1, 1867 (folder 15-1), Helen (Rossetti) Angeli–Imogene Dennis Collection, University of British Columbia Library, Vancouver.
24. JW to Frances Leyland [Sep 1873] GUV 08055; Alexander C. Ionides Jr., *Ion. A Grandfather’s Tale* (Dublin: The Cuala Press, 1927), 4.
25. Mathieux, “Tanagras in Paris,” in Jeamment, *Tanagras* (2010), 18; “Notes and News,” *Academy*, 27 Jun 1874, 730.
26. Olivier Rayet, “Les Figurines de Tanagra au Musée du Louvre,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 12, no. 2 (1875): 297–314; “Notes and News,” *Academy*, Apr 17, 1875, 411.
27. Quoted in Julia Atkins, “The Ionides Family,” *Antique Collector* (June 1987): 91
28. Marcus B. Huish, “Tanagra Terracottas,” *The Studio* 14 (Jul 15, 1898): 100–01
29. Mark Evans, “Blake, Calvert—and Palmer? The Album of Alexander Constantine Ionides,” *Burlington Magazine* 144 (Sep 2002): 548; Reynold Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 30.
30. “Recent Additions to the Art Collections in the South Kensington Museum,” *The Times*, Jan 8, 1885, 3.
31. Walter Crane, *An Artist’s Reminiscences* (London: Methuen, 1907), 219; and Lewis F. Day, “A Kensington Interior,” *Art Journal* 55 (May 1893): 140.
32. Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines*, 166; “Archaeology in Italy,” *The Times*, Jul 24, 1886, 5.
33. Day, “Kensington Interior,” 141. On the Ionides forgeries, see Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines*, 166. The subjects were Leda and the Swan and the Rape of Europa (fig. 3.7).
34. It has been asserted that Alexander C. Ionides did not bequeath anything to his sons in the belief that “dead men’s money” was a curse to male descendants: Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Culture Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 433; and “Alexander Constantine Ionides” in *The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler*. This is a misunderstanding founded on a confusion of Ionideses: it was Constantine A. Ionides, Aleco’s elder brother, and not their father, Alexander C. Ionides, who declined to leave money to his sons: see Ionides, *Ion*, 46.
35. Aleco Ionides to JW, Aug 13, 1890, GUV 02363.
36. 105th exhibition, *Ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, gravure et lithographie des artistes vivants*, Palais des Champs Elysées, Paris, 1890; D. C. Thomson to JW, Mar 8, 1892, GUV 05699, for *Nocturnes, Marines, and Chevalet Pieces*, Goupil Gallery, 1892.
37. Boussod, Valadon & Co. to JW, May 28, 1892, GUV 05742; JW to Nellie Whistler [Aug 1/5, 1892] GUV 06717; JW to Nellie Whistler, Mar/Apr 1893, GUV 06719.
38. D. C. Thomson to JW, Mar 17, 1894, GUV 05804.
39. JW to D. C. Thomson [Mar 18, 1894] GUV 08272.
40. Emil Heilbut to JW, Apr 7, 1894, GUV 02070; and Jul 22, 1894, GUV 02071.
41. Alfred Atmore Pope to JW, Sep 21, [1894] GUV 04998.
42. JW to William Whistler [Jun 16, 1894] GUV 11661.
43. “Fine-Art Gossip,” *Athenaeum*, Apr 27, 1895, 544, and May 5, 1895, 682. Around the same time, Luke Ionides made such a bad investment he lost both his livelihood and his wife, Elfrida, which suggests that the Ionides brothers were jointly suffering bad luck or bad judgment. Mark Evans, “An Aesthetic Sitter on an Empire Sofa: William Blake Richmond’s Portrait of Mrs. Luke Ionides,” in *Burning Bright: Essays in Honour of David Bindman* (London: UCL Press, 2015), 175.
44. D. C. Thomson to JW, May 14, 1895, GUV 05821.
45. Huish, “Tanagra Terracottas” (1898), 99.
46. JW to E. G. Kennedy, Aug 5, [1895] GUV 09733. £700 would be approximately equivalent to \$115,898 in today’s currency. Eric W. Nye, *Pounds Sterling to Dollars: Historical Conversion of Currency*, accessed Sunday, June 11, 2023, <https://www.uwyo.edu/numimage/currency.htm>.
47. JW to Aleco Ionides [Aug 15, 1895] GUV 02364; and to D. C. Thomson, Aug 15, [1895] GUV 08306.
48. *Daily News*, Mar 25, 1899, 3. The will was executed on Jul 1, 1889, with a codicil made on Jan 20, 1890.
49. Philip Martineau, quoted in Dakers, *Holland Park Circle*, 120.
50. Gleeson White, “An Epoch-Making House,” *The Studio* 12 (Nov 15, 1897): 107; Huish, “Tanagra Terracottas” (1898), 97–104.
51. *Daily News*, Mar 25, 1899, 3. The Index of Wills and Administrations gives Ionides’s worth as £10,026 18s 4d, which converts to around \$1,636,324 in today’s currency. Index of Wills and Administrations, 1858–1995, National Probate Calendar for Mar 18, 1899.
52. An annotated copy of the catalogue in the National Art Library, Victoria & Albert Museum, indicates that the terracottas were purchased by the art dealer Thomas McLean as a single lot on behalf of E. H. Cuthbertson, who dispersed the collection in 1912. In today’s currency, £5,250 would be around \$873,750.
53. On the finding of Prussian blue, a pigment first synthesized in 1704, in the pigments of this figurine, see Laura A. Mau and Eugene Farrell, “A Pigment Analysis of Greek Hellenistic Tanagra Figurines,” *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 1, no. 3, Greek Terracottas of the Hellenistic World: The Coroplast’s Art (Spring 1993): 58 and 60. In addition to the Ionides Tanagra exhibited here, the Harvard Art Museum holds a herm (1935.35.23), also the gift of Miss Bettina J. Kahnweiler, 1935. <https://hvr.art/o/291974>. A group of terracotta figurines from the Ionides collection was sold at Christie’s, Auction 7337, lot 195, on Apr 25, 2006, for £4,800.

54. Mr. Whistler's "Ten O'Clock," reprinted in James McNeill Whistler, *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* (London: Heinemann, 1892), 153 and 136.
55. Oscar Wilde, "The Relation of Dress to Art" (a response to Whistler's "Ten O'Clock"), *Pall Mall Gazette*, Feb 28, 1885, 4.
56. Alan S. Cole, diary entry for Nov 26, 1885, G UW 03432; *Observer*, Nov 29, 1885, quoted in MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler*, cat. no. 1074, 400.
57. Curry, *Whistler at the Freer Gallery*, 270.
58. Martha Tedeschi, "In the Studio," in Martha Tedeschi and Britt Salvesson, *Songs on Stone: James McNeill Whistler and the Art of Lithography*, *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 24, no. 1 (1998): 56–57. In MacDonald's catalogue raisonné of works on paper, the pastel is titled *Variations in Violet and Rose* (M.1079), 1885/86. Formerly in the Shelburne Museum, the pastel is now in a private Swiss collection (*Songs on Stone*, cat. no. 92).
59. Charles de Kay, "A Side Light on Greek Art. Some of the Newly Discovered Terra Cottas," *Century Illustrated Magazine* 39 (Feb 1890): 554.
60. Quoted in Otto Bacher, *With Whistler in Venice* (New York: Century, 1908), 81.
61. Mathieux, "Tanagras in Paris," in Jeammet, *Tanagras* (2010), 17.
62. "Mr. Whistler's New Arrangements," *Pall Mall Gazette*, Dec 8, 1885, 4.
63. "A Woman's Plea," *The Times*, May 20, 1885, 10; John Brett, "Nude Studies," *The Times*, May 22, 1885, 5.
64. "The Church Congress," *The Times*, Oct 8, 1885, 10.
65. Perhaps partly because of this cartoon, Horsley became so closely identified with the British Matron that they were long held to be one and the same. See, for example, Alison Smith, *The Victorian Nude: Sexuality, morality and art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 225.
66. Alan S. Cole, diary entry for Oct 13, 1885, G UW 03432.
67. "Mr. Whistler's New Arrangements," *Pall Mall Gazette*, Dec 8, 1885, 4.
68. Smith, *The Victorian Nude*, 221.
69. Wilde, "London Models," 314.
70. "The New English Art Club," *The Era* 9 (Apr 1887): 7.
71. "Art. The New English Art Club," *Spectator*, Apr 16, 1887, 14.
72. JW to Thomas Waldo Story [3/10 Apr 1887?] G UW 10035.
73. Meg Hausberg and Victoria Sancho Lobis, *Whistler and Roussel: Linked Visions* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2015), <https://publications.artic.edu/whistler/reader/linkedvisions/section/412>.
74. Hausberg and Sancho Lobis, *Whistler and Roussel*, <https://publications.artic.edu/whistler/reader/linkedvisions/section/412>.
75. Wilde, "London Models," 319; Menpes, *Whistler as I Knew Him*, 72; Whistler, "Propositions—No. 2," reprinted in *Gentle Art*, 115.
76. Whistler, *Ten O'Clock*, in *Gentle Art*, 158.
77. E. J. Poynter to JW, May 23, 1894, G UW 05014.
78. On the lithographic process, see this video featuring artists Matthew Sugarman and Darya Fard.
79. JW to D. C. Thomson [July 20, 1894] G UW 08270.
80. E. R. and Joseph Pennell, *Lithography and Lithographers: Some Chapters in the History of Art* (New York: Macmillan, 1915), 133 and 137.
81. Douglas W. Druick, "Art from Industry: James McNeill Whistler and the Revival of Lithography," in Tedeschi and Salvesson, *Songs on Stone*, 11–12.
82. Druick, "Art from Industry," 11.
83. Katharine A. Lochnan, "1878–1879: Early Studies and Lithotints," in Art Institute of Chicago, *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, edited by Harriet K. Stratis and Martha Tedeschi, 2 vols. (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago in association with the Arie and Ida Crown Memorial, 1998), cat. no. 19, 1:110.
84. T. R. Way, *Memories of James McNeill Whistler* (London: John Lane, 1903), 108.
85. Pennell, "Master of the Lithograph," 289.
86. JW to Gleeson White [after Feb 21, 1893] G UW 10075. Alexander Reid described the lithograph in a letter to JW as "the female figure draped examining a pot of which the position of one of the legs has been changed" (Jun 28, 1892, G UW 05134).
87. Way, *Memories of Whistler*, 89–90; JW to A. F. Jaccaci [Apr/May 1896?] G UW 02260. The three prints that Whistler names are "The little nude model—reading" (C.32), "The Dancing Girl" (C.29), and "The novel (draped figure)" (C.32).
88. Whistler, "Propositions—No. 2," in *Gentle Art*, 115.
89. Way, *Memories of Whistler*, 91.
90. Lionel Lambourne, "Edward William Godwin (1833–1886), Aesthetic Polymath," in *E. W. Godwin: Aesthetic Movement Architect and Designer*, edited by Susan Weber Soros (New York: The Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts and Yale University Press, 1999), 32.
91. On Beatrice's life and career, see Margaret F. MacDonald, *Beatrice Whistler: Artist & Designer* (Glasgow: Hunterian Art Gallery, 1997).
92. E. W. Godwin to his solicitor William Webb, quoted in MacDonald, *Beatrice Whistler*, 10; "Mr. Whistler's New Arrangements," *Pall Mall Gazette*, Dec 8, 1885, 4.
93. JW to J. Edgar Boehm [Dec 10/15, 1886] G UW 00497.
94. "The Fate of an 'Impressionist,'" *Illustrated Bits*, Jul 21, 1888, quoted in "Beatrice Whistler, 1857–1896," *The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler*, University of Glasgow. Beatrice's study in Paris is mentioned in E. R. Pennell and Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1908), 2:75.
95. Sambourne quoted in *Westminster Budget*, Jun 2 1893, 12; in "Linley Sambourne," National Portrait Gallery website.

96. "Autobiographical typescript by Rose Pettigrew (Mrs. H. Waldo Warner)," in Bruce Laughton, *Philip Wilson Steer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 114–16. For more about this fascinating family of models, see Neil Pettigrew, "The Beautiful Miss Pettigrews," *British Art Journal* 15 (Autumn 2014): 3–15.
97. Thanks to Neil Pettigrew for this identification (email communication with the author, Jun 2, 2023).
98. "Rose Pettigrew," in Laughton, *Steer*, 117–18.
99. Henry Labouchère, *Truth*, Jul 23, 1903, quoted in Pennell and Pennell, *Life of Whistler*, 2:75–76; "London Gossip," *Sheffield Evening Telegraph*, Aug 13, 1888.
100. "Rose Pettigrew," in Laughton, *Steer*, 117.
101. Whistler, *Ten O'Clock*, in *Gentle Art*, 153.
102. Pennell and Pennell, *Life of Whistler*, 2:136.
103. Pennell and Pennell, *Lithography and Lithographers*, 297.
104. Way, *Memories of Whistler*, 90.
105. JW to T. R. Way [Nov 12, 1893] G UW 03347.
106. Sarah Elizabeth Kelly, *Camera's Lens and Mind's Eye*, Ph.D. dissertation (Ann Arbor: ProQuest, 2010), 203–4.
107. "A Gossip at Goupils. Mr. Whistler on His Works," *Illustrated London News*, Mar 26, 1892, 384.
108. JW quoted in Pennell and Pennell, *Life of Whistler*, 2:135.
109. Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines*, 109.
110. Nicholas Burry Smale, "Venus Transformed: Lithographs and Pastels of the 1890s," in *The Whistler Review: Studies on James McNeill Whistler and Nineteenth-century Art*, edited by Martha Tedeschi and Nigel Thorp (Centre for Whistler Studies, University of Glasgow), 2 (2003): 32.
111. Possibly Hetty Pettigrew, who in a contemporary lithograph by Roussel, *Study from the Nude, Woman Asleep*, 1890–94, sleeps in the nude on the same studio couch and makes Whistler's recumbent figure appear prudish in comparison. See Hausberg and Sancho Lobis, *Whistler and Roussel*, <https://publications.artic.edu/whistler/reader/linkedvisions/section/412>.
112. JW to D. C. Thomson, Sep 8, 1894, G UW 08298.
113. JW to Edmund G. Deprez, Jan 21–Jun 27, 1891, G UW 13070.
114. Pennell, "Master of the Lithograph," 289.
115. C. A. Hutton, *Greek Terracotta Statuettes* (New York: Macmillan, 1899), 52; Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines*, 166.
116. See, for example, Sutton, *Nocturne*, 61; and Katharine A. Lochnan, "1887–1894: Return to Lithography," in Art Institute of Chicago, *Lithographs of Whistler*, 1:114–15.
117. Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines*, 163. The photograph in the Ionides Album is too faded to reproduce, but the figurine appears as figure 5, "Aphrodite Nursing Eros," in Marcus B. Huish, *Greek Terra-cotta Statuettes: Their Origin, Evolution, and Uses* (London: John Murray, 1900), 20.
118. O. Rayet, "L'art grec au Trocadéro," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, series 2, 18, no. 1 (1878): 354. "Femme Jouant avec l'Amour" (Terre cuite de la collection de M. C. Lécuyer) is reproduced on p. 353.
119. Huish, *Greek Terra-cotta Statuettes*, 21.
120. This idea owes its origin to Martha Tedeschi, who points out that Whistler might have seen the prints in Paris at the Galerie Durand-Ruel during November and December 1891. "In the Studio," *Songs on Stone*, 65. That exhibition may have reinforced his interest in the subject, but he had begun his series in June.
121. JW to Henri Fantin-Latour [Sep 1867?] G UW 08045.
122. Lochnan, "1887–1894: Return to Lithography," in Art Institute of Chicago, *Lithographs of Whistler*, 1:110.
123. Whistler, "Ten O'Clock", in *Gentle Art*, 157.
124. JW to Beatrix Whistler [Jun 11, 1891?] G UW 06591.
125. "Letters to the Editor," from E.G., *The Times*, Jul 17, 1934, 10.
126. Henry Tonks, "Whistler: A Butterfly with a Sting," *The Times*, Jul 10, 1934, 18. This is a version of the statement Whistler made in 1878, reprinted in the *Gentle Art* as "The Red Rag," 128.
127. George du Maurier, "Trilby: Part Third," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (Mar 1894): 578.
128. "A Gossip at Goupil's. Mr. Whistler on His Works," *Illustrated London News*, Mar 26, 1892, 384.
129. D. C. Thomson to Beatrix Whistler, Mar 19, 1892, G UW 05705.
130. "A Gossip at Goupil's," *Illustrated London News*, Mar 26, 1892, 384.
131. JW to D. C. Thomson [Jul 20, 1894] G UW 08270.
132. JW to T. R. Way, Nov 21 [1893] G UW 03350.
133. Way, *Memories of Whistler*, 100. The Whistler–Way correspondence is preserved in the Charles Lang Freer Papers in the archives of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Skillfully edited by Nicholas Smale, it was published in Art Institute of Chicago, *Lithographs of Whistler*, vol. 2, and in the online edition of the Whistler correspondence, University of Glasgow.
134. JW to T. R. Way, Nov 21 [1893] G UW 03350; and to Beatrix Whistler [Jan 30, 1892] G UW 06608.
135. Richard Dormont and Margaret MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler* (New York: Abrams, 1995), cat. no. 177, 256.
136. Nigel Thorp, "Studies in Black and White: Whistler's Photographs in Glasgow University Library," *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination*, edited by Ruth E. Fine, Studies in the History of Art 19 (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1987), 90.
137. Pennell and Pennell, *Life of Whistler*, 2:172.
138. Wilhelm Fröhner, *Catalogue of Objects of Greek Ceramic Art Exhibited in 1888* (London: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1888), 64; Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines*, 143.
139. JW to T. R. Way [Nov 12, 1893] G UW 03347; and Dec [6], 1893, G UW 03356. The print portfolio can be consulted online at the

- Metropolitan Museum of Art website.
140. Art Institute of Chicago, *Lithographs of Whistler*, cat. no. 72, 1:237.
141. Lochnan, "1887–1894: Return to Lithography," in Art Institute of Chicago, *Lithographs of Whistler*, 1:105.
142. Jean Moréas, "The Manifesto of Symbolism," originally published in *Le Figaro*, Sep 18, 1886, translated by A. S. Kline (2019), 5; Stéphane Mallarmé to JW [May 7 or 13, 1888], G UW 13435.
143. John Siewert, *Whistler: Prosaic Views, Poetic Vision: Works on Paper from The University of Michigan Museum of Art* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1994), cat. no. 60, 143.
144. Kelly, *Camera's Lens and Mind's Eye*, 203.
145. Stéphane Mallarmé, "Note to Whistler / Billet à Whistler," *Collected Poems of Mallarmé: A Bilingual Edition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 62, <https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520948112-042>.
146. JW to Nellie Whistler [Aug 1/5] 1892, G UW 06717.
147. [Robert Harborough Sherard] "Monsieur Whistler 'Chez Lui,'" *Westminster Gazette*, Feb 16, 1893, 4. Anna Gruetzner Robins attributes the article to Sherard in "Whistler's Paris Studio: Place and Meaning," in *Palaces of Art: Whistler and the Art Worlds of Aestheticism*, edited by Lee Glazer and Linda Merrill (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2013): 93–103.
148. JW to Nellie Whistler [Aug 1/5] 1892, G UW 06717.
149. G. P. Jacomb-Hood, *With Brush and Pencil* (London: John Murray, 1925), 46.
150. JW to T. R. Way Dec [6] 1893, G UW 03356; and [Nov 18/23, 1893] G UW 03351.
151. Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines*, 143.
152. Curry, *Whistler at the Freer Gallery*, 48, citing *The Judgment of Paris*, 1718/21, in the Louvre since 1869; a similar pose, if reversed, is taken by the Nyssia in Jean-Léon Gérôme's *King Candaules* of 1859.
153. See Margarete Bieber, *Ancient copies: Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art* (NY: New York University Press, 1977), 121: "The artists liked to render not only the draping of a woman's himation, but also the graceful movements by which she draped it."
154. JW to T. R. Way [Nov 10, 1894] G UW 03393; and [Nov 18, 1894] G UW 03394; Art Institute of Chicago, *Lithographs of Whistler*, cat. no. 113, 1:350.
155. JW to D. C. Thomson, Aug 30, 1894, G UW 08311; and to E. G. Kennedy, Sep 22, 1894, G UW 09720.
156. "Afternoons in Studios. A Chat with Mr. Whistler," *The Studio* (London) 4 (Jan 1895): 118
157. *Ibid.*, 117.
158. JW to T. R. Way, [Oct 8, 1893] G UW 03343; and [Sep 14, 1894] G UW 08165.
159. Way, *Memories of Whistler*, 109.
160. JW to M. B. Huish [Nov 20, 1895] G UW 02973.
161. E. G. Kennedy to JW, Feb 28, 1896, G UW 07267; JW to E. G. Kennedy [Mar 14, 1896] G UW 09738.
162. See "L'Imagier," in *Alfred Jarry: The Carnival of Being*, online exhibition, The Morgan Library & Museum, <https://www.themorgan.org/exhibitions/online/jarry/27>.
163. JW to A. F. Jaccaci [Apr/May 1896?] G UW 02260.
164. JW to E. G. Kennedy [Mar 14, 1896] G UW 09738.
165. Susan A. Hobbs, "The Wings of a Butterfly: Pastels by Thomas Wilmer Dewing," *The Magazine Antiques* (Feb 2008): 76.
166. Way, *Memories of Whistler*, 91–92.
167. A Chat with Mr. Whistler," *The Studio* (London) 4 (January 1895): 118.
168. T. R. Way to Whistler, Aug 1, 1895, G UW 06121.
169. JW to T. R. Way, Sep 25, 1895, G UW 03041.
170. M. B. Huish to JW, Oct 10, 1895, G UW 01297.
171. JW to M. B. Huish, Oct 15, 1895 G UW 02958.
172. E. G. Brown to JW, Dec 23, 1895, G UW 01333.
173. JW to E. G. Kennedy, Feb 2, 1896, G UW 09736.
174. JW to E. G. Kennedy, Mar 28, 1896 G UW 09739.
175. JW to E. G. Kennedy, Mar 25, 1896 G UW 09724, probably referring to *The Siesta* (C.159).
176. The last seven lithographs (C.173–179), drawn and printed in Paris in fall 1897, are portraits of Beatrix's family in mourning. Art Institute of Chicago, *Lithographs of Whistler*, cat. no. 179, 1:498. According to the Pennells, Whistler abandoned lithography because he was discouraged "by expense and complications and secrecy": *Lithography and Lithographers*, 145.
177. JW to George Lucas [May 17/30, 1884] G UW 09203.
178. JW to William Heinemann [Jan 31, 1898] G UW 10803; Pennell and Pennell, *Life of Whistler*, 2:206.
179. Luke Ionides, *Memories* (1925), reprint (Ludlow: Dog Rose Press, 1996), 18; Whistler Journal, entry for Jun 29, 1907, in Pennell–Whistler Collection, Box 352, Folder 54, Library of Congress, Prints & Manuscripts Division.

Tanagra Mania and Art: Fashioning Modernity via Ancient Greek Female Imagery

Beth Cohen

During the nineteenth century, an accidental archaeological discovery of Hellenistic terracotta figurines in Greece engendered a widespread and long-lived cultural mania. The mass-produced little sculptures unearthed, ranging in height from around four to twelve inches (cat. nos. 4, 10), were nicknamed “Tanagras” after the town of Tanagra in rustic Boeotia where local peasants found the first specimens in late 1870. Many figurines preserved their original painted-on colors, and many alluringly depicted women dressed to the nines. Though not dignified by references in Classical literature, these humble miniatures were immediately considered a supreme artistic expression of ancient Greece. Scores of eye-catching figurines were plundered from graves in Tanagra’s ancient cemetery before the Archaeological Service of Athens took over the site. The looted figurines flooded the international art market fanning the flames of Tanagra mania. And, of course, these trendy figurines also captured the imagination of Western artists. The present study examines Tanagra-inspired female depictions in works on paper, paintings, and sculptures from the 1850s to the 1910s by artists active abroad, especially in England and France, and by artists in America.¹

Historically, the nineteenth century was primed to embrace these Greek terracottas. Already in the eighteenth century, the German art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768) had theoretically praised ancient Greek art, initiating a shift from veneration of Classical Graeco-Roman culture

toward Hellenism. This orientation was later reinforced by fresh opportunities for a Western audience to see ancient Greek works, like the British Museum’s important display from 1817 of the Elgin Marbles—Classical sculptures taken from the Parthenon and elsewhere on the Athenian Acropolis. Moreover, new excavations in Greece enriched the repertory of extant antique marble sculpture with astonishing Hellenistic originals, including the Venus de Milo in 1820, and the colossal Nike (Winged Victory) of Samothrace in 1863. And both ancient Greek female images were displayed in Paris’s Louvre Museum, thereby enjoying international renown.

Finally, the West was well disposed toward modern Greece, which had won sovereignty from the Ottoman Turks in 1832 after a hard-fought war of independence (1821–1829). And like Japan, which the United States opened for trade in 1853, Greece was regarded as a long-inaccessible, exotic land that had recently become tantalizingly available.

TANAGRAS THEMSELVES AND THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The pioneering twentieth-century American archaeologist Dorothy Burr Thompson (1900–2001) argued that—despite their nineteenth-century rustic Boeotian associations and nomenclature—Hellenistic terracotta figurines of Tanagra-type, dating from the later fourth to second century BCE,

descended from sophisticated cosmopolitan creations produced in Late Classical Athens earlier in the fourth century. And such Athenian-made figurines were exported in antiquity leading to the production of knockoffs and variants in Boeotia and elsewhere in the Mediterranean world.² In the nineteenth century, all terracotta figurines were called Tanagras no matter their findspot.

Hellenistic terracotta figurines were mass produced in coroplasts' workshops, often employing two-part clay molds (cat. no. 2) for front and back, additional molds for features like heads and arms, and some hand-modeled details. A figurine was commonly set upon a slab base, and many had a vent hole on the back to prevent cracking or exploding during firing (cat. no. 4 and rear view). The production process afforded creation of multiples as well as variety in poses and types.³ Survival of multiples is pertinent for considering a modern artist whose specific Tanagran prototypes are not documented.

These clay figurines were embellished with colors after firing—hand-painted over a white clay-slip—including violet, red, rose, pink, orange, yellow, blue, green, and black, as well as gold leaf.⁴ In modern times, Tanagras preserve evidence not only for the colors of ancient Greek dress but also for the original illusionistic coloring of ancient sculpture.⁵ The last was debated and still somewhat controversial during the nineteenth century since long-known antique marbles, generally preserved without their original surface paint, were often believed to have been left white, and new marble finds featuring well-preserved color were just beginning to emerge.⁶ Meanwhile, a Tanagra of a draped woman holding a fan acquired by the Louvre Museum in 1876 and dubbed "*Dame en bleu*" ("Lady in Blue") (fig. 2.1) was lauded as a well-preserved exemplar of ancient Greek color and gilding.

Like the *Dame en bleu*, fashionable Tanagran females (e.g., cat. no. 4) generally wear a himation, a cloak made of wool or sometimes a lighter fabric, over a chiton, a long linen dress. These Greek garments were woven pieces of cloth that were draped or tied rather than cut and tailored like modern Western clothing, and, significantly, ancient artistic representations emphasize the play of their different layers of cloth over the female body and the resulting complex patterns of folds.⁷ Some female figurines also sport a conical straw sunhat (*tholia*) or carry a tapered fan (of unknown fabric), and some feature both (e.g., fig. 2.1). The Greek women depicted might be finely accoutered for appearances at public events like religious festivals.⁸ Hellenistic terracotta figurines and fakes also depicted other characters, including male youths, girls, and the goddess Aphrodite (e.g., cat. nos. 6, 10, 11, 12, 13), but the nineteenth century's preference for figurines affording glimpses into the daily life and dress of elegant ancient Greek women may have resulted in greater preservation of those examples.⁹

A unique veiled female figure known as the *Titeux Dancer* (cat. no. 1) is critical to this nineteenth-century Tanagra story. A rare extant pre-Hellenistic Athenian figurine of circa 375–350 BCE, which is mold made, yet modeled fully in the round,¹⁰ this terracotta was named after Philippe Auguste Titeux (1812–1846), a young French architect and archaeologist who discovered it while excavating on the Acropolis in 1846 shortly before his untimely death. Its subsequent amazing history was related by Léon Heuzey (1831–1922), a French archaeologist and Louvre Museum curator.¹¹ Titeux's effects, including the figurine, were transported to Italy and given to his friend the academic sculptor Pierre-Jules Cavelier (1814–1894), then a Rome Prize winner residing at the French Academy in the Villa Medici.

Cavelier brought the figurine back to his Paris studio and made reproductions of it. Though copies were distributed commercially, the original's location remained unknown to the public. Finally, Heuzey spotted the real figurine on a visit to Cavelier, who then donated it to the Louvre Museum in honor of his deceased friend. In 1891, the *Titeux Dancer* finally went on display. Heuzey recognized that this dancing female figurine wrapped in a himation may depict a nymph rather than a human being, but the public took little note. This terracotta, although a Late Classical work from Athens discovered decades before the 1870 Boeotia find, nonetheless was considered the world's preeminent "Tanagra" figurine. As such, the *Titeux Dancer* was an incomparably important source of inspiration for Western artists.¹²

In general, during the nineteenth century, eye-opening, trendy Tanagras were exotic goods, readily available for purchase, at first in Greece, and then directly in Europe, England, and America. The hot art market's supply was augmented by pastiches assembled with ancient fragments and then also by fakes (see, e.g., cat. nos. 12–13), often brightly colored.¹³ Small in scale and costing no more than a new Parisian salon sculpture,¹⁴ both real figurines and unrecognized fakes were avidly collected internationally by private individuals (e.g., cat. no. 11) and by museums, beginning with Paris's Louvre Museum (e.g., cat. nos. 3–4). Tanagras first became widely known through a display from private collections at the Paris World's Fair of 1878.¹⁵ They were also published with illustrations: 1878, in Reinhard Kekulé's *Griechische Tonfiguren aus Tanagra*;¹⁶ 1879, in a monograph by Mary F. Curtis, which appeared in Boston;¹⁷ and 1883, in Léon Heuzey's Louvre Museum catalogue.¹⁸ Reinforcing the later Greek focus on female human beings, charming Tanagra figurines struck a chord with some nineteenth-century artists' burgeoning interest in depicting modern life,¹⁹ rather than traditional myth, legend, and history, as championed by the French poet and essayist Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867).²⁰

ARTISTS AND TANAGRAS ABROAD

Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas (1834–1917)

The first avant-garde Western artist to pay significant attention to Hellenistic terracotta figurines was the Frenchman Edgar Degas. Since, beyond creating oblique artistic concoctions, Degas unequivocally depicted these figurines, his work provides a firm point of departure. In the 1850s, the young artist copied artworks in Paris's Louvre Museum, and his preserved sketches reveal unusual choices. Per Theodore Reff, Degas used "Notebook 6," which is now in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, from February to April 1856.²¹ It contains several sketches depicting ancient Greek sculptural terracottas, including a group of Aphrodite and Eros²² and a very Tanagra-like figurine of a standing draped young woman,²³ drawn beside a Greek key pattern.

Degas noted distinctive features of this female figurine in his sketch: her hairstyle terminating in a hand-modeled double chignon projecting upward from the back of her head; the position of her arms, with one bent before her, the other behind her back, and both wrapped in her cascading mantle; plus her left leg, which is bent at the knee so that the toe of her shod foot peeps out from beneath her draperies. Notably, these terracottas that Degas precociously drew in 1856, fourth-century BCE works found at the ancient Greek city of Cyrene (in modern-day Libya), were all acquired by the Louvre Museum in 1850²⁴—decades before the famous late-1870 find at Tanagra that brought Hellenistic terracotta figurines to the world's attention.

Parenthetically, another young avant-garde French artist, the Symbolist Odilon Redon (1840–1916) demonstrated early aesthetic interest in Hellenistic terracottas. A finished drawing he made in the Louvre Museum is after another very Tanagra-like, heavily draped and veiled female terracotta figurine from Cyrene, likewise acquired by the museum in 1850.²⁵ Since Redon registered to copy at the museum in 1862 and 1864, his drawing must date from those pre-Tanagra years.²⁶

This phenomenon of rare Hellenistic figurines known from findspots other than Tanagra eliciting early interest in the genre, including among private collectors, has been dubbed by Violaine Jeammet "*des <Tanagras> avant Tanagra.*"²⁷ And such interest may be ascribed to Degas on yet another occasion. The young artist left Paris in July 1856 to spend several years in Italy where he copied works by Renaissance artists.²⁸ During this Italian sojourn, Degas also made two studies (see, e.g., fig. 4.1) depicting the *Titeux Dancer* (cat. no. 1), which, as we have seen, had been discovered in Athens about ten years earlier. In 1850s Italy, rather than the original figurine (which was then ferreted away in Cavalier's Paris studio),²⁹ he must have copied a cast, perhaps one housed at the Villa Medici in Rome.

Degas's sensuous pencil-on-paper sketch with a front view of the *Titeux Dancer* in the British Museum (fig. 4.1) has not heretofore been considered in published scholarship on the artist. "*Etude Tanagra,*" inscribed in French on its reverse, could only have been written after the 1870 Tanagra find and thus must have been added long after this 1850s drawing was made. Degas's side view, executed in oil on pasteboard mounted on canvas, always remained in the artist's possession.³⁰ His two 1850s studies reveal Degas's interest in this ancient Greek veiled dancer long before the figurine enjoyed a vaunted position in the later context of Tanagra mania. Significantly, the attention Degas paid to the *Titeux Dancer* in the 1850s—depicting the figurine from two different views—was prophetic of his own later focus on dancers and their movements,³¹ which from the 1870s on comprised Degas's main subject matter,³² including for many small wax (or plasticine) sculptures found in the artist's studio at his death and subsequently cast in bronze.³³



Figure 4.1: Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas, (French, 1834–1917), *Study after Front View of Titeux Dancer*, verso inscribed "*Etude Tanagra,*" ca. 1857–59. Pencil on paper, 24.1 x 15.6 (9 1/2 x 6 1/8 in.). London, British Museum, 1924,0617.33. Image © The Trustees of the British Museum via CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

Degas met his close, life-long friend Stanislas-Henri Rouart (1833–1912) when they were teenagers attending the Lycée Louis-le-Grand in Paris in the later 1840s, and, in the 1870s, he served under Rouart during the Franco-Prussian War. Rouart was a wealthy industrialist, a little-known Impressionist painter, and an impressive art collector.³⁴ Degas painted Rouart with his young daughter Hélène (1863–1929) in the 1870s; then, in the 1880s, as Jean Sutherland Boggs has pointed out, he appears to have planned an oil portrait of Hélène with her mother. This painting was never executed, perhaps because the artist feared it might reveal their problematic relationship.³⁵ A pencil sketch, of unknown whereabouts,³⁶ and a pastel in Karlsruhe dated 1884 (fig. 4.2) provide evidence for the planned composition. In the sketch, Hélène is shown at center back, standing with hand on hip, totally wrapped in a heavy mantle whose folds crisscross her body: her pose and attire evoke a draped Tanagra figurine (see, e.g., cat. nos. 4–5). Her mother, Mme Rouart (née Héléne Jacob-Desmalter; 1842–1886), at the sketch's right edge, is seated leaning on a table. Both women regard the composition's focal point—a draped Tanagra figurine, shown in profile view, standing on the table.³⁷



Figure 4.2: Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas (French, 1834–1917), *Mme Henri Rouart in a Chair at a Table with a Tanagra Statuette*, 1884. Pastel and pencil on drawing paper, 26.7 x 36.2 cm (10 1/2 x 14 1/4 in.). Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, 1979–6. Image: Courtesy of Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.

In the Karlsruhe pastel, Hélène has largely been cropped out save for part of her mantled form appearing in the background. The pastel focuses on the seated Mme Rouart,

who once again is shown observing rather sadly a Tanagra figurine standing on the table in the foreground. Since, in the nineteenth century, these terracotta figurines were associated with the findspot in Tanagra's ancient cemetery, they were often regarded as antique funerary figures. Thus Mme Rouart, who seems unwell here and would die in 1886, may be shown contemplating her own mortality.³⁸ The pastel's draped figurine, though summarily sketched, is shaded in a pale hue suggesting terracotta. It appears to be shown from the back. Édouard Papet identifies this "*petit fantôme voile*" ("little veiled ghost") as the *Titeux Dancer* (cat. no. 1).³⁹ Save for its head's leftward tilt, the depicted figurine's silhouette is indeed comparable to a rear view of the *Titeux Dancer*, and it likewise does not have a vent hole (see cat. no. 1 and rear view).

Henri Rouart's brother Alexis (1839–1911) is known to have collected Tanagra figurines; inclusion of a figurine in Degas's Rouart studies has thus been taken to indicate that Henri might have owned some as well,⁴⁰ and, therefore, the family's collecting might have prompted Degas's association of Hélène's likeness with these trendy terracottas. Executed in the 1880s—now the height of Tanagra mania—these images stand at the forefront of an important pictorial type representing contemporary women in interior settings contemplating Tanagra figurines (see cat. no. 45). And, if the *Titeux Dancer* can indeed be identified as his composition's focal point, for Degas this figurine could well have symbolized this entire genre of terracottas (see figs. 4.1 and 4.2). Regarding Degas's representation of various artworks in his pictures, Theodore Reff concluded that sometimes a sitter or their family did possess the other work, but most of the time, "the particular work of art seems to have been chosen because of Degas's own interest in it."⁴¹ And Degas's depiction of the *Titeux Dancer* in his maturity would indeed have had a long-term personal significance.

Remarkably, in a later pastel portrait signed and dated 1886, Degas once again depicts Hélène Rouart posed and attired like a Tanagra figurine (see figs. 4.3 and 4.4), with one arm bent behind her back, wearing a mantle wrapped over her dress.⁴² In Degas's earlier 1884 pastel (fig. 4.2), the shawl wrapped around Mme Rouart's shoulders as well as the drapery of Hélène's cropped form are shades of blue. In the 1886 pastel, Hélène's mantle and dress are likewise both colored blue. This pastel portrait's main title *Femme en bleu* (*Woman in Blue*), evokes the Louvre Museum's renowned Tanagra with well-preserved color known as the *Dame en bleu* (fig. 2.1).



Figure 4.3: Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas (French, 1834–1917), *Femme en Bleu: Portrait of Mlle Hélène Rouart*, 1886. Pastel and charcoal on tan laid paper, 48.9 x 31.8 cm (19 1/4 x 12 1/2 in.). Private Collection. Image: Courtesy of Sotheby's, *Impressionist & Modern Art Part Two*, Sotheby's Sale N01827, Lot 119, November 3, 2005.

In Degas's 1886 pastel portrait, a bit of white ruffle visible at Hélène's neck may indicate that the blue dress beneath her mantle is the same one she wears in Degas's contemporaneous oil portrait in the National Gallery, London, showing her standing in Henri Rouart's study. And Hélène's father likewise painted her wearing this blue dress trimmed with white ruffles.⁴³ The National Gallery associates Degas's inspiration for showing Hélène wearing blue in the oil painting with Henri Rouart having owned the generically titled 1874 oil painting *Dame en bleu* ("Lady in Blue") by Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot (1796–1875), showing a woman, wearing a blue dress and holding a folded fan, standing in the artist's studio. But Degas's 1886 Tanagran *Femme en bleu* pastel portrait of Hélène suggests that her wearing blue in his oil portrait of her might likewise betray the influence of Tanagras—notably, of the Louvre Museum's figurine called *Dame en bleu* (fig. 2.1), exactly like Corot's painting. Hélène's sadness in Degas's oil painting may be associated with the recent death of her

mother; at the same time, Hélène's serious countenance and avoidance of engaging the viewer's gaze in both Degas's 1886 pastel and oil portraits of her might reflect the reserved facial expression and contained bearing of some Tanagra figurines (see figs. 2.1 and 4.4). And, while Degas had earlier described Hélène's red hair and pale complexion as celebrated in Venetian artistic tradition, red hair was also common on Tanagra figurines (e.g., cat. nos. 4, 7, 10).⁴⁴



Figure 4.4: *Draped woman holding a fan*, findspot unknown, Hellenistic, ca. 330–200 BC, terracotta with traces of polychrome, H. 18 cm (7 1/8 in.). Paris, Louvre Museum, S 1664. Image: © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

In Degas's 1886 *Femme en bleu* pastel portrait, a rounded form emerging beneath the lower edge of Hélène's enveloping blue mantle must be a fan held in her hidden left hand—fan-holding is widely attested on Tanagra figurines (see, e.g., fig. 2.1). And Hélène's pose here appears to have been patterned after a fan-holding figurine of ca. 330–200 BCE (fig. 4.4) in the Louvre Museum, possibly from Tanagra, whose venerable acquisition date is unknown.⁴⁵ Boggs—probably not conversant with the ancient prototype—misunderstood Hélène's fan in the pastel as a bag.⁴⁶ But instead of the tapered ancient Greek fan characteristic of Tanagra terracotta figurines, Degas has here substituted a broader rounded model, recalling popular imported Japanese non-folding *uchiwa* fans. Notably, particularly between 1878—the year of a World's Fair in which Japan participated—and 1880, and again around 1885, Degas himself decorated salable Japanese-influenced art fans.⁴⁷ A couple of Degas's fans were even owned by Henri Rouart and his brother Alexis.⁴⁸ Moreover, the fact that the Tanagras' elegantly accoutered ancient Greek women sported hand fans would have delighted a nineteenth-century audience besotted with both imported Japanese fans and French creations. Documenting the vogue, fashionable Parisian women were frequently depicted holding fans in contemporary art, as in Mary Cassatt's *The Loge* or Degas's *Ballet from an Opera Box*.

James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903)

Whistler and Degas have commonly been linked on account of their rabid interest in then popular Japanese products, like fans and prints, which both men also collected.⁴⁹ Turning to ancient terracotta figurines from modern Greece for artistic inspiration constitutes another bond. Neither artist visited Japan or Greece,⁵⁰ however; their cultural knowledge was based upon commercially available imported goods, objects displayed in private collections, exhibitions, and museums, plus illustrations and photographs.

An American expatriate, Whistler studied art in 1850s Paris, where he first met Degas, but after 1859, he resided in London and traveled between the two cities until relocating to Paris in 1892. Significantly, in London, Whistler was close to the hospitable family of British-Greek shipping merchant and artistic patron Alexander Constantine Ionides (1810–1890), whose youngest son, Whistler's long-term acquaintance Aleco (Alexander Ionides), collected Hellenistic terracotta figurines like his father.⁵¹ With their Greek connections, the Ionides family reputedly purchased stray Hellenistic terracottas found in Boeotia before Tanagra's discovery, perhaps as early as the 1850s and 60s.⁵² However, such very early acquisitions cannot be documented. And, since a photo album of Aleco's collection given to Whistler years later contains numerous fakes, which were not produced until after Tanagra, and employs photographic paper not patented until 1879, it must largely reflect later Ionides collecting.⁵³

Whistler has, nonetheless, been indiscriminately credited with displaying artistic influence from Hellenistic terracotta figurines well before the major late-1870 find at Tanagra. Whistler's *The Six Projects*, oil sketches for an unrealized commission, looms large among erroneously cited works.⁵⁴ In several sketches, women wear vaguely classicizing garments summarily described with flowing strokes of paint; a few carry a Japanese parasol or fan. Instead of reflecting Tanagra figurines, these generalized images "show groups of female figures in various configurations, reminiscent of the Parthenon frieze but without the consistent orientation of a procession."⁵⁵ And, in mid-1860s London, artists like Whistler and his new friend, the painter Albert Joseph Moore (1841–1893), were looking at the Parthenon sculptures, freshly reinstated by the British Museum, rather than the museum's few Hellenistic terracotta figurines from findspots other than Tanagra.⁵⁶

Whistler artworks possibly begun as early as 1869 or 1870 do display an impact of figurines perhaps discovered just before Tanagra,⁵⁷ which might have been in the Ionides collection. To begin with the clearest, if not necessarily the earliest, example of influence, Whistler's drypoint *The Model Resting (Draped Model)* (fig. 4.5), showing a young woman in a contrapposto pose wrapped in a mantle worn over a long dress, has

appropriately been compared to Tanagras.⁵⁸ It mimics an eminently Tanagran way of depicting a Greek himation worn over a chiton and explores the characteristic resulting play of draperies across a female body. At the left, the mantle's lower end, draped over the model's hidden right arm, projects away from her body as it hangs downward, thus reflecting a distinctive Tanagran motif. The model's left arm can be discerned beneath the cloth bending up sharply at the elbow so that the hand nearly touches her chin. This arm-toward-chin motif, rather than referencing women in Japanese prints, reflects a gesture characteristic of Hellenistic terracotta figurines (see also cat. nos. 5 and 8).⁵⁹ The ancient raised-arm motif may be employed for the right arm or reversed for the left.⁶⁰ Aspects of Whistler's draped model's pose occur most compellingly on Tanagra figurines purchased by the British Museum in 1874–75, though these acquisition may postdate the print, and the specific prototype Whistler knew remains undocumented.



Figure 4.5: James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834–1903), *The Model Resting (Draped Model)*, butterfly monogram, 1870. Drypoint, printed in black ink on ivory laid paper, sheet: 33.3 x 19.9 cm (13 1/8 x 7 7/8 in.). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1917, 17.3.67. Image: Public domain courtesy of the Met's Open Access Policy.

His design for a fan at the Colby College Museum of Art depicting women at the shore wearing long, flowing garments, with one carrying a parasol (fig. 4.6), emerges from Whistler's 1868 work on *The Six Projects*, such as *Symphony in Blue and Pink*. While a decorated fan featuring a parasol may evoke *Japonisme*, ancient Greek associations dominate this depiction of draped women.⁶¹ Significantly, the fan's most clearly described female figure, dressed in blue and located left of the composition's center, is unmistakably indebted to Hellenistic terracotta figurines. The Tanagran arm-toward-chin motif (see cat. nos. 5 and 8) observed on *The Model Resting (Draped Model)* (fig. 4.5), notably also occurs on this fan's blue-draped female figure. Moreover, her enveloping blue mantle has been pulled up over the back of her head evoking the veiling of ancient Greek women common on these terracotta figurines⁶² (see fig. 2.1; cat. nos. 3 and 8). Once again, Whistler's specific prototype is not known.



Figure 4.6: James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834–1903), *Design for a Fan*, c. 1870. Watercolor, gouache, and pencil on paper, sheet: 17.5 x 49.5 cm (6 7/8 x 19 1/2 in.). Waterville, Maine, Colby College Museum of Art, The Lunder Collection, 2018.107. Image: Courtesy of Colby College Museum of Art.

Hellenistic terracotta figurines suddenly attracted Whistler's attention beginning around 1869–1870, and the artist mined them for eye-catching motifs of pose and drapery. This exciting new font of ancient Greek female imagery—namely, small three-dimensional artworks—afforded a clinically archaeological depiction of layers of ancient garments draped over the female body. In contradistinction to extant battered and/or more formal-looking—if sometimes similarly posed—ancient marble statuary,⁶³ these charming, accessible terracotta female miniatures could be well preserved down to the extremities, enhancing their appeal as prototypes for Whistler's confections.⁶⁴

By contrast, the artist's mid-1860s paintings featured Western women wearing Japanese kimonos that often hang loosely like a dressing gown rather than being wrapped around the body and bound by an obi (sash).⁶⁵ Japanese prints with their

flattened pictorial space did not present clearly how these patterned exotic garments were designed to be worn. Thus Whistler's kimono-clad women inhabit a realm distinct from these Tanagra-informed, classically draped females.

An intriguing oil sketch by Whistler showing a female figure holding a fan at the Maier Museum of Art in Lynchburg, Virginia (cat. no. 14), may be reassessed here. Its draped model looks out at the viewer while posed before a Japanese vase, flowers, and hanging Japanese *uchiwa* fans. This painting has an intriguing backstory in modern scholarship. In 1960, Andrew McLaren Young linked the Lynchburg oil sketch with a Whistler drawing in Glasgow depicting a similarly dressed and posed female figure likewise holding a fan. He believed that Whistler had inscribed the drawing with the name *Tanagra*, which he applied to both images. Young considered both works to be inspired by a Tanagra figurine of a veiled woman holding a fan in the Ionides collection photo album;⁶⁶ his conclusions were generally accepted.⁶⁷ Subsequently, however, the Glasgow drawing's *Tanagra* inscription was reassessed as not dating from Whistler's lifetime. And the title *Tanagra* has been dissociated from Whistler's Lynchburg oil sketch.

Whistler's abovementioned 1860s paintings featuring Western women wearing kimonos in settings filled with East Asian imports exemplify his construct of *Japonisme*.⁶⁸ But, despite its Japanese props, ought Whistler's oil sketch to be shifted away from Tanagran inspiration? Does the Lynchburg female figure evoke a kimono-clad woman inspired by a Japanese woodblock print or a woman clad in garments resembling an ancient Greek chiton and himation inspired by a Tanagra terracotta figurine?

First, a Greek contrapposto lies behind the swaying pose of the oil sketch's woman. A compositionally related crayon drawing by Whistler dated 1869 (fig. 3.1) depicts a classically statuesque nude female figure holding a Japanese fan and standing before a Japanese vase.⁶⁹ This drawing reveals the influence of his friend Moore's oil painting *A Venus*, likewise of 1869, which juxtaposes a nude female figure, classical in form,⁷⁰ Asian pottery, and abundant flowers. Moore's purposely ahistorical mingling of elements from different times and cultures in the name of aestheticism, or art for art's sake, was likewise embraced by Whistler.

Second, despite the Japanese props in the Lynchburg oil sketch, its female figure's dress is demonstrably based on the Greek chiton and himation. In fact, Whistler's figure bears an astonishing resemblance to a similarly clad female figurine found at Tanagra (fig. 4.7), which counted among the initial specimens to enter the Louvre Museum. This unique example was purchased in 1872 through Olivier Rayet (1847–1887), an archaeologist and historian of ancient art (see cat. no. 52), who acquired in Athens the finest newly emerging terracotta figurines from Tanagra during the early 1870s.⁷¹ Though this Tanagra does not hold a fan (and the right arm is broken), its

potent similarities with Whistler include its bare—not veiled—head looking out toward the viewer; its contrapposto pose, emphasized by the himation shown pulled around the figurine’s bent right knee and calf, and lower body; its himation worn over only one shoulder thus exposing the chiton’s upper portion; and, finally, its himation’s end tossed over and concealing the left arm and hand. (Interestingly, in the sketch, through contrasting color plus pattern, the himation’s bunched upper edge may be interpreted as a scarf or sash.) Whistler’s pale colors and their application have been held to reflect pigment remains on the surface of Greek terracotta figurines—an observation that might well apply to the loosely streaked drapery here.⁷² If the oil sketch does indeed betray knowledge of this particular Tanagra, newly displayed in the Louvre Museum, work on it would have extended to 1873, when Whistler visited Paris.⁷³



Figure 4.7: *Draped Woman*, Boeotian, Tanagra, Hellenistic, ca. 330–200 BCE. Terracotta with traces of polychrome, H. 22.9 cm (9 in.). Paris, Louvre Museum, MNB 447. Image © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

The source for Whistler’s Lynchburg oil sketch has usually been identified as a female figurine holding a tapered fan from the Ionides collection photo album.⁷⁴ Though the Ionides figurine’s himation’s end tossed over an arm is similar, its heavy draping and veiling, downcast head, and introspective nature seem at odds with Whistler’s lithe outward-staring female. Young pointed out that the fan type Whistler depicted is the rounded Japanese *uchiwa* hand fan rather than the Tanagra figurines’ tapered fan.⁷⁵ As we have seen, Degas makes a comparable Japanese-for-Greek fan substitution in his 1886 Tanagra-inspired pastel portrait of Hélène Rouart (see figs. 4.3 and 4.4). Whistler commonly depicted models—including the nude in his 1869 drawing (fig. 3.1)—holding *uchiwa* hand fans from his collection. And a photograph of

Whistler's studio at his London residence in Chelsea from 1866–1878 documents these fans hanging decoratively on a wall.⁷⁶ The Lynchburg oil sketch is, finally, a product of this Whistler studio.

Should the title *Tanagra* be revived? Whistler's bold formulation of this painting's female subject (cat. no. 14) is, indeed, ultimately Grecian, springing from a classicizing female nude (fig. 3.1) whose dressed configuration reflects features of a Tanagra figurine (fig. 4.7). That said, this artwork undoubtedly exhibits the aesthetic synthesis juxtaposing elements from ancient Greek and Japanese culture dubbed "Greco-Japonisme."⁷⁷ Taking a cue from Moore's *A Venus*, Whistler's oil sketch might be called *A Tanagra*.

Later in his career, Whistler displayed an interest in Tanagra figurines once again. In *The Rose Drapery*, a watercolor and chalk image from around 1888–1895, Whistler appears to simulate colors associated with originally brightly painted Tanagras.⁷⁸ *A Study in Red* (fig. 3.9), a crayon and pastel drawing, circa 1890, related to Whistler's late lithographs like *Draped Model, Dancing* (cat. no. 25), was exhibited in Paris in 1903 as *Danseuse athenienne*.⁷⁹ This display designation perhaps suggests that the pastel's lithe dancing model, with left arm akimbo and right arm covered by her garment, whose clinging draperies sensuously reveal her body, evokes the Athenian *Titeux Dancer* (cat. no. 1).⁸⁰

The Ionides family proudly showed figurines in the groundbreaking public exhibition of Tanagras at the Paris World's Fair of 1878. However, in 1894, Aleco Ionides asked Whistler for help selling his collection, and, by this date, he had given the artist the abovementioned photo album. Interestingly, Whistler made a pencil sketch after the photograph of one Tanagra figurine reproduced in the album and mounted it on the opposite page (figs. 3.3 and 3.4).⁸¹ His owning the Ionides photo album later in life when Tanagra figurines inspired the artist's work anew is surely significant.

Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904)

The allure of ancient Greek terracotta figurines was not limited to avant-garde artists. The French academician Jean-Léon Gérôme was a renowned painter, particularly of Orientalist and historicizing classical themes, who also became a sculptor. He enjoyed his greatest public triumph at age sixty-six in the Salon of 1890 with a personification in marble sculpture of the archaeological site at Tanagra that yielded the terracottas (fig. 4.8).⁸² His life-sized statue depicts a naked female figure perched on a high, haphazardly excavated earthen mound revealing exposed figurines, including the *Titeux Dancer* (cat. no. 1);⁸³ a pickaxe leans against one side. At the front, ΤΑΝΑΓΡΑ ("Tanagra"), chiseled in Greek capitals, is inscribed on a tablet with handles on its side ends (*tabula ansata*). Rather than a Tanagra figurine, in its extended left hand, this statue holds a hoop dancer statuette created by Gérôme,

which was probably loosely inspired by the *Titeux Dancer* in conjunction with a then-esteemed figurine (since recognized as fake) depicting a naked female with a hoop.⁸⁴ And statuettes of Gérôme's own hoop dancer (cat. no. 44) were available separately.⁸⁵



Figure 4.8: Jean-Léon Gérôme (French, 1824–1904), *Tanagra*, 1890. Marble, photogravure Goupil c. 1892. Image: Public domain.

The Vatican Museum's Roman marble copy of the lost Hellenistic bronze *Tyche (Fortune) of Antioch* by the sculptor Eutychides—a female personification of the city seated on a rock—is held to be a monumental ancient source for Gérôme's *Tanagra*.⁸⁶ Yet Tanagra figurines and forgeries are themselves sometimes seated, often on rocks (see also, e.g., cat. nos. 7 and 11). And *Tanagra's* conceit of holding a female statuette in her hand recalls that the lost colossal Athena Parthenos by Pheidias, the Classical gold-and-ivory cult image of the Parthenon on the Athenian Acropolis, held a Nike (Winged Victory) in its extended right hand.⁸⁷ Not only did attempts to reconstruct the Parthenos loom large in the nineteenth

century,⁸⁸ but a well-preserved small copy, the Pentelic-marble statuette known as the Varvakeion Athena, was found in Athens in 1879.⁸⁹

Gérôme was fascinated with photography, and photographs taken in his studio illuminate both his professional association with and voyeuristic depiction of naked female models. The artist's 1886 oil painting *The End of the Sitting*, portraying Gérôme's still-disrobed model draping with cloths the clay prototype for his nude statue of the Lydian Queen Omphale,⁹⁰ may be juxtaposed with a series of black-and-white photographs by Louis Bonnard showing, in various views, Gérôme, the nude model, and the clay sculpture in the artist's studio.⁹¹ A separate photograph shows a studio model posing naked for Gérôme's statue of *Tanagra*.⁹² Personifying a Greek archaeological site renowned for its dressed female images with a naked statue was consonant with Gérôme's voyeuristic artistic preference for disrobed female subjects and his overwhelming reliance upon studio models, as well as with the longstanding Western association of female nudity and the classical world. This combination of potent stimuli resulted in an uncanny modern monument.

Gérôme, moreover, controversially painted his *Tanagra* statue's surface with tinted flesh, pink lips, blue eyes, brown nipples, and brown hair. He was heeding the mounting evidence for ancient sculpture's surface color supplied not only by well-preserved *Tanagra* terracotta figurines, but also by recent marble finds like the fourth-century BCE Alexander Sarcophagus discovered in 1887 at Sidon, Lebanon, by a Turkish student of Gérôme, Osman Hamdi Bey (1842–1910).⁹³ And when Gérôme commissioned quarry workers to find marble for *Tanagra*, he requested a block that would take color well.⁹⁴ The statue's color was removed during over-zealous cleaning in the 1950s, save for the polychromy on the hoop dancer.⁹⁵ Coloring *Tanagra* figured in Gérôme's quest to achieve modernity by astonishingly tweaking academic realism, and he painted all his subsequent sculptures down to his final work of 1903, the plaster personifying the Greek city of Corinth as a sacred prostitute.⁹⁶

In the painting *Working in Marble, or The Artist Sculpting Tanagra* of 1890,⁹⁷ Gérôme depicts himself—alongside the posing flesh-and-blood female model—toiling on his white plaster original for the marble statue, which would be carved by stone workers. The painting's visual play—alluding to his intended lifelike coloration of the *Tanagra* marble statue *all'antica*—recalls Pygmalion. And, around this time, Gérôme actually painted the classical theme from the ancient Roman poet Ovid's *Metamorphoses* of the sculptor Pygmalion, who fell in love with his own statue of Galatea, which was then brought to life by the goddess Venus.⁹⁸ In the Metropolitan Museum of Art's version, which appears in the background of *Working in Marble*, as Pygmalion and Galatea passionately embrace, color documents her metamorphosis in progress from white marble to living flesh.⁹⁹

In two paintings from 1893, *Sculpturae vitam insufflat pictura* ("Painting Breathes Life into Sculpture") (fig. 1.5) and *Atelier Tanagra* (fig. 1.6), Gérôme imagines the ancient production and sale of *Tanagra* figurines.¹⁰⁰ As Susan Waller observes, Gérôme's

*completely feminine cast of characters . . . serves to gender production and consumption of these works. While it is, in fact, unlikely that the original artists were female . . . the gender of the craftswomen in Gérôme's painting resonates with the French debates in the 1890s about the capacities of women artists. Though they were excluded from the École des Beaux-Arts, women had long been admitted to the École Nationale des Arts Décoratifs, since the decorative arts were widely considered an appropriate field for what were believed to be their distinctly lesser capabilities.*¹⁰¹

Interestingly, the Greek female artisan in each painting is shown coloring Gérôme's own then-commercially-available hoop dancer (cat. no. 44) rather than an actual *Tanagra* figurine. Meanwhile, his *Tanagra* workshops' Greek female clientele are themselves accoutered to resemble these ancient terracotta figurines down to their sunhats perched at rakish angles. In the nineteenth century, shopping was a rare respectable public freedom allowed women. Already in the 1870s, Edgar Degas had begun depicting milliners in images such as *At the Milliner's* and *The Military Shop*, showing fashionable women shopping for hats waited on by saleswomen, and also women making hats, then an indispensable fashion accessory sold at the thousand millinery boutiques in nineteenth-century Paris.¹⁰² Both artists thus reaffirm that contemporary shopping (especially for artisanal products) was an appropriate subject for modern art. As Sheila Dillon points out, "the renowned French archaeologist Theodore Reinach called the *Tanagras* 'the Parisiennes of antiquity,' thereby equating the figurines with the chic women of modern Paris."¹⁰³

Gustav Klimt (1862–1918)

Outside of France, in 1890, the Austrian painter Gustav Klimt was busy working on an early important commission—decorating the grand staircase of Vienna's recently built Kunsthistorisches Museum. The program, devised by the museum's head curator, called for depictions of different artistic periods featured in the museum's collection that incorporated representations of actual works of art. The architectural decoration consisted of oil paintings on canvas affixed to the museum's walls. Klimt carried out thirteen of the forty-two paintings commissioned from his *Künstler-Compagnie*, including the two for *Ancient Greece*,¹⁰⁴ which he embodied by means of two distinctly different female figures. One is the armed warrior goddess *Pallas Athena* depicted in a spandrel here as an imposing, frontal, immortal female figure silhouetted against a halo-like golden round shield, who supports a bronze statuette of a winged victory in the palm of

her right hand. Klimt's hieratic goddess is another nineteenth-century artwork that evokes the lost Athena Parthenos.¹⁰⁵

Sharing the spotlight with *Pallas Athena*, Klimt's second female figure personifying the art of ancient Greece is, remarkably, the *Girl from Tanagra* (fig. 4.9). She is shown as a flesh-and-blood young woman in a dot-rosette patterned dress, with a mantle wrapped around her waist and a wreath in her hand, who is bending forward, perhaps to make a dedication. The Tanagra Girl's inclusion, decorating an intercolumniation, in this monumental context underscores the lofty artistic significance then ascribed to the recently excavated little Greek terracotta figurines.¹⁰⁶ Klimt, like Gérôme, was deeply inspired not merely by discoveries of nineteenth-century Greek archaeology, but especially by their fresh evidence for the surface colors and gilding employed in ancient Greek art.¹⁰⁷



Figure 4.9: Gustav Klimt (Austrian, 1861–1918), *Girl from Tanagra*: detail of *Ancient Greece*, 1890–91. Oil on canvas mounted on wall: intercolumniation of grand staircase colonnade, 90 1/2 x 31 1/2 in.). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Image: CC-BY-SA-4.0.

Klimt's *Girl from Tanagra*, while not mimicking specific terracottas in pose or details of dress, has the auburn hair and red lips attested on Tanagra figurines (fig. 4.7; cat. nos. 4, 7, and 10), enhancing this physical incarnation of a young ancient Greek woman who inspired the small antique artworks.¹⁰⁸ In this painting, Klimt juxtaposes with Tanagra

Girl an ancient bronze statuette showing the nude goddess of beauty Aphrodite (Venus) bending over to tie her sandal. This comparison surely alludes to the *Girl from Tanagra*'s own alluring feminine charms,¹⁰⁹ including her provocative, loose long hair and smoky eyes, which make her a progenitor of famous powerful and erotic females from the artist's later art-nouveau Gold Period.¹¹⁰

The second antiquity depicted here is a Greek vase shown standing on a marble base in the background—an enlarged reflection of an Athenian black-figure amphora of the late sixth-century BCE in the Vatican Museums. Its vase-painting depicts the Greek hero Herakles (Hercules), backed by his patroness the goddess Athena, confronting the multi-headed guard-dog, Kerberos (Cerberus), at the entrance to the Underworld, while the god Hades stands before his palace there, and his wife Persephone, the abducted daughter of Demeter, goddess of earthly fertility, sits inside.¹¹¹ Herakles captured Kerberos and led the hound back to earth—a labor that symbolized this hero's gaining immortality. Since then-known Tanagra figurines had generally been found in graves, Klimt's choice of this Greek vase-painting has been held to indicate that "like Herakles, the Tanagra maidens had returned from the underworld."¹¹² Persephone was another rare mythological character able to return to earth. Significantly, Klimt omits Persephone from the detail of the vase-painting depicted, and his *Girl from Tanagra* obscures its Herakles. Visually taking the place of these ever-living characters emphasizes Tanagra Girl's immortal status on Earth amid the international mania for Hellenistic terracotta figurines.

ARTISTS AND TANAGRAS IN AMERICA

Thomas Wilmer Dewing (1851–1938)

In late nineteenth-century America, the painter Thomas Wilmer Dewing, influenced by Whistler's tonalism and *Japonisme*, became the country's major practitioner of screen painting.¹¹³ In 1894–1895, Dewing traveled abroad to London and Paris, and, for several months, worked alongside Whistler in his London studio. There, Dewing executed the evanescent pastel on light brown paper *Figure in Grey and Pink Drapery* (cat. no. 43) depicting an introspective young woman wearing a Greek chiton. With one arm akimbo recalling the *Titeux Dancer* (cat. no. 1), the model's pose has been likened to Tanagra figurines,¹¹⁴ and the pastel's color should be. A departure from Dewing's earlier female imagery, might this trendy antique allusion be associated with Whistler's counsel?

At home, Dewing enjoyed the patronage of two wealthy Detroit-industrialists: Charles Lang Freer (1854–1919), who actively acquired Japanese screens and Whistlers, and Freer's

business partner Frank J. Hecker (1846–1927).¹¹⁵ Both of Dewing's patrons collected Tanagra figurines in the 1890s, and Freer even employed Dewing as an agent to purchase figurines for him in New York City.¹¹⁶ Photographs show Tanagra figurines displayed in Hecker's French-Renaissance-style Detroit mansion;¹¹⁷ in the Public Room, might a cast of the *Titeux Dancer* have stood on the mantel? Hecker's Tanagra collection is considered the impetus behind a pair of tripartite folding screens he commissioned from Dewing in 1898 as decoration for his drawing room.¹¹⁸ The sole screen preserved intact, housed in its original Stanford White frame, at the Detroit Institute of Arts, is known as *Classical Figures*; it depicts three slender female figures in chiton-like dresses peopling an abstracted, misty, verdant landscape.¹¹⁹

Dewing's 1899 tonalist painting commissioned by Freer, *The Garland* (fig. 4.10), is likewise an abstracted landscape featuring several enigmatic female figures wearing chitons; two figures bear the titular floral garland with their arms extended—one shown in a front view and the other from the back—while the third carries a lute.¹²⁰ A unique terracotta group from Tanagra (fig. 4.11), which is modeled fully in the round and depicts two comely young women dressed only in chitons and dancing with their arms extended,¹²¹ was acquired by the Louvre Museum in 1893. It strikes a chord with Dewing's lithe, classicizing female figures. *The Garland* was intended as a gift for another tonalist landscape painter patronized by Freer, Dwight W. Tryon (1849–1925). Interestingly, Tryon happened to see this painting before knowing it would be gifted to him and wrote Freer his reaction: "Gee!! but it's a corker. . . . One of the things that will live for all time with the Elgin marbles, with Tanagra—with all that is beautiful and uplifting."¹²²

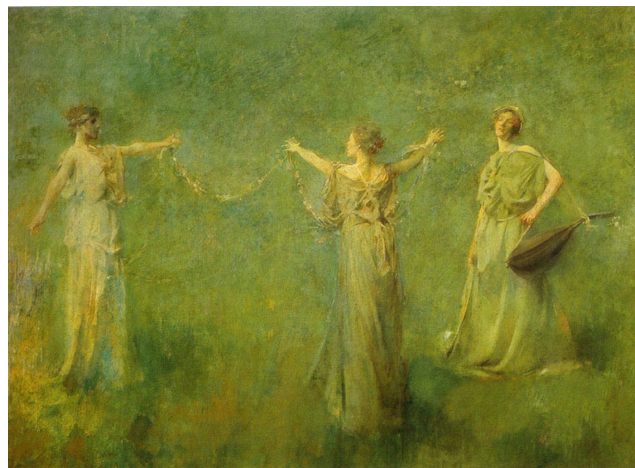


Figure 4.10: Thomas Wilmer Dewing (American, 1851–1938), *The Garland*, 1899. Oil on canvas, 80 x 107.3 cm (31 1/2 x 42 1/4 in.). Private Collection. Image: Courtesy of the Art Renewal Center – www.artrenewal.org.



Figure 4.11: *Two Girls Dancing*, from Tanagra, Hellenistic, ca. 330–200 BCE. Terracotta with traces of polychrome, H. 17.8 cm (7 in.). Paris, Louvre Museum, CA 588. Image © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

Bessie Potter Vonnoh (1872–1955)

At the turn of the twentieth century, a remarkably successful American female sculptor active in Chicago and then in New York, Bessie Potter Vonnoh (fig. 1.19), specialized in depicting women's daily life primarily in bronze statuettes, inspired by the quotidian female imagery (fig. 3.18) of the American expatriate painter Mary Cassatt (1844–1926) and the trendy ancient Greek terracottas.¹²³ Vonnoh's distinctive textured and energetic surface handling was influenced by the preeminent modern French sculptor Auguste Rodin (1840–1917), himself an avid antiquities collector, who praised Tanagra figurines highly.¹²⁴ However, annoyed at critics' association of her own small-scale works with the ancient terracotta figurines, Vonnoh initially denied knowing about them.¹²⁵ Yet her now-renowned bronze group *Day Dreams*, which was modeled in 1898 and cast around 1906–1907, depicting two young women napping on a sofa with one reclining in the lap of the other, must immediately have recalled to viewers famous ancient Greek works in the British Museum, not only monumental

Classical goddesses from the Parthenon's East Pediment,¹²⁶ but also a miniature Late Hellenistic terracotta group probably from Myrina, acquired in 1885, showing two female figures seated together on a draped couch.¹²⁷ And Vonnoh's *Day Dreams* was first exhibited in a lightly tinted plaster, perhaps associated with the nineteenth century's awakening to the color of ancient sculpture afforded, in part, by Tanagra figurines.¹²⁸

Another early work likewise counts among Vonnoh's most famous, *Girl Dancing*, which was modeled in plaster in 1897 and cast in bronze around 1899 (cat. no. 46). This female figure is not archaeologically antiquizing, however: Believed to be dancing a quadrille, she wears a modified version of a classicizing high-waisted, Federal-era dress with a flowing skirt held out in her hands. Nonetheless, *Girl Dancing*, who enchantingly moves through the surrounding space, displays a kinship with Tanagra figurines by her very absorption in dance (see cat. no. 1; fig. 4.11).¹²⁹ Though Vonnoh's creations are often around twice the height of Tanagras, the revered ancient figurines' intimate size raised the esteem for small modern works like hers.¹³⁰ And in the mid-twentieth century, Thompson associated Hellenistic terracotta figurines with now generally lost ancient prototypes in small bronze statuettes.¹³¹

For several years extending into the 1910s, Vonnoh became interested in working with terracotta—an impulse perhaps triggered by Tanagra figurines—and she had a kiln installed in her studio. *The Fan* (cat. no. 47), modeled around 1910, is Vonnoh's best-known preserved terracotta statuette.¹³² It depicts a young woman with airbrushed facial features holding an open feather fan in her right hand; she wears a long V-necked dress with a cascading skirt that pools around her onto the work's slab base. *The Fan* strongly evokes, but does not copy, ancient Tanagra terracotta female figurines, many of whom likewise carry fans (see figs. 2.1 and 4.4), though not feather fans.

In her later bronze works, including *The Dance* and *The Scarf*, both modeled around 1908, as well as *In Grecian Draperies*, modeled 1912 or 1913 and cast around 1914, Vonnoh did depict contemporary women wearing classically inspired dress loosely based on the ancient chiton.¹³³ And her graceful statuettes bring to mind the Louvre Museum's unique Tanagra group of chiton-wearing dancing young women (fig. 4.11) that may already have inspired Dewing (fig. 4.10). In an 1896 book, Maurice Emmanuel even endeavored to reconstruct ancient Greek dance using preserved works like the himation-clad *Titeux Dancer* (cat. no. 1).¹³⁴ Modern artistic representations of female figures wearing flowing classicizing dress were especially related to the well-established adoption of such costume internationally in the realm of theater and dance. By the early twentieth century, the American Isadora Duncan (1877–1927) performed abroad and then also in the States wearing loose chiton-like garments often of diaphanous fabric, and she cited Tanagras as a source for her modern self-expression.¹³⁵ In Parisian haute couture, the fashion house

Maison Margaine, founded by Armandine Fresnais-Margaine (1835–1899), had debuted with a “Tanagra” dress in 1889. This streamlined draped Grecian garment, worn with updated underclothes, allowed contemporary women greater freedom of movement.¹³⁶ By 1912, even a New York Times headline proclaimed that Parisian “Spring Styles will Adopt the Flowing Draperies of the Tanagra Statuettes.”¹³⁷

Thomas Pollock Anshutz (1851–1912)

In 1909, the American realist painter Thomas P. Anshutz won the gold medal at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts with *The Tanagra* (fig. 4.12).¹³⁸ In this 6.5-foot-tall painting, a smartly dressed woman wearing a towering hat admires a small collectible set atop a large, dark-marble pedestal: It is a terracotta figurine reflecting the Louvre Museum’s famous so-called *Tanagra*, the eight-inch-high Late Classical Athenian *Titeux Dancer* (cat. no. 1).¹³⁹ The model, Rebecca Harbert Whelen (1877–1950), was Anshutz’s student at the Academy and the daughter of a trustee.¹⁴⁰ The artist depicted her frequently between 1905 and 1910, beginning with *The Incense Burner*,¹⁴¹ which portrays Miss Whelen, wearing a resplendent black and gold evening dress, seated on a bench in front of the bronze or brass burner. The concocted settings here and in *The Tanagra* are formal but indeterminate. These paintings belong to a prominent genre of works depicting women, but symbolically titled after an object in the composition (as in cat. no. 47).¹⁴² In *The Tanagra*, the Greek figurine is the titular focal point. Here, Rebecca Whelen’s three-quarter-view pose with her left arm behind her back and the pale ecru color of her lovely, but conservative bowed and cinch-waisted day-dress echo the little image of the renowned himation-clad terracotta dancer; Anshutz’s composition likens the modern to the ancient conception of female beauty.¹⁴³ And his painting thus reinforces a rarefied American ideal of its time.¹⁴⁴



Figure 4.12: Thomas Pollock Anshutz (American, 1851–1912), *The Tanagra*, 1909. Oil on canvas. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1912.1. Gift of the friends and admirers of the artist. Image: Public domain.

Elie Nadelman (1882–1946)

Works from the 1910s by the Polish Jewish American sculptor Elie Nadelman were destined to play a role in New York City’s beauty scene. Earlier, while residing amid the bohemian Polish community in Paris, from 1904, Nadelman created avant-garde, simplified and stylized works based on monumental Classical Greek sculpture. According to Barbara Haskell, “this return to classicism for inspiration was particularly appealing to Jewish artists because it bypassed the Renaissance and the Christian subject matter in which its art was steeped.”¹⁴⁵ Despite suffering from antisemitism in Paris, Nadelman enjoyed great success exhibiting thirteen of his classicizing

plasters, including nude statues of women, at Galerie E. Druet in 1909.¹⁴⁶ He was then awarded another show in 1911 at London's William B. Paterson Gallery, where all of Nadelman's modern classical heads were purchased by the cosmetics magnate and art collector Helena Rubenstein (1872–1965),¹⁴⁷ who was likewise an expatriate Polish Jew.

As a young woman, Rubenstein went to Australia, where she started her cosmetics business, and then established salons in London and Paris. With the onset of the First World War in 1914, Rubenstein left for New York and helped Nadelman move there too. She wanted to open a salon on Fifth Avenue, but Jews were not allowed in the building. Nonetheless, in 1915, Rubenstein set up her first New York City beauty salon nearby at 15 East 49th Street, and it was prominently decorated with Nadelman's works.¹⁴⁸ His sculptural group she had commissioned abroad showing women engaged in grooming and dressing activities (fig. 4.13) was installed in alcoves in the waiting room.¹⁴⁹ Nadelman's group, probably executed circa 1912 and later named *The Four Seasons*, consists of tall, sinuous, unglazed terracotta female figures, whose flowing draperies display fluted folds. Notably, the Rubenstein terracottas—this artist's first dressed female images—though not painted, betray a new source of ancient inspiration, Tanagra figurines, which Nadelman said initially intrigued him when he saw the British Museum's display during his London show.¹⁵⁰ To Nadelman, modern sculpture inspired by these charming ancient female figures must have "seemed appropriate for a beauty salon."¹⁵¹ Rubenstein believed Nadelman's works, which henceforth always decorated her salons, evoked the timeless, classic ideal of female beauty achievable through her regimes and products. She had even changed her first name from Chaja (in Hebrew, *Chay-ah*, meaning to live) to Helena, thus becoming a namesake of ancient Greece's most beautiful woman.¹⁵²



Figure 4.13: Eli Nadelman (American, 1882–1946), *The Four Seasons*, ca. 1912, terracotta, H. 80 cm (31 1/2 in.). New York, New York Historical Society, 2001.223.1-4. Image © Courtesy the New York Historical Society.

Childe Hassam (1859–1935)

In the 1910s, Childe Hassam, the foremost American Impressionist, created his commercially successful New York Window series, showing women in interiors before windows frequently shown with closed curtains obscuring city views.¹⁵³ In his Window painting of 1918, entitled *Tanagra (The Builders, New York)* (cat. no. 45), the curtains are parted, revealing men working on a skeletal skyscraper outside. According to Hassam,

*Tanagra—the blonde Aryan girl holding a Tanagra figurine in her hand against the background of New York buildings—one in the process of construction and the Chinese lilies springing up from the bulbs is intended to typefy and symbolize growth—beautiful growth—the growth of a great city hence the sub-title The Builders, New York.*¹⁵⁴

Yet the painting's young woman does not even look at the dynamic, male, urban realm outside.¹⁵⁵ Recalling Anshutz's earlier *The Tanagra* (fig. 4.12), the attention of Hassam's model is likewise entirely focused on an ancient figurine.¹⁵⁶ Her *Tanagra* features a svelte silhouette evoking an Aphrodite (Venus) (see cat. no. 10) more than an ancient human female clad in layers of Greek dress. However, this figurine's coloration in greens and blues, which harmonizes with the picture's Impressionist color scheme, may also evoke an ideal association of dressed Tanagras with the Louvre Museum's still beautifully painted *Dame en bleu* (fig. 2.1).

Wearing a flowing, unstructured housedress perhaps mingling inspiration from Greek and Japanese costume, Hassam's reflective blonde inhabits a fashionable interior featuring a large Japanese chrysanthemum screen behind her and a highly polished round mahogany table bearing a shallow porcelain bowl of flowers in the foreground. The painting's assemblage juxtaposing Eastern and Western items is ultimately Whistlerian,¹⁵⁷ but rather than the composition of a Japanese print, its restricted space evokes a Manhattan apartment.¹⁵⁸ The mahogany table also appears in Hassam's *Maréchal Niel Roses* of 1919 at the Smithsonian American Art Museum, where the same blonde model, possibly Kitty Hughes, is seated contemplating that painting's titular yellow flowers.¹⁵⁹ The table was a prop in Hassam's impressive long-term residence and studio in an artists' cooperative at 130 West 57th Street.¹⁶⁰

In his later work, Hassam ascribed to an artistic attempt to retain a traditional American ideal, rooted in the late nineteenth century, that involved depicting beautiful, pure, upper-middle-class white Anglo-Saxon Protestant women at home and at leisure, surrounded by tasteful decorations and furnishings—in a realm apart from men. Fueled by social anxiety brought about by massive immigration, a prototype for an "ideal Aryan type" came to be recognized in ancient Greek and Roman art.¹⁶¹ While Hassam's *Tanagra* painting from the year after women won the right to vote in New York must have been a reassuring concoction for a conservative male audience, one can readily envision its Grecian, figurine-

holding, blonde model as having been a customer at Helena Rubenstein's nearby salon.

CONCLUSION

Significantly, the modern artworks influenced by these humble but charming ancient Greek terracotta figurines, which were mostly executed by male artists, depict exclusively female imagery. Some works show modern women observing female Tanagra figurines (figs. 4.2 and 4.12; cat. no. 45). Others show modern women dressed like female Tanagra figurines (cat. no. 14; figs. 4.3, 4.5, and 4.10). A few works represent women in the ancient world dressed like female Tanagra figurines (figs. 1.5, 1.6, and 4.9). Gérôme invented a modern monument in naked female form denoting the earth-shattering significance of the 1870 archaeological discovery of ancient terracotta figurines at Tanagra, Greece (fig. 4.8). Nadelman created alluring terracotta art figures (fig. 4.13) evoking ancient female Tanagras, destined to decorate a New York beauty salon. These diverse female depictions together demonstrate the enduring cultural dialogue engendered by Tanagra mania both abroad and at home.

1. The following people have aided my scholarship for this essay in various ways: Elizabeth Bartman, Joan R. Mertens, Annie Verbanck-Piérard, Seán Hemingway, Arthur Livenas, J. David Farmer, H. Alan Shapiro, and Eric Silver. In 1997, Stephen R. Edidin invited me to speak at the Dahesh Museum, N.Y., about Gérôme and female nudity; this topic piqued my interest in the influence of Tanagra figurines. A preliminary talk related to the present essay delivered at the 2020 Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Washington, D.C. was followed by expanded versions for the Cosmopolitan Club, N.Y., and the Department of Greek and Roman Art at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Special access to The Museum's Onassis Library for Hellenic and Roman Art and Thomas J. Watson Library has facilitated my research. My heartfelt thanks go to the abovementioned individuals and institutions as well as to the curators of *Recasting Antiquity* for inviting me to participate in this exhibition catalogue and providing scholarly assistance.
2. Dorothy Burr Thompson, "The Origin of Tanagras," *American Journal of Archaeology* 70, no.1 (January 1966): 51–63, pls. 17–20 (also n. 131).
3. Jaimee P. Uhlenbrock, "Coroplast and his Craft," in *The Coroplast's Art: Greek Terracottas of the Hellenistic World*, edited by Jaimee P. Uhlenbrock, 15–21 (New Paltz: College Art Gallery, The College at New Paltz, State University of New York and New Rochelle, N.Y.: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1990), 16–17; Arthur Muller, "La technique des coroplastes de Tanagra: De l'artisanat local à une industrie 'mondialisée,'" in *Tanagra: Mythe et archéologie* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2003), 171–74; Reynold Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines* (London: Trefoil Books: 1986), 66–69; Lucilla Burn and Reynold Higgins, *Greek Terracottas in the British Museum*, vol. 3 (London: British Museum Press, 2001), 18–20.
4. Brigitte Bourgeois and Violaine Jeammet, "La polychromie des terres cuites grecques: Approche matérielle d'une culture picturale," *Revue Archéologique* 69, no. 1 (2020), 3–28, esp. 6, 9–14, 21–26; Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines*, 69–70; Burn and Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, 20; Uhlenbrock, "Coroplast and his Craft," 18.
5. See, recently, Vizenz Brinkmann and Ulrike Koch-Brinkmann, eds. *Bunte Götter: Golden Edition: die Farben der Antike* (Munich: Prestel, 2020).
6. E.g., Hannelore Hägele, *Color in Sculpture: A Survey from Ancient Mesopotamia to the Present* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), esp. 252–265; Jennifer M. S. Stager, *Seeing Color in Classical Art: Theory, Practice, and Reception from Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), esp. 7, 11, 14, 25–27, 43–44, 287; Brigitte Bourgeois and Violaine Jeammet, "Le paradoxe de l'invention de la polychromie au XIX^e siècle," in *Couleurs: La Sculpture Polychrome en France 1850-1910*, edited by Édouard Papet (Paris: Musée d'Orsay and Vanves: Éditions Hazan, 2018), 151–56.
7. Mireille M. Lee, *Body, Dress, and Identity in Ancient Greece* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 90–95, 106–10, 107, fig. 4.11, 113–16, 230; R. J. Barrow, *Gender, Identity and the Body in Greek and Roman Sculpture*, prepared for publication by Michael Silk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 51.
8. Dillon, "Case Study III: Hellenistic Tanagra Figurines," in *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, edited by Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 233–34; cf. Violaine Jeammet, "The clothes worn by Tanagra figurines: a question of fashion or ritual?" in *Tanagras: Figurines for Life and Eternity: the Musée du Louvre's Collection of Greek Figurines*, edited by Violaine Jeammet, translated by Janice Abbott (Paris: Musée du Louvre and Valencia: Fundación Bancaja, 2010), 134–135 and Daniel Graepler, "Kunstgenuß im Jenseits? Zur Function und Bedeutung hellenistischer Terrakotten als Grabbeigabe," in *Bürgerwelten: Hellenistische Tonfiguren und Nachschöpfungen im 19. Jh.*, edited by Gerhard Zimmer and Irmgard Kriseleit (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz and Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1994), esp. 43–49, 53–65.
9. Burn and Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, 20.
10. Jeammet, ed., *Tanagras*, 87–88, cat. no. 57 (Violaine Jeammet).
11. Léon Heuzey, "La danseuse voilée d'Auguste Titeux," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 16 (1892): 73–87.
12. Jeammet, ed., *Tanagras*, 87–88, cat. no. 57 (Violaine Jeammet).
13. Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines*, 163–68; Irmgard Kriseleit, "Fälschungen in der Berliner Sammlung," in *Bürgerwelten: Hellenistische Tonfiguren und Nachschöpfungen im 19. Jh.* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung and Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1994), 59–69; Arthur Livenais, *Un petit peuple de pacotille: la collection de fausse terres cuites du musée du Louvre. Mémoire de recherche*. (Paris: École du Louvre, 2020); and Valentin Veldhues, "Salonstücke – Terrakotta-Manie und Fälschungen," in *Klasse und Masse: Die Welt Griechischer Tonfiguren*, edited by Valentin Veldhues and Agnes Schwarzmaier (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz and Petersburg, Michael Imhof Verlag, 2022) 31–33 and 34–41, cat. nos. 6–9.

14. Édouard Papet, "Variations sur la Danseuse *Titeux*," in *Tanagra: Myth et archéologie* (Paris: musée du Louvre and Réunion de musées nationaux, 2003), 54.
15. E.g., Bourgeois and Jeammet, "Le paradoxe de l'invention de la polychromie," 154; Roberta Panzanelli, ed., *The Color of Life: Polychromy in Sculpture from Antiquity to the Present* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum and Getty Research Institute, 2008), 167, cat. no. 35 (David Saunders).
16. Reinhard Kekulé, *Griechische Thonfiguren aus Tanagra* (Stuttgart: W. Spemann, 1878).
17. Curtis, *Tanagra Figurines* (Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company, 1879).
18. León Heuzey, *Le figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre*, engraved by Achille Jacquet. (Paris: Ministère de L'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts and V. A. Morel, 1883).
19. See the classic study by T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers*, Rev. edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999) and George Moore, "Degas: The Painter of Modern Life (November 1890)," in *The Painter of Modern Life: Memories of Degas by George Moore and Walter Sickert*, edited by Anna Gruetzner Robins, 21–66 (London: Pallas Athene, 2011).
20. Charles Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life," in *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, by Charles Baudelaire, translated and edited by Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon and Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society Publishers, 1964), 1–40.
21. This Degas notebook is inventoried as Bibliothèque Nationale, Dc 327d reserve, Carnet 11; see Theodore Reff, *The Notebooks of Edgar Degas: A Catalogue of the Thirty-eight Notebooks in the Bibliothèque Nationale and Other Collections*, 2 vols, vol. 1 (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1985), 18, 49; see also, Theodore Reff, "Degas's Copies of Older Art," *Burlington Magazine* 105, no. 723 (June 1963): 245–46, 247, no. L. 39, and 248, no. A.716.
22. Reff, *Notebooks of Degas*, vol. 1, 52, nb. 6, p. 20. For this early terracotta group's unusual technology, see Jeammet, *Tanagras*, 80–81, cat. nos. 45 and 47 (Violaine Jeammet).
23. Reff, *Notebooks of Degas*, vol. 1, 52, nb. 6, p. 16. For the female figurine (Louvre Museum MN 575), see Besques, *Louvre Catalogue Raisoné des Figurines et Reliefs en Terre-cuite*, vol. 4, pt. 2 text: 44, pl. 16, c; vol. 4, pt. 2 plates: 16, c; and Jeammet, ed., *Tanagras*, 206, cat. no. 173.
24. Joseph Vattier de Bourville (1812–1854), who led excavations at Cyrene, purchased figurines for the Louvre Museum; see Besques, *Louvre Catalogue Raisoné des Figurines et Reliefs en Terre-cuite*, vol. 4, pt. 2 text: 19; and Jeammet, ed., *Tanagras*, 204–07, cat. nos. 171–76 (Juliette Becq). See also Reff, *Degas*, 72 and 311, n. 102, on Degas's copying and Cyrene.
25. Simone Besques, *Musée du Louvre Catalogue Raisoné des Figurines et Reliefs en Terre-cuite Grecs, Étrusques et Romains*, vol. 4, pt. 2 text: 48, pl. 19, d; vol. 4, pt. 2 plates: 19, d.
26. Theodore Reff, "Copyists in the Louvre, 1850-1870," *Art Bulletin* 46, no. 4 (December 1964): 557. The ancient source was recognized by Roseline Bacou, *Musée du Louvre: La donation Ari et Suzanne Redon* (Paris: Ministère de la culture, Éditions de la Réunion des Musées nationaux, 1984), 69, no. 109; John Rewald, "Odilon Redon," in *Odilon Redon, Gustave Moreau, Rudolphe Bresdin* (New York: Museum of Modern Art and Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, distributed by Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961), 16, imprecisely describes Redon as having "studied the delicate shapes of Tanagra figurines" at the Louvre Museum, but his copying was before figurines were discovered at Tanagra.
27. Violaine Jeammet, "Un certain goût pour les Tanagras: du XIXe siècle à l'Antiquité," in *Tanagras: De l'objet de collection à l'objet archéologique. Actes du colloque organisé par le musée du Louvre à la Bibliothèque nationale de France le 22 novembre 2003* (Paris: Picard and Musée du Louvre, 2007), 33.
28. Academia di Francia a Roma, *Degas e l'Italia* (Rome: Villa Medici and Fratelli Palombi, 1984), chronology of Degas's time in Italy, 255–60.
29. Vide text *supra* at n. 11.
30. P. A. Lemoisne, *Degas et son oeuvre*, vol. 2 (Paris: P. Brame et C.M. de Hauke aux Arts et métiers graphiques, 1946–49. Reprint, New York: Garland Publishing, 1984), 18, no. 39, 19, fig. 39; Sotheby's, *Impressionist and Modern Art Day Sale*, November 6, 2015 (New York, 2015) lot no. 341.
31. Jean Sutherland Boggs, *Degas* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1996), 45; and Christopher Lloyd, *Edgar Degas: Drawings and Pastels* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2014), 131, emphasize multiple viewpoints of the same pose in preparatory drawings for Degas's wax sculpture *Little Dancer Aged Fourteen*, ca. 1878–1881, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1999.80.28, <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.110292.html>. See esp., *Three Studies of a Dancer in Fourth Position*, 1879–1880 (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1962), 703, <https://www.artic.edu/artworks/14970/three-studies-of-a-dancer-in-fourth-position>.
32. See Richard Kendall, *Degas Dancers* (New York: Universe of Art and Vendome, 1996).
33. Waxes: Suzanne Glover Lindsay, Daphne S. Barbour, and Shelley G. Sturman, *Edgar Degas Sculpture* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; distributed by Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 152–249, cat. nos. 19–41; Jean-Luc Martinez, ed., *Corps en Mouvement: La Danse au Musée* (Paris: Musée du Louvre and Éditions du Seuil, 2016), illustrating dance movement in art, features the *Titeux Dancer* (cat. no. 1), 39–41, cat. no. 1, and a Degas dancer in bronze, Paris, Musée d'Orsay R.F. 2073, 132–33, cat. no. 55.
34. See Musée Marmottan Monet, *Henri Rouart 1833-1912: L'Oeuvre peinte* (Paris: Musée Marmottan Monet and Éditions Gallimard, 2012); and Musée de la Vie romantique, *Au coeur de l'Impressionnisme: la famille Rouart* (Paris: Musée de la Vie romantique and Paris musées, 2004).
35. Jean Sutherland Boggs, "Mme Henri Rouart and Hélène by Edgar Degas," *Bulletin of the Art Division of the Los Angeles County Museum* 8, no. 2 (Spring 1956): esp. 13–15; Boggs, *Portraits by Degas*, esp. 67–68.

36. Boggs, "Mme Henri Rouart," 15, fig.1; Boggs, *Portraits by Degas*, 67 and pl. 122.
37. Boggs, "Mme Henri Rouart," 14, muses, "perhaps Hélène had wrapped herself in a shawl in order to resemble the figurine." In the 1880s, Degas compared art by Honoré Daumier (1808–1879) to Tanagras; see Reff, *Degas*, 71–72.
38. Cf. Dorit Schäfer and Astrid Reuter, eds., *Sehen Denken Träumen: Französische Zeichnungen aus der Staatlichen Kunsthalle Karlsruhe* (Karlsruhe: Staatlichen Kunsthalle Karlsruhe and Berlin: Hatje Cantz, 2018), 178, cat. Entry (Dorit Schäfer); Boggs, "Mme Rouart," 15–17; and Boggs, *Degas*, 68.
39. Papet, "Variations sur la Danseuse Titeux," 54.
40. Boggs, *Degas*, 67; Götz Adriani, *Degas: Pastels, Oil Sketches, Drawings*, translated by Alexander Lieven (New York: Abbeville Press, 1985), 381; Solange Thierry, "Henri Rouart," in *Au coeur de l'impressionnisme: la famille Rouart* (Paris: Musée de la Vie romantique and Paris musées, 2004), 23–24.
41. Reff, *Degas*, 145, 319, n. 172.
42. Boggs, "Mme Henri Rouart," 15–17; Jean Sutherland Boggs, *Drawings by Degas* (Saint Louis: City Art Museum of Saint Louis, 1966), 190–92, cat. no. 125; Édouard Papet, "De l'objet archéologique aux babioles de luxe," in *Tanagra: Myth et archéologie* (Paris: musée du Louvre and Réunion de musées nationaux, 2003), 39; Däubler-Hauschke and Brunner, ed., *Impressionismus und Japanmode*, 124–25, cat. no. 12; Ann Dumas and David A. Breneman, *Degas and America: The Early Collectors* (Atlanta: High Museum of Art and New York: Rizzoli, 2000), 200, cat. no. 60 (Mary Morton), but mistakenly identified as a sketch for the unexecuted oil portrait.
43. Musée Marmottan Monet, *Henri Rouart*, 46–47, cat. no. 6 (Jean-Dominique Rey).
44. In a letter of October 16, 1883, to Henri Rouart in Venice: Reff, ed. And trans., *The Letters of Edgar Degas*, vol. 1 (New York: The Wildenstein Plattner Institute, Inc.; distributed by University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2020): 328–29, no. 202, with 329, n. 2, likened by Reff to Titian portraits; for the English translation see vol. 3: 75–76, no. 202.
45. Louvre Museum S 1664; Musée du Louvre, *Tanagra: Mythe et archéologie* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2003), 180–82, cat. no. 125, acquisition: "ancient fons" (old funds), also cat. no. 126 (Violaine Jeammet).
46. Boggs, "Mme Henri Rouart," 16.
47. Marc Gerstein, "Degas's Fans," *Art Bulletin* 64, no. 1 (March 1982): 106–107, 117; Claudia Däubler-Hauschke, "Japanrezeption bei Degas und Whistler. Eine Annäherung," in *Impressionismus und Japanmode; Edgar Degas, James McNeill Whistler*, edited by Claudia Däubler-Hauschke and Michael Brunner (Überlingen: Städtische Galerie and Petersberg, Germany: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2009), esp. 15; and Däubler-Hauschke and Brunner, ed., *Impressionismus und Japanmode*, 151–52, cat. no. 43 (Christian Berger).
48. Gerstein, "Degas's Fans," 109–10.
49. Suzanne Singletary, "James McNeill Whistler: A Conduit between France and America," in *Whistler to Cassatt: American Painters in France*, edited by Timothy J. Standring (Denver: Denver Art Museum and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022), 82; Ayako Ono, *Japonisme in Britain: Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel and Nineteenth-century Japan* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), esp. 41, 58–66; Gerstein, "Degas's Fans," 106–07; see also Laurel Lyman, *The Influence of Japonisme on the American Impressionists and their Circle, 1893-1915*. PhD diss. (City University of New York, 2004. Ann Arbor: UMI Microform 3115270, 2004), 215–16.
50. Ono, *Japonisme in Britain*, 140; Franco Russoli, *Degas* (New York: Rizzoli, 2005), 172–75, chronological table.
51. See Julia Atkins, "Ionides Family," *The Antiques Collector* (June 1987): esp. 90–91; Ayako Ono, *Whistler and Artistic Exchange between Japan and the West: After Japonisme in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2023), 47; Julia Ionides, "The Greek Connection—The Ionides Family and their Connections with Pre-Raphaelite and Victorian Art Circles," in *Pre-Raphaelite Art in its European Context*, edited by Susan P. Casteras and Alicia Craig Faxon (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1995), 168; and Charles Harvey and Jon Press, "The Ionides Family and 1 Holland Park," *Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1850 – the Present* 18 (1994): esp. 3–4; and 5, figs. 7–8, 6–7, for the antiquities room's mantle designed to display Aleco's Tanagras; see also fig. 1.7 above.
52. For the Ionides' presumed early collecting see Katharine A. Lochnan, *The Etchings of James McNeill Whistler* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 152; Katharine A. Lochnan, *Whistler's Etchings and the Sources of His Etching Style, 1855-1880* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1984), 212; and Ionides, "Greek Connection," 161. Marcus B. Huish, "Tanagra Terracottas," *The Studio* 14 (1898): 101, mentions "Mr. A. Ionides being on the spot" when figurines were found.
53. See Kathleen A. Pyne, *Immanence, Transcendence, and Impressionism in Late Nineteenth-century American Painting*, PhD diss. (University of Michigan, 1988. UMI Microfiche, Ann Arbor, 1988), 152, n. 33, for evidence against dating the Ionides collection early. On fakes, see Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines*, 163–68; Kriseleit, "Fälschungen;" and Livenais, *Un petit peuple*, n. 53.
54. David Park Curry, *James McNeill at the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art and New York: W. W. Norton, 1984), 108; Kathleen Pyne, *Art and the Higher Life: Painting and Evolutionary Thought in Late Nineteenth-Century America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 105–08; Lisa N. Peters, *James McNeill Whistler* (New York: Smithmark), 32–33; Ono, *Japonisme in Britain*, 70–71.
55. Elizabeth Prettejohn, *The Modernity of Ancient Sculpture: Greek Sculpture and Modern Art from Winckelmann to Picasso* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 72.
56. Cf. Curry, *Whistler at the Freer*, 50, 108; Pyne, *Immanence, Transcendence, and Impressionism*, 151, n. 32.
57. Cf. Mark Evans, "Blake, Calvert—and Palmer? The album of Alexander Constantine Ionides," *Burlington Magazine* 144 (September 2002): 548, n. 62.

58. Lochnan, *Whistler's Etchings and Sources of Style*, 212–13, figs. 229–30; Lochnan, *Etchings of Whistler*, 152–53.
59. Analyzed by Barrow, *Gender, Identity, and the Body*, 51–52.
60. Margaret F. MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler: Drawings, Pastels, and Watercolours: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 144, suggests *The Model Resting*, drawn directly on the copperplate, is reversed in the print.
61. Margaret F. MacDonald, “East and West: Sources and Influences,” in *Whistler, Women, & Fashion*, edited by Margaret F. MacDonald, Susan Grace Galassi, and Aileen Ribeiro (New York, Frick Collection and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 67.
62. See Barrow, *Gender, Identity, and the Body*, 53–57, 61; Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite's Tortoise: The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece* (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2003), see esp. 53–55, 61–67, surveys, but over-interprets, veiling evidence.
63. For related clothed figure-types in marble sculpture, see Violaine Jeammet, “La ‘Sophocléene,’” in *Tanagra: Myth et archéologie* (Paris: musée du Louvre and Réunion de musées nationaux, 2003), 199–203, for the Sophocles portrait; and Alain Pasquier, “‘Tanagréennes,’ et grande sculpture,” in *Tanagra: Myth et archéologie* (Paris: musée du Louvre and Réunion de musées nationaux, 2003), 153–58, for the *Large* and *Small Herculeanum Women*.
64. David Park Curry, *James McNeill Whistler: Uneasy Pieces* (Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts and New York: The Quantuck Lane Press, 2004), 235, likens Whistler's mothers' pose in his famous 1871 painting to an Ionides Tanagra figurine, <http://www.musee-orsay.fr/en/artworks/arrangement-en-gris-et-noir-ndeg1-974>.
65. For kimonos see Nagasaki Iwao, “Introduction: Clad in the Aesthetics of Tradition: from Kosode to Kimono,” in *Kimono: The Art and Evolution of Japanese Fashion: The Khalili Collections*, edited by Ana Jackson (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2015), 9, fig. 3, 10; for Whistler's depictions see MacDonald, “East and West: Sources and Influences,” 64; Ono, *Japonisme in Britain*, 56, 62, and suggests, at 66, loosely worn kimonos might depend on courtesan depictions .
66. Andrew McLaren Young, *James McNeill Whistler: An Exhibition of Paintings and Other Works, Organized by the Arts Council of Great Britain and the English-speaking Union of the United States* (London: M. Knoedler & Co., 1960), 47–48, cat. no. 22.
67. Mary Frances Williams, *Catalogue of the Collection of American Art at Randolph-Macon Women's College: A selection of Paintings, Drawings, and Prints*, 2nd ed. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1977), 168–69; Ellen M. Schall, John Wilmerding, and David M. Sokol, *American Art: American Vision, Paintings from a Century of Collecting* (Lynchburg: Maier Museum of Art and Alexandria, VA.: Art Services International, 1990), 158–59
68. For Whistler's use of specific kimonos and “Oriental artifacts,” see MacDonald, “East and West: Sources and Influences,” 58–64; see also Ono, *Whistler and Artistic Exchange*, 17.
69. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, F1904.66a-b: On this rare Whistler cartoon, pricked and pounced for transfer, see, e.g., MacDonald, *Whistler: Drawings, Pastels, and Watercolours*, 120, no. 357.
70. Andrew McLaren Young, Margaret MacDonald, and Robin Spencer, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 54–55, cat. no. 92; Robin Spencer, *Aesthetic Movement: Theory and Practice* (London: Studio Vista, 1972), 38, 39, 42; Prettejohn, “Modernity of Ancient Sculpture,” 90–92, Moore references the Venus de Milo in reverse.
71. John Edwin Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 3, *The Eighteenth Century in Germany, and the Nineteenth Century in Europe and the United States of America* (Cambridge: University Press, 1908), 269. For this figurine's remarkable color remains, see, e.g., Musée du Louvre, *Tanagra*, 182–83, cat. no. 127 (Violaine Jeammet).
72. E.g., Curry, *Whistler at the Freer*, 49, associates Tanagran color application with Whistler's pastels.
73. In a letter dated June 22, 1873, Henri Fantin-Latour mentions he saw Whistler in Paris: see Robin Spencer, “Whistler, Manet, and the Tradition of the Avant-Garde,” in *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination*, edited by Ruth E. Fine, *Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 19, *Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts Symposium Papers* 6, (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, distributed by Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1987), 57 and 63, n. 44.
74. Young, *James McNeill Whistler*, 47, and, e.g., Williams, *Catalogue of American Art*, 168–69, cat. no. 182, 169, fig. 182b; Schall, Wilmerding, and Sokol, *American Art: American Vision*, 159.
75. Young, *James McNeill Whistler*, 47–48, cat. no. 22. The Anglo-Dutch painter Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema (1836–1912) was also inspired by Tanagra figurines in the early 1870s; see R. J. Barrow, *Lawrence Alma-Tadema* (London: Phaidon, 2001), 76 and 74–75, fig. 67: In *Fishing* (Hamburger Kunsthalle, HK-1902, <https://online-sammlung.hamburger-kunsthalle.de/en/objekt/HK-1902/beim-fischen?term=Alma-Tadema&context=default&position=2>), 1873, a woman in Tanagran dress holds a tapered fan, but this particular model is made of feathers and thus is not found on the figurines.
76. Michael Komanecky, “Perfect Gem of Art,” in *The Folding Image: Screens by Western Artists of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, edited by Michael Komanecky and Virginia Fabbri Butera (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1984), 57 with fig. 52; Curry, *Whistler: Uneasy Pieces*, 117–18, 121, fig. 4.9, 122; and Lyman, *Influence of Japonisme*, 84; for J. Alden Weir's 1875 description. See also Gerstein, “Degas's Fans,” 107.
77. Probably coined by David C. Huntington, “The Quest for Unity: American Art Between World's Fairs 1876-1893,” in *The Quest for Unity: American Art Between World's Fairs 1876-1893* (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1983), 27–28. And see Ono, *Whistler and Artistic Exchange*, 45; and Lyman, *Influence of Japonisme*, 81. n. 22.
78. Denys Sutton, ed., *Whistler Exhibition in Japan* (Tokyo: Yomiui Shinbun, 1987), 197, cat. no. 63 (Martin Hopkinson).
79. At the Petit Palais: see Curry, *Whistler at the Freer*, 276, pl. 279; 304.
80. The Anglo-American artist George Henry Boughton (1833–1905) memorialized his friend Whistler: G. H. Boughton, “A Few of the

- Various Whistlers I Have Known,” *The Studio* 30 (1903): 208–18. In Boughton’s 1902 *A Tanagraean Pastoral*, Whistlerian ancient females dance in translucent classicizing draperies; the only clear reproduction is in Alfred Lys Baldry, *G.H. Boughton, R.A.: His Life and Work* (London: Virtue & Co, 1904), pl. facing p. 24.
81. Nigel Thorp, “Studies in Black and White: Whistler’s Photographs in Glasgow University Library,” in *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination*, edited by Ruth E. Fine, *Studies in the History of Art*, vol.19, *Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts Symposium Papers* 6 (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, distributed by Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1987), 90–91, fig. 11.
82. Paris, Musée d’Orsay, RF 2514. See Gerald M. Ackerman, *Jean-Léon Gérôme* (Courbevoie: ACR Édition, 2000), 151, 386–87, no. S. 17; Édouard Papet, “‘Father Polychrome’: The Sculpture of Jean-Léon Gérôme,” in *The Spectacular Art of Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904)*, translated by Johnathan Sly (Paris: Musée d’Orsay and Skira Flammarion, 2010), 298, cat. no. 168, 302.
83. Papet, “Variations sur la Danseuse Titeux,” 54.
84. The statuette’s hoop is broken. On sources, cf. Papet, “Jean-Léon Gérôme: *Tanagra*, 1890,” in *Tanagra: Myth et archéologie* (Paris: musée du Louvre and Réunion de musées nationaux, 2003), 50; see Mary F. Curtis, *Tanagra Figurines* (Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company, 1879), pl. opposite p. 30, lower right, fake nineteenth-century figurine.
85. Ackerman, *Jean-Léon Gérôme*, 388, no. S. 21; Papet, “Gérôme: *Tanagra*,” 50–51.
86. Papet, “‘Father Polychrome,’” 302, n. 2.
87. Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.24.5–7.
88. See, e.g., Édouard Papet, “La sculpture polychrome en France 1850-1910,” in *En Couleurs: La Sculpture Polychrome en France 1850-1910*, edited by Édouard Papet (Paris: Musée d’Orsay and Vanves: Éditions Hazan, 2018), 20, ill. 06, 21, 52, cat. 020; and Andreas Blühm, “In Living Colour: A Short History of Colour in Sculpture in the 19th Century,” in *The Colour of Sculpture 1840-1910*, edited by Andreas Blühm (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum and Zwolle: Wanders Uitgevers, 1996), 22, 23, fig. 19; on nineteenth-century reconstructions, including the chryselephantine statue, 1846–55, by Pierre Charles Simart (1806–1857).
89. Konrad Lange, “Die Athena Parthenos,” *Mittheilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abtheilung* 5 (1880): 370–79. On color and the lost Athena Parthenos, see Stager, *Seeing Color in Classical Art*, 8–11.
90. Ackerman, *Jean-Léon Gérôme*, 149, 150 (fig.), 318–19, no. 348, and, for Gérôme’s lost Omphale’s clay—not plaster—model and marble sculpture, see 384–85, S. 12.
91. Ackerman, *Jean-Léon Gérôme*, 146, 149, 411, n. 345; see also Victor I. Stoichita, *The Pygmalion Effect: From Ovid to Hitchcock*, translated by Alison Anderson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 163–67.
92. Marcel Bovis and François Saint-Julien, *Nus d’Autrefois 1850-1900* (New York: George Wittenborn, 1953), 10–11, 48, model named Emma. For different identifications: Papet, “‘Father Polychrome,’” 302, ill.147, and 310, with nn. 7–8, Marie-Louise, and Ackerman, *Jean-Léon Gérôme*, 151.
93. Papet, “‘Father Polychrome,’” 293–94, 295, ill. 144.
94. E.g., Fanny Field Hering, *Gérôme: The Life and Works of Jean Léon Gérôme* (New York: Cassell Publishing Company, 1892), 281; Panzaneli, ed., *The Color of Life*, 168, under cat. no. 35 (David Saunders).
95. Papet, “La sculpture polychrome en France,” 22.
96. Ackerman, *Jean-Léon Gérôme*, 402–03, no. S. 63; Papet, “‘Father Polychrome,’” 326–28, cat. no. 192; Paris, Musée d’Orsay, inv. SRF 2008.2.
97. Ackerman, *Jean-Léon Gérôme*, 151, 338–39, no. 419.3. See also Ingeborg Bauer, *Das Atelierbild in der französischen Malerei 1855-1900*, Diss. (University of Munich, 1997. Cologne: Böhlau, 1999), 214–28.
98. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.243–97
99. Ackerman, *Jean-Léon Gérôme*, 330–31, no. 385; 390–91, no. S. 24, the contemporaneous *Pygmalion* sculpture. Stoichita, *The Pygmalion Effect*, 167–72, interpretation with *Working in Marble*, but mistaking its plaster for the marble sculpture.
100. Ackerman, *Jean-Léon Gérôme*, 185, 336–37, nos. 411–12; Papet, “Gérôme: *Tanagra*,” 50, 53, cat. no. 5 and fig. 22. In an engraving after *Marchand des Statuettes*, a lost 1875 painting by Constant Brochart (1816–1899), a seller offers Tanagras to a woman and her children in an exotic setting—depicting a scene from antiquity while suggesting the clandestine modern market: New York, Dahesh Museum of Art, 2017.3. My thanks to J. David Farmer for sharing this reference.
101. Susan Waller, “*Fin de partie*: A Group of Self-Portraits by Jean-Léon Gérôme,” *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 9, no. 1 (Spring 2010): [n.p.].
102. Gloria Groom, “Edgar Degas: The Millinery Shop,” in *Impressionism, Fashion & Modernity*, edited by Gloria Groom (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012); and San Francisco, Legion of Honor Museum, 2017 exhibition, *Degas, Impressionism, and the Paris Millinery Trade*, <https://digitalstories.famsf.org/degas/>.
103. Sheila Dillon, review of *Tanagras for Life and Eternity*, *The Musée du Louvre’s Collection of Greek Figurines*, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* (2011), [n.p.].
104. Tobias G. Natter, “Catalogue of Paintings,” in *Gustav Klimt: The Complete Paintings*, edited by Tobias G. Natter, translated by Karen Williams, Eva Dewes, and Joan Clough (Cologne: Taschen, 2018), 485–86 and 488, no. 65 (Tobias G. Natter); Rainald Franz and Angelina Pötschner, “The Salon Painter: Early Works – Early Career,” in *Gustav Klimt: The Complete Paintings*, edited by Tobias G. Natter (Cologne: Taschen, 2018), 19; Cäcilia Bischoff, *Gustav Klimt: Im Kunsthistorischen Museum; In the Kunsthistorisches Museum* (Vienna: KHM-Museumverband, 2018), 9, 11, 13, 68–75; Otmar Rychlik, *Gustav Klimt: Das Ringstrassenwerk, 1886-1896* (Vienna: Löcker, 2018), 89–96; Stephanie Auer, “From Theme to

- Atmosphere – From Belle Époque to Modernism.” In *Klimt and Antiquity: Erotic Encounters*, edited by Stella Rollig and Tobias G. Natter, translated by Jeremy Gaines and Elizabeth Clegg (Vienna: Belvedere and Munich: Prestel, 2017), 110.
105. See Beth Cohen, “Pallas Athena and Gustav Klimt: Ancient Technē and Modern Artistic Secession,” in *Athenian Technē: Objects, Images, and Monuments in Context: Studies in Honor of Jenifer Neils*, edited by D.K. Rogers, T. J. Smith, and A. Steiner (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming 2024) n. 104; Lisa Florman, “Gustav Klimt and the Precedent of Ancient Greece,” *Art Bulletin* 72, no. 2 (June 1990): 318, and vide text supra at nn. 88–89.
106. Auer, “From Theme to Atmosphere,” 112 [nn. 103, 106, 107]; Florman, “Gustav Klimt,” 318.
107. Cohen, “Pallas Athena and Gustav Klimt.”
108. On Klimt’s personifications’ living nature, see Warren, *Art Nouveau and the Classical Tradition* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 33 [n. 107], and Florman, “Gustav Klimt,” 317.
109. Venus statuette: Collection of Greek and Roman Antiquities, inv. no. VI 340. See Auer, “From Theme to Atmosphere,” 112; Florman, “Gustav Klimt,” 317–18.
110. E.g., Klimt’s *Danae*, 1907/08, private collection: Warren, *Art Nouveau and the Classical Tradition*, 96–97; Karl Kilinski II, *Greek Myth and Western Art: The Presence of the Past* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pl. 15 and 169; Auer, “From Theme to Atmosphere,” 134.
111. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, 372: attributed to the Leagros Group (Antiope Group); *Beazley Archive Pottery Database (BAPD)*, no. 302102, <https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/F6FA2648-330F-462E-91E2-2240AD37B482>.
112. Florman, “Gustav Klimt,” 319; see also Karl Kilinski II, “Classical Klimtomania: Gustav Klimt and Archaic Greek Art,” *Arts Magazine* 53, no. 8 (April 1979): 97.
113. Kathleen A Pyne, “Classical Figures: A Folding Screen by Thomas Dewing,” *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 59, no. 1 (Spring 1981), 5, 8–9; Komanecky, “Perfect Gem of Art,” 102–6.
114. Susan A. Hobbs, *Thomas Wilmer Dewing: Beauty into Art, A Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. 2 (Alexandria, VA: The Thomas Dewing Catalogue Raisonné and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 684–85, no. 347. See also Susan A. Hobbs, *The Art of Thomas Wilmer Dewing: Beauty Reconfigured* (New York: Brooklyn Museum in association with Washington, D.C.: the Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 25–26.
115. On Dewing’s patrons see Pyne, “Classical Figures,” 4–15; Hobbs, *Art of Dewing*, 17–25; for Freer and his private collection, which he donated to the Smithsonian Institution, see Thomas Lawton and Linda Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy of Art* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution and New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993).
116. Hobbs, *Art of Dewing*, 138.
117. Pyne, “Classical Figures,” 8, fig. 5; 9, fig. 6; 10.
118. Pyne, “Classical Figures,” 10–11; 9, fig. 7, a terracotta figurine acquired in 1887 by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, may likewise have influenced Dewing. See also Hobbs, *Dewing: Beauty into Art*, vol. 1, 286–88, no. 123 and 289–90, no. 124; Pyne, *Art and the Higher Life*, 197–98, and Lyman, *Influence of Japonisme*, 91 with n. 253.
119. Dewing’s landscape was inspired by the country setting of his summer retreat at the art colony in Cornish, N.H., see Hobbs, *Art of Dewing*, 288.
120. Hobbs, *Dewing: Beauty into Art*, vol. 1, 292–94, no. 125. Cf. Trudi Abram, *Representations of American Femininity True-Woman, New Woman and Thomas Wilmer Dewing’s Enigmatic Woman*, PhD diss. (University of Southern California, 1999. Ann Arbor: UMI Microform 9933812, 1999), esp. 219–20, 223, 229, 273, on Dewing’s women.
121. Jeammet, ed., *Tanagras*, 166–67, cat. no. 125; Louvre CA 588 is sculpted in the round, using the same two two-piece molds for both figures’ heads and bodies; the arms are modeled separately.
122. Quoted by Hobbs, *Dewing: Beauty into Art*, vol. 1, 292, 294, n. 4, from a letter by Tryon to Freer, November 22, 1899.
123. Bessie Onahotema Potter married the Impressionist painter Robert Vonnoh in 1899. While known by her married name, some of her famous works precede her marriage. See Julie Alane Aronson, *Bessie Potter Vonnoh (1872-1955) and Small Bronze Sculpture in America*, vol. 1. PhD diss. (University of Delaware, 1995. Ann Arbor: UMI Microform 9610469, 1996), 190–93.
124. Aronson, *Bessie Potter Vonnoh*, vol. 1, 120–21. In 1895 she visited the Paris studio of her “idol” Rodin; on Vonnoh’s comments, see Alice Severance, “Talks by Successful Women X: Miss Bessie Potter,” *Godley’s Magazine* 133 (October 1896): 358. For Rodin’s ancient terracottas see esp. Musée Rodin, *Rodin collectionneur* (Paris: Musée Rodin, 1967–68), [n.p.] nos. 279–91, pls. 103–10; and Bénédicte Garnier, *Rodin: L’antique est ma jeunesse, une collection de sculpteur* (Paris: Musée Rodin, 2002), esp. 5, figs. 1 and 71. See also Celeste Farge, Bénédicte Garnier, and Ian Jenkins, *Rodin and the Art of Ancient Greece* (London: British Museum and Thames & Hudson, 2018).
125. Severance, “Talks by Successful Women,” 360; Arthur Hoeber, “A New Note in American Sculpture: Statuettes by Bessie Potter,” *Century* 54 (September 1897): 734–35; see Aronson, *Bessie Potter Vonnoh*, vol. 1, 92–97; Aronson, *Bessie Potter Vonnoh: Sculptor of Women* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Cincinnati Art Museum, and Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2008), 49–50.
126. Aronson, *Vonnoh: Sculptor of Women*, 93–94, suggests *Day Dreams* was conceived in England.
127. See Barbara Haskell, *Elie Nadelman: Sculptor of Modern Life* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, distributed by New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2003), 170–71, with figs. 193 and 195.
128. Aronson, *Bessie Potter Vonnoh*, 1:90–92, 183–85.
129. Aronson, *Bessie Potter Vonnoh*, 1:167–71; Aronson, *Vonnoh: Sculptor of Women*, 83–85.
130. Aronson, *Bessie Potter Vonnoh*, 1: 97, see also 2: 216–17; Aronson, *Vonnoh: Sculptor of Women*, 224.

131. Thompson, "The Origin of Tanagras," 54–55, compares a Hellenistic bronze statuette of a veiled dancer, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1972.118.95, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/255408>.
132. Aronson, *Vonnoh: Sculptor of Women*, 144, fig. 19, 145, 149; a silvered bronze version, 148, fig. 22, 149; Washington, D.C., National Museum of Women in the Arts, <https://nmwa.org/art/collection/fan/>.
133. Aronson, *Vonnoh: Sculptor of Women*, 141, 163; Aronson, *Bessie Potter Vonnoh*, 2: 265–68.
134. Maurice Emmanuel, *La Danse Greque antique d'après les monuments figurés* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1896), 207, fig. 452.
135. On Duncan in relation to Vonnoh, see Aronson, *Vonnoh: Sculptor of Women*, 141–43, 163–64. On classicizing contemporary dance and Dewing, see Bruce Robertson, "American Modernism and Dance: Arthur B. Davies's Dances, 1915," in *Dance: American Art, 1830–1960*, edited by Jane Dini (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, distributed by New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 115–20.
136. Metropolitan Museum of Art, "Recent Acquisitions: A Selection: 2018–20, Part II: Late Eighteenth Century to Contemporary," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 78, no. 4 (Spring, 2021): 33 (Melissa J. Huber); the designer's daughter, Jeanne, continued the house as the Maison Margaine-Lacroix.
137. Dillon, review of *Tanagras for Life and Eternity*.
138. Randall C. Griffin, *Thomas Anshutz: Artist and Teacher* (Huntington, NY: Heckscher Museum and Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 87.
139. Alma-Tadema's *The Golden Hour* (1908) depicts a model holding and admiring Gérôme's *Hoop Dancer* (cat. no. 44) instead of a Tanagra figurine; see Vern G. Swanson, *The Biography and Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings of Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema*, (London: Garton & Co and Scholar Press, 1990), 270–71, cat. no. 419, 480; Barrow, *Lawrence Alma-Tadema*, 187–89; and Blühm, "In Living Colour" 59.
140. The model has incorrectly been called Rebecca Whelan, daughter of a president of the Academy: Griffin, *Thomas Anshutz*, 84, 87; Chelsea VanDyk, "The Many Faces of Rebecca Whelan," *Talking Objects* (blog), April 25, 2014; and <https://www.pafa.org/museum/collection/item/tanagra>. On the proper identification, see artcontrarian.blogspot.com, posting April 23, 2018, "Multi Ritratti: Rebecca H. Whelan," comment by Andy S. March 6, 2020 at 1:23 PM.
141. On depictions of Whelan, see VanDyk, "The Many Faces of Rebecca Whelan."
142. Bailey Van Hook, *Angels of Art: Women and Art in American Society, 1876–1914* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 108.
143. Griffin, *Thomas Anshutz*, 87.
144. Cf. Randall C. Griffin, *Homer, Eakins, & Anshutz: The Search for American Identity in the Gilded Age* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University, 2004), 67.
145. Haskell, *Elie Nadelman*, 29; see also 27.
146. Haskell, *Elie Nadelman*, 31, fig. 18, and 30, with fig. 17, for Leo Stein (1872–1947) and his sister Gertrude (1874–1946), expatriate American Jews, as Nadelman's patrons in Paris. Nadelman's portrait of Gertrude has a body after a naked Venus: *Standing Female Figure*, 1907, New York, Whitney Museum of American Art, 97.149, <https://whitney.org/collection/works/12288>. Around this time, Tanagra figurines influenced Nadelman's rival in Paris, Pablo Picasso (1881–1973)—a subject requiring separate study.
147. Haskell, *Elie Nadelman*, 40–41, 40–48, figs. 30–41, 43; Lisa Rotmil, *Elie Nadelman* (New York: Bernard Goldman Fine Arts, LLC, 2017), 6.
148. See Mason Klein, *Helena Rubenstein: Beauty is Power* (New York: The Jewish Museum, distributed by New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014) 52–71.
149. Margaret K. Hofe and Roberta J. M. Olson, *Making It Modern: The Folk Art Collection of Elie and Viola Nadelman* (New York: The New York Historical Society in association with London: D. Giles Limited, 2015), 330–33, cat. no. 1 (R.J.M. Olson); for her own description, see Helena Rubenstein, *My Life for Beauty* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1964), 59; Mary J. Clifford, "Helena Rubenstein's Beauty Salons, Fashion, and Modernist Display," *Winterthur Portfolio* 38, no. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2003): 84–89, on the salon's confluence of art, fashion, and interior design.
150. Haskell, *Elie Nadelman*, 41–42, 56–57; Barbara Haskell, "Nadelman and Folk Art: The Question of Influence," in *Making It Modern: The Folk Art Collection of Elie and Viola Nadelman*, edited by Margaret K. Hofe and Roberta J. M. Olson (New York: The New York Historical Society in association with London: D. Giles Limited, 2015), 106. Underscoring Nadelman's knowledge of ancient art, additional influence comes from Apelles' lost *Aphrodite Anadyomene* (*Rising from the Sea*) (Pliny, *HN* 35.86–87) and the marble *Aphrodite Kallipygos* (*of the Beautiful Buttocks*), Naples, National Archaeological Museum 6020, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Venus_Callipyge.
151. Haskell, *Elie Nadelman*, 42, and 169–89, for Tanagra figurines influencing Nadelman throughout his career.
152. Klein, *Helena Rubenstein*, 30.
153. Ilene Susan Forte, *Childe Hassam's New York* (San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1993), 13; Ulrich W. Hiesinger, *Child Hassam: American Impressionist* (Munich and New York: Prestel, 1994), 145–48; William H. Gerdtts, *American Impressionism*, 2nd ed. (New York and London: Abbeville Press Publishers, 2001), 189–90; H. Barbara Weinberg, *Childe Hassam, American Impressionist* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004) 203, 211–16.
154. Childe Hassam, letter to John W. Beatty, director of the Carnegie Institute, March 8, 1920, in Carnegie Institute Papers, Archives of American Art. A related sixteenth-century tradition of Italian Renaissance portraiture depicts men holding marble statuettes; however, the worldly male subjects, including artists, dealers, and/or collectors, look out at the viewer, see Caroline Vout, *Classical Art: A Life History from Antiquity to the Present* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 107–12.

155. See Aronson, *Bessie Potter Vonnoh*, 3:432, n. 12; William H. Gerdtz, *Impressionist New York* (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1994), 28. Gerdtz, *American Impressionism*, 188, mentions labor as a Hassam theme. Construction workers would have included immigrants outside of Hassam's milieu.
156. Remarkably, in 1890, Dennis Miller Bunker (1861–1890) depicted his newlywed wife holding and admiring a Tanagra figurine in a painting left unfinished at his untimely death. It was cut down and the figurine part lost; see R. H. Ives Gammell, *Dennis Miller Bunker* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1953), 54–55, pl. 22; Pyne, *Immanence, Transcendence, and Impressionism*, 241–42, 242, n. 95; and Erica E. Hirshler, *Dennis Miller Bunker: American Impressionist* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1994), 81, 109, fig. 67.
157. Weinberg, *Childe Hassam*, 212–13; on the feminine aesthetic assemblage, see Van Hook, *Angels of Art*, 104–07; Singeltary, “James McNeill Whistler,” 98.
158. Forte, *Childe Hassam's New York*, 13.
159. Elizabeth Prelinger, *American Impressionism Treasures from the Smithsonian American Art Museum* (New York: Watson Guptil Publications, 2000), 48–49.
160. Forte, *Childe Hassam's New York*, 8; Weinberg, *Childe Hassam*, 211. Hiesinger, *Childe Hassam*, 145: the setting is probably the apartment's small rear dining room rather than the studio.
161. Forte, *Childe Hassam's New York*, 8; Van Hook, *Angels of Art*, 181–82. On the relationship between classical art, eugenics, and racist ideologies, see David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002); and Johann Chapoutot, *Greeks, Romans, Germans: How the Nazis Usurped Europe's Classical Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016).

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1. Statuette of a Veiled Woman Dancing, known as the “Titeux Dancer”

Title	Statuette of a Veiled Woman Dancing, known as the ‘Titeux Dancer’
Artist	Artist unknown
Year	375-350 BCE
Dimensions	8 1/4 x 3 15/16 x 2 15/16 in. (21 x 10 x 7.5 cm)
Medium	Terracotta, traces of preparation layer
Location	Created in: Athens; Discovered in: Athens, 1846; acquired 1891
Copyright	© RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo by René-Gabriel Ojéda.
Credit Line	Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines. CA 462 (or 662).



2. Mold for a Draped Woman with Modern Cast

Title	Mold for a Draped Woman with Modern Cast
Artist	Artist unknown
Year	400-300 BCE
Dimensions	9 1/2 x 4 15/16 x 1 3/4 in. (24.1 cm x 12.6 cm x 4.4 cm)
Medium	Terracotta
Location	Created in: Halicarnassus (?) or Smyrna (?); Discovered in: Izmir (Smyrna) (?); acquired 1934
Copyright	© RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo by Daniel Lebée / Carine Déambrosis.
Credit Line	Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines. CA 2978.



3. Statuette of a Draped Woman

Title	Statuette of a Draped Woman
Artist	Artist unknown
Year	325-200 BCE
Dimensions	8 9/16 x 3 7/16 x 2 3/8 in. (21.7 x 8.7 x 6.1 cm)
Medium	Terracotta, pigment
Location	Created in: Tanagra (?); Discovered in: Thisbe; acquired 1872
Copyright	© RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo by Hervé Lewandowski.
Credit Line	Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines. MNB 452.



4. Statuette of a Woman with a Cloak

Title	Statuette of a Woman with a Cloak
Artist	Artist unknown
Year	325-200 BCE
Dimensions	9 15/16 x 3 5/8 x 2 7/8 in. (25.3 x 9.2 x 7.3 cm)
Medium	Terracotta, pigment
Location	Created in: Thebes (?); Discovered in: Tanagra; acquired 1874
Copyright	© RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo by René-Gabriel Ojéda.
Credit Line	Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines. MNB 559.



5. Statuette of a Draped Woman

Title	Statuette of a Draped Woman
Artist	Artist unknown
Year	ca. 320 BCE
Dimensions	8 1/8 x 2 1/2 x 3 1/16 in. (20.6 x 6.4 x 7.8 cm)
Medium	Terracotta, pigment
Location	Created in: Unknown, perhaps Alexandria; Discovered in: Unknown; acquired by 1981
Copyright	© Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University.
Credit Line	Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Gift of the Christian Humann Foundation. 1986.19.2.



6. Statuette of Nike Phainomeride (“Of the Visible Thigh”)

Title	Statuette of Nike Phainomeride (“Of the Visible Thigh”)
Artist	Artist unknown
Year	150-100 BCE
Dimensions	13 5/16 x 6 11/16 x 5 9/16 in. (33.8 x 17 x 14.2 cm)
Medium	Terracotta, pigment
Location	Created in: Myrina; Discovered in: Myrina (tomb 98, known as tomb B); acquired 1883
Copyright	© RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo by Anne Chauvet.
Credit Line	Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines. Myr 163.



7. Statuette of a Seated Woman with Child

Title	Statuette of a Seated Woman with Child
Artist	Artist unknown
Year	350-300 BCE
Dimensions	7 1/8 x 3 9/16 x 3 15/16 in. (18 x 9 x 10 cm)
Medium	Terracotta, pigment
Location	Created in: Corinth; Discovered in: Corinth; acquired 1877
Copyright	© RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo by Anne Chauvet.
Credit Line	Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines. MNB 1141.



8. Statuette of a Draped Woman

Title	Statuette of a Draped Woman
Artist	Artist unknown
Year	First half of the 3rd century BCE
Dimensions	9 11/16 x 3 7/8 x 2 in. (24.6 x 9.8 x 5.1 cm)
Medium	Terracotta, pigment
Location	Created in: Unknown; Discovered in: Unknown; acquired by 1960
Copyright	© Bruce M. White, 2014.
Credit Line	Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Carlos Collection of Ancient Art. 1984.15.



9. Statuette of a Draped Woman with Skirt

Title	Statuette of a Draped Woman with Skirt
Artist	Hiero (signed on reverse)
Year	50-1 BCE
Dimensions	10 1/4 x 4 7/16 x 3 5/16 in. (26 x 11.2 x 8.4 cm)
Medium	Terracotta
Location	Created in: Myrina; Discovered in: Myrina; acquired 1883
Copyright	© RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo by Stéphane Maréchalle.
Credit Line	Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines. Myr 223.



10. Statuette of Aphrodite Leaning on a Pillar

Title	Statuette of Aphrodite Leaning on a Pillar
Artist	Artist unknown
Year	330-200 BCE
Dimensions	8 1/8 x 3 9/16 x 1 7/8 in. (20.7 x 9.1 x 4.7 cm)
Medium	Terracotta, pigment
Location	Created in: Tanagra; Discovered in: Tanagra; acquired 1874
Copyright	© RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo by Hervé Lewandowski.
Credit Line	Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines. MNB 551.





1935 32

JONIDES COLL.
1913

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11. Statuette of a Seated Girl Tying her Sandal

Title	Statuette of a Seated Girl Tying her Sandal
Artist	Artist unknown
Year	300-1 BCE
Dimensions	3 3/4 x 3 15/16 x 1 5/8 in. (9.5 x 10 x 3.3 cm)
Medium	Terracotta, pigment
Location	Created in: Unknown; Discovered in: Unknown; acquired by 1894
Copyright	© President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1935.35.32.
Credit Line	Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Gift of Miss Bettina J. Kahnweiler. 1935.35.32.



12. Statuette of Girls Playing the Game Ephedrimos

Title	Statuette of Girls Playing the Game Ephedrimos
Artist	Artist unknown
Year	Late 1800s CE
Dimensions	8 9/16 x 2 1/4 x 4 1/16 in. (21.8 x 5.7 x 10.3 cm)
Medium	Terracotta
Location	Acquired in: France
Copyright	© Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University.
Credit Line	Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Gift of the Georges Ricard Foundation. 2018.10.642.



13. Statuette of Cassandra at the Palladion

Title	Statuette of Cassandra at the Palladion
Artist	Artist unknown
Year	Late 1800s CE
Dimensions	9 5/8 x 4 13/16 x 3 1/8 in. (24.5 x 12.2 x 7.9 cm)
Medium	Terracotta
Location	Acquired in: France
Copyright	© Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University.
Credit Line	Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Gift of the Georges Ricard Foundation. 2018.10.643.



14. Sketch of a Figure with Flowers and Japanese Fans (formerly “Tanagra”)

Title	Sketch of a Figure with Flowers and Japanese Fans (formerly Tanagra)
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	ca. 1869/1873 CE
Dimensions	12 1/4 x 6 7/8 in. (31.1 x 17.5 cm)
Medium	Oil on canvas
Location	Painted in: Chelsea, London
Copyright	Courtesy of the Maier Museum of Art at Randolph College, Lynchburg, Virginia.
Credit Line	Lent by the Maier Museum of Art at Randolph College; Purchase made possible by the Fine Arts Fund, 1953. M.1953.1.



15. The Dancing Girl (C.29)

Title	The Dancing Girl (C.29)
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	1889 CE
Dimensions	Image: 7 3/16 x 5 13/16 in. (18.2 x 14.8 cm); Sheet: 12 5/8 x 8 1/16 in. (32.1 x 20.5 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph, drawn on coarse-grained transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Chelsea, London; Printed in: London, by Thomas Way
Copyright	Courtesy of the University of Michigan Museum of Art.
Credit Line	Collection of the University of Michigan Museum of Art; Bequest of Margaret Watson Parker (1954/1.430).



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16. The Horoscope (C.30)

Title	The Horoscope (C.30)
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	ca. 1889 CE
Dimensions	Image: 6 5/16 x 6 3/16 in. (6.0 x 15.7 cm); Sheet: 8 7/8 x 7 1/2 in. (22.5 x 19.1 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph, drawn on coarse-grained transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Chelsea, London; Printed in: London, by Thomas Way
Copyright	Courtesy of the High Museum of Art, Atlanta. Photo by Mike Jensen.
Credit Line	High Museum of Art, Atlanta; Gift of Nick, Trinkett and Charlotte Clark in honor of Michael, Lisa, Kate and Nick Shapiro. 2000.255.



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17. Model Draping (C.31)

Title	Model Draping (C.31)
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	probably 1889 CE
Dimensions	Image: 7 3/4 x 4 6/16 in. (9.6 x 11.2 cm); Sheet: 12 3/4 x 8 5/16 in. (32.4 x 21.1 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph, drawn on coarse-grained transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Chelsea, London; Printed in: London, by Thomas Way
Copyright	Courtesy of Colby College Museum of Art.
Credit Line	Colby College Museum of Art, Waterville, Maine; The Lunder Collection, 006.2014.



18. The Novel: Girl Reading (C.32)

Title	The Novel: Girl Reading (C.32)
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	probably 1889 CE
Dimensions	Image: 7 13/16 x 3 1/8 in. (19.9 x 7.9 cm); Sheet: 15 x 10 13/16 in. (38.1 x 27.5 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph, drawn on medium-grained transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Chelsea, London; Printed in: London, by Thomas Way
Copyright	Courtesy of Colby College Museum of Art.
Credit Line	Colby College Museum of Art, Waterville, Maine; The Lunder Collection, 283.2008.



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19. The Little Nude Model, Reading (C.33)

Title	The Little Nude Model, Reading (C.33)
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	ca. 1889 CE
Dimensions	Image: 6 9/16 x 7 1/16 in. (16.7 x 17.9 cm); Sheet: 12 1/8 x 8 1/4 in (30.8 x 21 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph, drawn on coarse-grained transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Chelsea, London; Printed in: London, by Thomas Way
Copyright	Courtesy of the High Museum of Art, Atlanta. Photo by Mike Jensen.
Credit Line	High Museum of Art, Atlanta; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Garson II. 1990.76.



20. Figure Study (C.39), first state of three

Title	Figure Study (C.39), first state of three
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	1890 CE
Dimensions	Image: 6 5/16 x 5 1/2 in. (16.0 x 14.0 cm); Sheet: 8 3/4 x 5 7/8 in. (22.2 x 14.9 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph, drawn on medium-grained transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Chelsea, London; Printed in: London, by Thomas Way
Copyright	Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery.
Credit Line	Yale University Art Gallery; Gift of Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., Class of 1913. 1947.396.



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21. Figure Study in Colors (C.39), third state of three

Title	Figure Study in Colors (C.39), third state of three
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	1890 CE
Dimensions	Image: 8 1/16 x 5 1/2 in. (20.4 x 14 cm) ; Sheet: 14 x 10 1/2 in. (35.5 x 26.6 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph, drawn on medium-grained transfer paper (keystone) and thin, transparent paper (color stones)
Location	Drawn in: Chelsea, London; Printed in: London, by Thomas Way
Copyright	Art Institute of Chicago / Art Resource, NY.
Credit Line	The Art Institute of Chicago; Bequest of Bryan Lathrop. 1917.628.



Handwritten signature or mark, possibly initials, in red ink.

22. Draped Figure, Standing (C.46), first state of four

Title	Draped Figure, Standing (C.46), first state of four
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	1891 CE
Dimensions	Image: 8 5/8 x 4 3/8 in. (21.9 x 11.2 cm); Sheet: 11 3/4 x 7 1/16 in. (29.8 x 17.9 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph, drawn on thin, transparent transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Paris; Printed in: Paris, by Henry Belfond
Copyright	Courtesy of Colby College Museum of Art.
Credit Line	Colby College Museum of Art, Waterville, Maine; The Lunder Collection, 005.2014.



23. Draped Figure, Standing (C.46), second state of four

Title	Draped Figure, Standing (C.46), second state of four
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	1891 CE
Dimensions	Image: 8 15/16 x 4 7/16 in. (22.7 x 11.2 cm); Sheet: 10 15/16 x 7 15/16 in. (27.8 x 20.1 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph, drawn on thin, transparent transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Paris; Printed in: Paris, by Henry Belfond
Copyright	Art Institute of Chicago / Art Resource, NY.
Credit Line	The Art Institute of Chicago; Gift of the Crown Family in honor of James N. Wood. 2004.574.



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24. Nude Model, Standing (C.48)

Title	Nude Model, Standing (C.48)
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	probably 1891 CE
Dimensions	Image: 7 7/16 x 4 ¼ in. (18.9 x 10.9 cm); Sheet: 13 x 10 7/16 in. (33 x 26.5 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph, drawn on thin, transparent transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Paris; Printed in: Paris, by Henry Belfond
Copyright	Courtesy of the University of Michigan Museum of Art.
Credit Line	Collection of the University of Michigan Museum of Art; Bequest of Margaret Watson Parker. (1954/1.467).



25. Draped Model, Dancing (C.50)

Title	Draped Model, Dancing (C.50)
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	probably 1891 CE
Dimensions	Image: 6 15/16 x 5 1/16 in. (17.6 x 12.9 cm); Sheet: 12 7/16 x 9 1/8 in. (31.6 x 23.2 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph, drawn on thin, transparent transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Paris; Printed in: Paris, by Henry Belfond
Copyright	Art Institute of Chicago / Art Resource, NY.
Credit Line	The Art Institute of Chicago; Gift of the Crown Family in honor of James N. Wood. 2004.578.



26. Mother and Child, No. 1 (C.51), second state of two

Title	Mother and Child, No. 1 (C.51), second state of two
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	1891 CE
Dimensions	Image: 7 5/16 x 7 9/16 in. (18.5 x 19.1 cm); Sheet: 13 1/8 x 8 1/8 in. (33.3 x 20.6 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph with scraping and stumping, drawn on fine-grained transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Chelsea, London; Printed in: London, 1895, by Thomas Way
Copyright	Courtesy of Colby College Museum of Art.
Credit Line	Colby College Museum of Art, Waterville, Maine; The Lunder Collection. 2013.383.



27. Mother and Child, No. 3 (C.52)

Title	Mother and Child, No. 3 (C.52)
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	1891 CE
Dimensions	Image: 5 11/16 x 8 7/16 in. (14.5 x 21.4 cm); Sheet: 8 3/4 x 7 3/8 in. (22.2 x 18.8 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph, drawn on thin, transparent transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Chelsea, London; Printed in: London, 1895, by Thomas Way
Copyright	Art Institute of Chicago / Art Resource, NY.
Credit Line	The Art Institute of Chicago; Gift of the Crown Family in honor of James N. Wood. 2004.579.



28. Mother and Child, No. 2 (C.53)

Title	Mother and Child, No. 2 (C.53)
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	1891 CE
Dimensions	Image: 6 11/16 x 8 1/16 in. (17.0 x 20.4 cm); Sheet: 8 7/8 x 11 13/16 in. (22.5 x 30 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph, drawn on thin, transparent transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Chelsea, London; Printed in: London, 1895, by Thomas Way
Copyright	Courtesy of University of Michigan Museum of Art.
Credit Line	Collection of the University of Michigan Museum of Art; Bequest of Margaret Watson Parker. (1954/1.454).



Small mark or signature.

Small mark or signature.

29. Mother and Child, No. 4 (C.54)

Title	Mother and Child, No. 4 (C.54)
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	1891 CE
Dimensions	Image: 5 5/8 x 9 1/8 in. (14.3 x 23.2 cm); Sheet: 8 3/4 x 11 7/16 in. (22.2 x 29 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph, drawn on thin, transparent transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Chelsea, London; Printed in: London, 1895, by Thomas Way
Copyright	Art Institute of Chicago / Art Resource, NY.
Credit Line	The Art Institute of Chicago; Bequest of Bryan Lathrop. 1917.660.



30. Draped Figure, Reclining (C.56), second state of two

Title	Draped Figure, Reclining (C.56), second state of two
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	1892 CE
Dimensions	Image: 7 1/16 x 10 1/4 in. (18.0 x 25.8 cm); Sheet: 9 11/16 x 13 5/8 in. (24.6 x 34.6 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph, drawn on thin, transparent transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Chelsea, London; Printed in: Paris, by Henry Belfond
Copyright	Courtesy of the University of Michigan Museum of Art.
Credit Line	Collection of the University of Michigan Museum of Art; Bequest of Margaret Watson Parker. (1954/1.468).



31. Draped Figure, Reclining (C.56), second state of two

Title	Draped Figure, Reclining (C.56), second state of two
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	1892 CE
Dimensions	Image: 6 3/4 x 10 in. (17.1 x 25.4 cm); Sheet: 10 7/8 x 15 13/16 in. (27.6 x 40.2 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph, drawn on thin, transparent transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Chelsea, London; Printed in: Paris, by Henry Belfond
Copyright	Public domain, courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Open Access Policy.
Credit Line	Lent by The Metropolitan Museum of Art; H.O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H.O. Havemeyer, 1929. (29.107.109).



32. The Draped Figure, Seated (C.72)

Title	The Draped Figure, Seated (C.72)
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	1893 CE
Dimensions	Image: 7 5/16 x 6 3/8 in. (18.6 x 16.2 cm); Sheet: 14 1/2 x 9 5/8 in. (36.8 x 24.4 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph with stumping, drawn on fine-grained transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Paris; Printed in: London, by Thomas Way
Copyright	Courtesy of the University of Michigan Museum of Art.
Credit Line	Collection of the University of Michigan Museum of Art; Bequest of Margaret Watson Parker. (1954/1.441).



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no. 57
1899

33. The Draped Figure, Seated (C. 72); published as “La Danseuse”

Title	The Draped Figure, Seated (C. 72); published as La Danseuse
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	1893 CE
Dimensions	Image: 11 1/2 x 9 3/8 in. (29.2 x 23.8 cm); Sheet: 23 5/8 x 16 7/8 in. (60 x 42.9 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph with stumping, drawn on fine-grained transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Paris; Printed in: London, by Thomas Way; Published in: L'Estampe originale (Paris) album IV (October-December 1893)
Copyright	Courtesy of the Georgia Museum of Art, University of Georgia.
Credit Line	Georgia Museum of Art, University of Georgia; Gift of the University of Georgia Foundation. GMOA 1972.2890.



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47 Little Nude model, reclining

34. Nude Model, Reclining (C.73), third state of three

Title	Nude Model, Reclining (C.73), third state of three
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	1893 CE
Dimensions	Image: 4 9/16 x 8 7/16 in. (11.5 x 21.4 cm); Sheet: 8 3/16 x 13 in. (20.8 x 33 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph with stumping, drawn on fine-grained transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Paris; Printed in: London, by Thomas Way
Copyright	Courtesy of the University of Michigan Museum of Art.
Credit Line	Collection of the University of Michigan Museum of Art; Bequest of Margaret Watson Parker. (1954/1.442).



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35. Little Draped Figure, Leaning (C.76)

Title	Little Draped Figure, Leaning (C.76)
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	1893 CE
Dimensions	Image: 7 1/16 x 5 3/4 in. (17.9 x 14.6 cm); Sheet: 13 7/16 x 9 7/16 in. (34.1 x 24 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph, drawn on fine-grained transfer paper
Location	Created in: Paris; Discovered in: London, by Thomas Way
Copyright	Courtesy of the University of Michigan Museum of Art.
Credit Line	Collection of the University of Michigan Museum of Art; Bequest of Margaret Watson Parker. (1954/1.445).



Little draped figure. way 5.76

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C.7969

36. Figure Study, Girl Standing (C.113)

Title	Figure Study, Girl Standing (C.113)
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	1894 CE
Dimensions	Image: 7 5/16 x 5 9/16 in. (18.6 x 14.1 cm); Sheet: 11 7/16 x 8 1/8 in. (29.1 x 20.6 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph, drawn on thin, transparent transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Paris; Printed in: London, by Thomas Way
Copyright	Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery.
Credit Line	Yale University Art Gallery; Gift of Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., Class of 1913. 1947.393.



37. Study (C.114)

Title	Study (C.114)
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	1894 CE
Dimensions	Image: 7 3/16 x 3 11/16 in. (18.3 x 9.4 cm); Sheet: 13 1/2 x 10 in. (34.3 x 25.4 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph, drawn on thin, transparent transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Paris; Printed in: London, by Thomas Way
Copyright	Public domain, courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Open Access Policy.
Credit Line	Lent by The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1917. (17.3.220).



38. Girl with Bowl (C.118)

Title	Girl with Bowl (C.118)
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	1895 CE
Dimensions	Image: 5 3/8 x 2 5/8 in. (13.6 x 6.7 cm); Sheet: 12 11/16 x 8 1/8 in. (32.2 x 20.6 cm)
Medium	Transfer lithograph, drawn on thin, transparent transfer paper
Location	Drawn in: Paris; Printed in: London, hand-printed by Thomas Way
Copyright	Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery.
Credit Line	Yale University Art Gallery; Gift of Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., Class of 1913. 1947.395.



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39. Cameo, No. 1 (Mother and Child) (G.459)

Title	Cameo, No. 1 (Mother and Child) (G.459)
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	June 1891 CE
Dimensions	Image: 6 15/16 x 5 1/16 in. (17.6 x 12.9 cm); Sheet: 6 5/16 x 5 1/16 in. (16 x 12.9 cm)
Medium	Etching
Location	Drawn in: Chelsea, London; Printed in: Chelsea, London, by the artist
Copyright	Courtesy of the University of Michigan Museum of Art.
Credit Line	Collection of the University of Michigan Museum of Art; Bequest of Margaret Watson Parker (1954/1.400).



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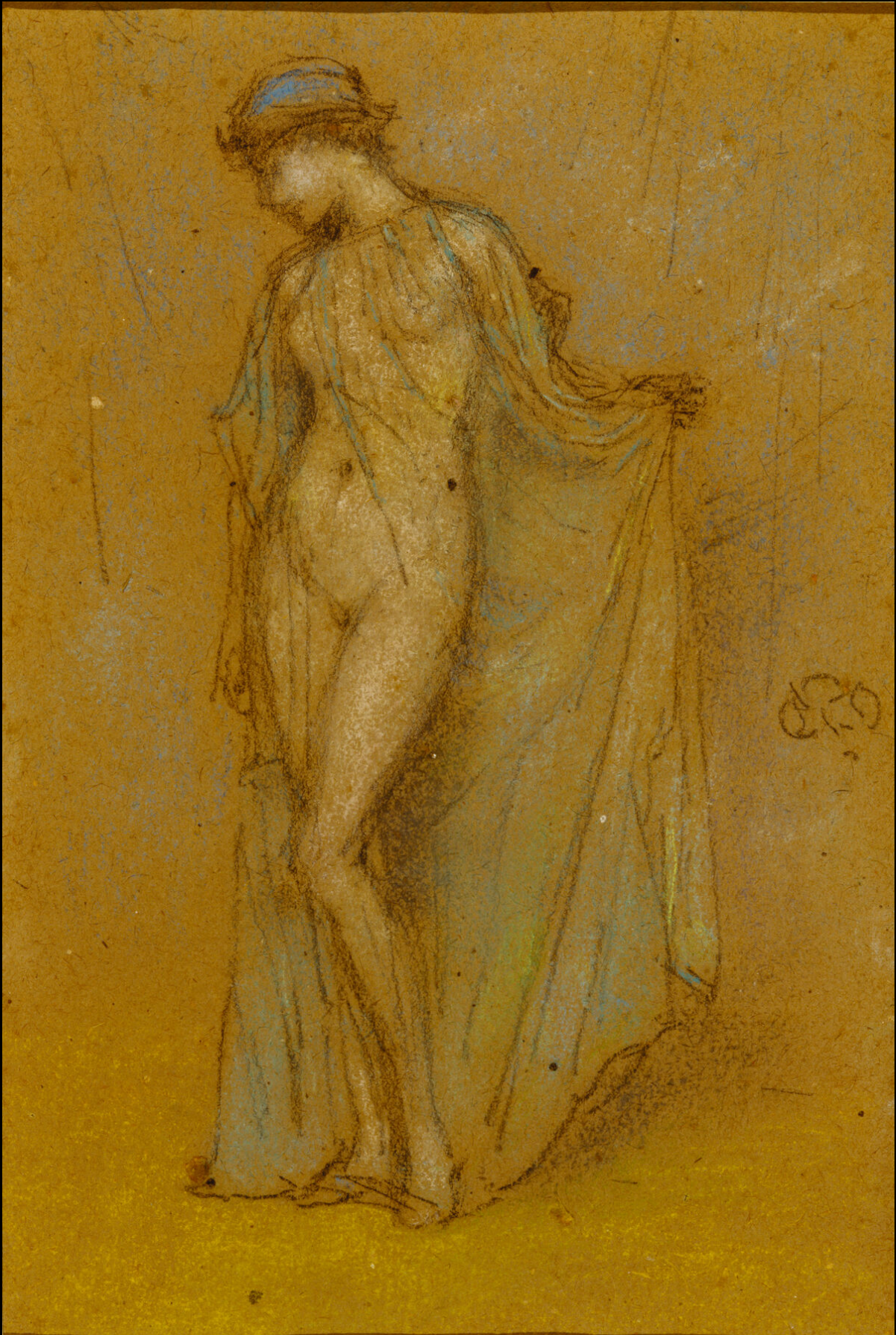
40. Cameo, No. 2 (G.460)

Title	Cameo, No. 2 (G.460)
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	June 1891 CE
Dimensions	Image: 6 7/8 x 5 in. (17.5 x 12.7 cm); Sheet: 7 1/16 x 5 in. (18 x 12.7 cm)
Medium	Etching
Location	Drawn in: Chelsea, London; Printed in: Chelsea, London, by the artist
Copyright	© The Art Institute of Chicago / Art Resource, NY.
Credit Line	The Art Institute of Chicago; Bryan Lathrop Collection. 1934.554.



41. Spring (M.1397)

Title	Spring (M.1397)
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	ca. 1893 CE
Dimensions	Sheet: 10 13/16 x 7 1/8 in. (27.5 x 18.1 cm)
Medium	Chalk and pastel on brown paper
Location	Created in: Paris
Copyright	© Terra Foundation for American Art, Chicago.
Credit Line	Terra Foundation for American Art; Daniel J. Terra Collection, 1996.91.





42. Blue Girl [Recto] Woman Holding a Fan [Verso] (M. 1223)

Title	Blue Girl [Recto] Woman Holding a Fan [Verso] (M. 1223)
Artist	James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834-1903)
Year	ca. 1893 CE
Dimensions	Sheet: 10 7/8 x 7 1/4 in. (27.6 x 18.4 cm)
Medium	Chalk and pastel on brown paper
Location	Created in: Paris
Copyright	© Terra Foundation for American Art, Chicago.
Credit Line	Terra Foundation for American Art; Daniel J. Terra Collection, 1999.146A/B.



T. A. Dewing

43. Figure in Grey and Pink Drapery

Title	Figure in Grey and Pink Drapery
Artist	Thomas Dewing (American, 1851-1938)
Year	1894-95 CE
Dimensions	Sheet: 10 3/8 x 7 in. (26.4 x 17.8 cm)
Medium	Pastel on brown paper
Location	Created in: London
Credit Line	Lent by Jack and Russell Huber, Atlanta.



44. The Hoop Dancer (Danseuse au cerceau)

Title	The Hoop Dancer (Danseuse au cerceau)
Artist	Jean-Léon Gérôme (French, 1824-1904)
Year	1891 CE
Dimensions	9 1/4 x 4 1/2 x 4 1/2 in. (23.5 x 11.4 x 11.4 cm)
Medium	Bronze with gilt
Location	Modelled in: Paris; Cast in: Paris
Copyright	© Eskenazi Museum of Art/Kevin Montague.
Credit Line	Arthur R. Metz Collection; Gift of the Arthur R. Metz Foundation; Eskenazi; Museum of Art, Indiana University. 94.85.



45. Tanagra (The Builders, New York)

Title	Tanagra (The Builders, New York)
Artist	Childe Hassam (American, 1859-1935)
Year	1918 CE
Dimensions	Overall: 58 3/4 x 58 11/16 in. (149.2 x 149 cm)
Medium	Oil on canvas
Location	Created in: New York City
Copyright	Public domain, courtesy of the Smithsonian American Art Museum.
Credit Line	Smithsonian American Art Museum; Gift of John Gellatly. 1929.6.63.



46. Girl Dancing

Title	Girl Dancing
Artist	Bessie Potter Vonnoh (American, 1872-1955)
Year	1897 CE
Dimensions	14 3/8 x 12 x 8 1/8 in. (36.5 x 30.5 x 20.6 cm)
Medium	Patinated bronze
Location	Created in: Chicago
Copyright	Courtesy of Colby College Museum of Art.
Credit Line	Colby College Museum of Art, Waterville, Maine; The Lunder Collection, 2013.280.



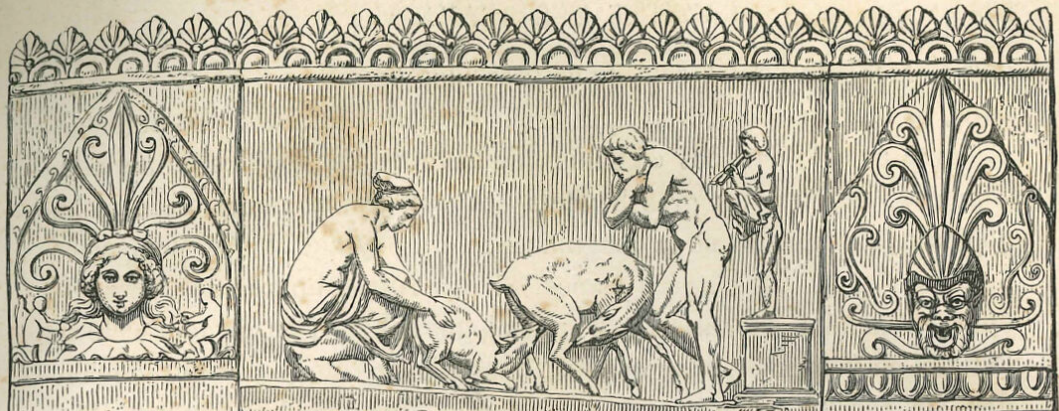
47. The Fan

Title	The Fan
Artist	Bessie Potter Vonnoh (American, 1872-1955)
Year	ca. 1910 CE
Dimensions	11 3/8 x 5 1/2 x 3 1/2 in. (28.9 x 14 x 8.9 cm)
Medium	Terracotta
Location	Created in: New York City
Copyright	Courtesy of the High Museum of Art, Atlanta. Photo by Almont Green.
Credit Line	High Museum of Art, Atlanta; Purchase with funds from the Phoenix Society, 1999.89.



48. Peach Blossom

Title	Peach Blossom
Artist	Beatrice Philip Godwin Whistler (British, 1857-1896)
Year	ca. 1887 CE
Dimensions	9 5/16 x 5 7/16 in. (23.7 x 13.8 cm)
Medium	Oil on wood
Location	Created in: Chelsea, London
Copyright	Public domain, courtesy of the National Gallery of Art Creative Commons Zero.
Credit Line	National Gallery of Art, Washington; Rosenwald Collection. 1943.11.8.

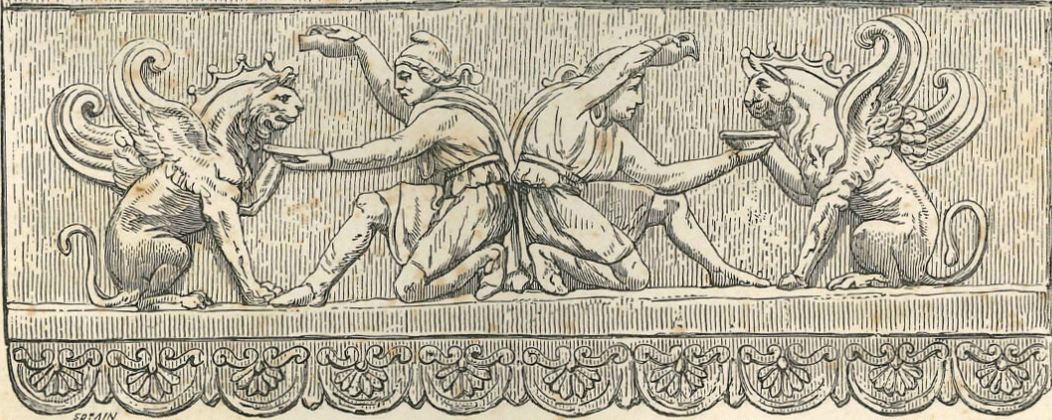


LES

FIGURINES DE TANAGRA

AU MUSÉE DU LOUVRE

De toutes les parties de la Grèce, la Béotie est assurément une des moins visitées. La masse grise et pelée de l'Oza (ancien Parnès), qui, par delà les oliviers de la vallée du Céphise, limite au nord l'horizon d'Athènes, semble en inter-



49. Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Second Series, vol. 11, no. 2

Title	Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Second Series, vol. 11, no. 2
Year	1875 CE
Dimensions	Closed: 10 13/16 x 7 1/16 x 1 3/16 in. (27.5 x 18 x 3 cm)
Medium	Bound journal
Location	Created in: Paris
Copyright	Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University.
Credit Line	Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University.



50. Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Second Series, vol. 18, no. 1

Title	Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Second Series, vol. 18, no. 1
Year	1878 CE
Dimensions	Closed: 10 13/16 x 7 1/16 x 1 3/16 in. (27.5 x 18 x 3 cm)
Medium	Bound journal
Location	Created in: Paris
Copyright	Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University
Credit Line	Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University



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Carred del.

51. Le costume historique, vol. 2.

Title	Le costume historique, vol. 2.
Artist	Auguste Racinet (French, 1825-1893)
Year	1888 CE
Dimensions	Closed: 16 1/8 x 12 x 2 1/4 in. (41 x 24 x 5.7 cm)
Medium	Monograph
Location	Created in: Paris
Copyright	Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University
Credit Line	Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University

MONUMENTS DE L'ART ANTIQUE



Edouard Dujardin

Imp. Ludes Paris

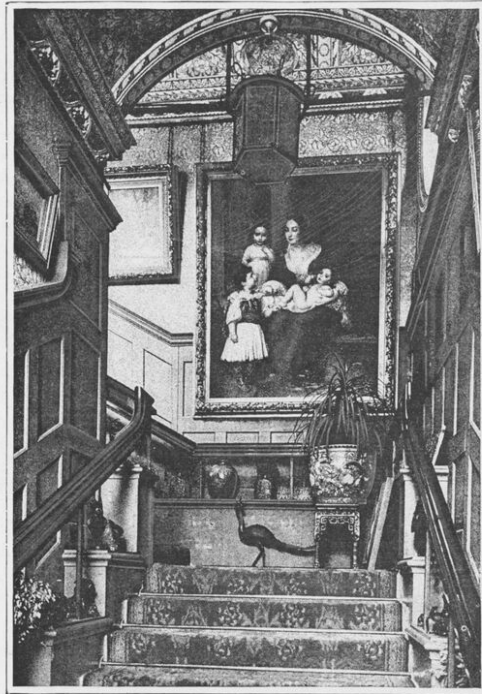
AMOURS EN TERRE CUITE

trouvés à Tanagra (Musée du Louvre)

A. Gazet, Ed.

52. Monuments de l'art antique, vol. 2

Title	Monuments de l'art antique, vol. 2
Artist	Olivier Rayet (French, 1847-1887)
Year	1884 CE
Dimensions	Closed (each volume): 18 1/32 x 13 1/4 x 1 3/4 in. (45.9 x 33.6 x 4.4 cm)
Medium	Monograph in 2 volumes
Location	Created in: Paris
Copyright	Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University
Credit Line	Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University



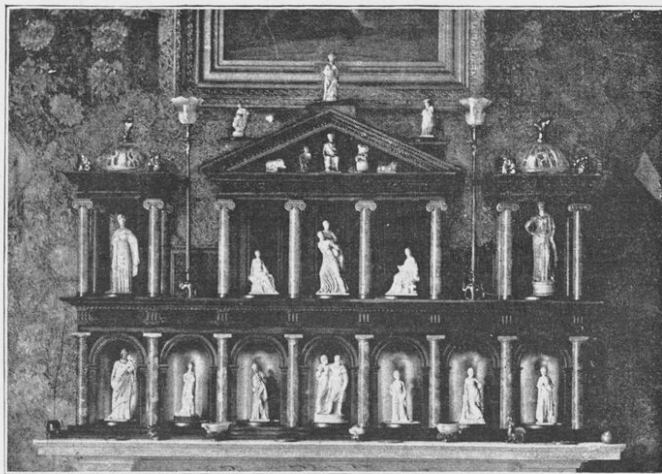
The Staircase, designed by Philip Webb, with early Picture by G. F. Watts, R.A.

the handrail, are a series of higher steps, forming, as it were, pedestals for a collection of bronzes, very well worth notice but never by any chance calling for it. The upper walls, pierced at the ends by large round windows, are patterned in silver outline on a ground of pink, so pale that you scarcely recognise at first that it is more than a warm white; and above the cornice the soffits of the further flights of stairs are very satisfactorily disguised by a waggon-vaulted roof, painted with severely disposed foliated ornament, in yellow on a white ground, after the design of Mr. William Morris. The architecture is by Mr. Webb, who also planned the mosaic flooring, which takes the place of the carpet in the hall on the first floor, and is designed on the lines of a carpet: that is to say, there is a long strip of scroll pattern in green, very much the colour of the woodwork, relieved here and there with touches of yellow; and beyond that the white margins are just diapered with tesserae of black and orange at regular but discreetly wide intervals.

The two drawing-rooms approached from here are thrown into one, with double curtaining to divide them if necessary; and the decoration is so devised that there is no suddenness

in the transition from one scheme of colour to another; but they are by no means alike. You enter the richer of the two rooms first. The walls are covered with an embossed pattern of conventional chrysanthemums, lacquered in transparent colour over silver; the leafage is of bright bronze green, the background of deep madder, the flowers in lighter and brighter tints harmonizing with the ground, and varied so as to form cross bands of colour contrasting with the upright lines in which the pattern grows. The woodwork is of polished walnut, the floor of parquetry. The cornice is in lacquered silver, the ceiling is patterned in gold and silver on a creamy ground, in the more or less Persian manner which Mr. Morris very often adopts when he forgets to be Gothic. The richness of the wall-colouring is carried through in the carpet, where the pattern is in pale green and blue and cedar pink, on a dark green ground, the cedar-coloured ground of the border connecting it, as it were, with the parquetry; and the cooler colour is more emphatically pronounced in the window curtains, which are of silk damask in two shades of greenish-blue which might be called "peacock," did not that misused name almost imply a certain coal-tar iridescence peculiarly objectionable to the colourist responsible for the scheme.

The chief interest of the room in its owner's eyes lies, however, in the Tanagra figures, which he has enshrined in an architectural overmantel, designed for that purpose by Mr. Walter Crane. Enough to say that the contrast between the delicately-tinted figures and their black marble setting is softened by judicious use of gold as a background to the niches, and by the introduction of columns of red and yellow Siena marble midway in tone between the extremes of light terra-cotta and dark limestone. One wonders, by the way, how much of the pleasant colour of these works is due to disintegration. There is just a suspicion that these mellow tints may once have been as crude as now they are beautiful. Of the figures themselves it is hopeless to attempt description. They are only a few out of the many which Mr. Ionides is fortunate enough to possess; and they were among the first found at Tanagra, before ever forgeries were thought of. Two



Overmantel in first Drawing-Room, with Tanagra Statuettes.

53. The Art Journal, 1893

Title	The Art Journal
Artist	Virtue and Co. (Publisher)
Year	1893
Dimensions	Closed: 12 7/8 x 9 1/2 in. (32.7 x 24.1 cm)
Medium	Bound Journal
Location	Created in: London
Copyright	Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University
Credit Line	Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University

Glossary of Terms

binder. The film-forming component of paint, which holds pigments in suspension so that they can be applied to a substrate.

cast. An object made by shaping molten metal or another malleable material in a mold.

chiton. Ancient Greek clothing. A draped garment formed from a single piece of cloth folded around the body, pinned at the shoulders, and tied at the waist. Worn by both men and women.

Classical period. Historical period in the ancient Mediterranean, conventionally dated between the fall of the Athenian tyranny in 510 BCE and the death of Alexander III, the Great, in 323 BCE.

coroplast (artisan), maker of figures in clay.

edition. The number of impressions printed once the artist has completed and approved the trial proofs. Whistler's lithographic editions usually comprised between twelve and twenty-five impressions; once he considered the edition complete, he would have the stone erased.

etching. A kind of print in which lines are incised with a sharp tool into a metal plate covered with an acid-resistant coating, such as wax; when acid is applied, it bites, or etches, the lines into the surface of the plate, which can then be inked and run through the press.

Hellenistic period. Historical period in the ancient Mediterranean, conventionally dated between the death of Alexander III, the Great in 323 BCE and the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE.

himation. Ancient Greek clothing. A mantle or wrap worn by men and women.

impression. A print in ink on paper, approved and often signed by the artist. An impression is essentially a copy of a print, like a copy of a book.

ink. For printing, an oil-based fluid, as distinct from the water-based liquids used for writing.

keystone. The template for a color lithograph, containing the complete drawing, with registration marks to ensure that subsequent printings for additional colors will be aligned.

lithograph. A print traditionally made from a lithographic stone on which a drawing has been made with lithographic crayon or tusche.

lithographic crayon. A crayon composed of pigments mixed with a greasy binder used for drawing on a lithographic stone or transfer paper.

lithographic stone. The thick, flat slab of limestone on which a drawing is made with lithographic crayon or tusche, or transferred from a drawing on transfer paper.

lithography. Literally "stone-drawing," a printmaking process invented in 1798 by Alois Senefelder (1771–1834) based on the principle that grease and water do not mix. The image to be printed, once drawn on or transferred to the lithographic stone, retains ink, whereas the area around it absorbs water and repels ink. The resulting image is the reverse of the original composition; it bears no plate mark, like an etching, although the area that has been flattened in the press can sometimes be detected. A color lithograph, based on a keystone, is printed with inks of different colors, with separate stones used for each additional color.

mold. A hollow form or matrix used to give shape to a malleable or molten material.

monogram. A character that interweaves the artist's initials. In Whistler's case, the "JMW" took the form of a butterfly in 1869 and continued to evolve throughout his career. It almost always appears in his lithographs, as part of the image, but he often added a butterfly signature in pencil.

paper. The most common support for prints and drawings. Until the nineteenth century, paper was made from pulverized cotton and linen rags; after wood pulp replaced rags as the most common source of fiber for paper, Whistler continued to prefer cotton and linen papers for his prints, often searching for blank pages in old books.

pastel. Fabricated chalk: a dry drawing medium made from powdered pigments combined with non-greasy binders, used in the form of finger-length sticks. Whistler favored brown paper as the support for his works in the medium.

peplos. Ancient Greek clothing. A garment formed from a single piece of cloth folded vertically and pinned at the shoulders and belted with a broad overfold. Worn by women.

pigment. A dry insoluble substance, usually pulverized, suspended in a binder to form paint.

poikilia. Ancient Greek term, literally meaning "variation." Used to describe the visual effect produced by the combination of different colors, materials, and textures, and to express concepts of variety and complexity.

polychromy. The decoration of architecture, both internally and externally, and of sculpture by using differently colored materials or by the addition of paint.

press. Lithography requires a special flat-bed "scraper press," in which paper is laid face down on the inked stone and rubbed along the back to transfer the ink.

proof. A preliminary trial print.

sanctuary. A sacred space reserved for the worship of a deity, where people made sacrifices and other offerings, typically enclosing a temple or shrine.

states. The preliminary stages in the printmaking process guiding additional work on the stone or the plate. Impressions that show additions (or subtractions) made to the plate or the stone constitute new states of the print.

stump (crayon estompe). A short roll of paper or leather used for shading or blending lines. The stump can be suffused with lithographic tusche and used for drawing on transfer

paper or directly onto a lithographic stone.

Tanagra. A town in ancient Boeotia in mainland Greece, which gave its name to the terracotta figurines discovered in its necropolis.

tegidion. Ancient Greek clothing, literally meaning "little roof." A rectangular face-veil with eye holes, bound around the head with a fillet and folded away from the face back over the crown of the head to form a peaked headdress resembling a gabled roof. Worn by women across Greece between the 4th and 1st centuries BCE and represented almost exclusively on terracotta figurines.

terracotta. A clay-based, non-vitreous ceramic fired at relatively low temperatures.

transfer lithograph. Type of lithograph in which the artist draws the image onto a sheet of transfer paper. The method was pervasive in Whistler's time as it freed artists from the physical limitations of working on a stone; it also provided a closer approximation to the original drawing because the image was not rendered in reverse.

transfer paper. Specially treated paper designed to receive an artist's drawing in lithographic crayon and to release, or transfer, the image to the lithographic stone. Whistler often used *papier viennois*, a grained paper made in Germany or Austria, or *papier végétal*, a very thin, transparent paper. (See also *paper*.)

tusche. Used in lithography, *tusche* (the German word for ink) is a black drawing medium containing the same oily materials as a lithographic crayon but used to draw on the lithographic stone with a brush or a pen. (See also *lithographic crayon*.)

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