Francis Davis Millet (known in his time as Frank D. Millet and F. D. Millet) was born in Mattapoisett, Massachusetts in 1846. He was a world traveler, journalist, arts administrator, painter, muralist and costume designer (Fig. 1).

In his time, he was recognized as an innovative expert on ancient costume.[1] Ten unpublished notebooks at the Archives of American Art in Washington, D.C. (Fig. 2)[2] show how Millet achieved his thorough knowledge of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman costume, and appear to provide his notes, drawings, and sources for the content of the lectures he presented on ancient costume between November 1880 and the spring of 1882.

Fig. 1 Photograph of Francis Davis Millet, c. 1891, Archival Image Collection, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries Book Collection, Art Institute of Chicago

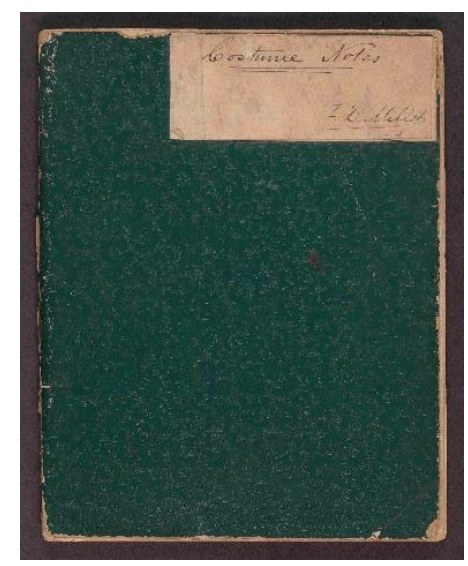


Fig. 2 Front cover of notebook signed by F.D. Millet and entitled "Costume Notes," Francis Davis Millet and Millet Family Papers, 1858-1904, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

The goal of this essay is to compare the drawings and text in these unpublished manuscripts with newspaper articles on Millet's costume lectures, his costume designs for theatrical productions, his published writings on ancient costume, and his painting compositions. We will show how, in some respects, Millet purposefully deviated from the details he documented in his notebooks to satisfy the aesthetic expectations of his time.

Millet had already immersed himself in antiquity during years of study at Harvard University. In his freshman year, from 1865-1866, he took Greek and Latin, along with Greek History. He took more Greek and Latin during his sophomore year, from 1866 to 1867. During his four years there he also studied French, German, Italian and Spanish.[3] After his graduation from Harvard in 1869, this knowledge of modern languages would aid him in his study of standard references on ancient costume.

Millet's lifelong interest in ancient costume began during his time at the Royal Academy at Antwerp from 1871 to 1873, when he studied with Nicaise de Keyser, a painter of historical genre scenes, and the antiquarian Arthur Goemaere.[4] Because they lacked proper instruction in the United States in the late nineteenth century, American artists traveled to Europe to study with masters familiar with the sculptures and buildings of antiquity.[5] Millet's interest in ancient costume can be seen in the context of the Classical Revival movement that was prevalent in the artistic circles of Europe and America in the late nineteenth century. He was an artist who looked especially closely at antiquities and the scholarship on ancient dress as sources for developing a new, contemporary art. His vision of ideal art of his time utilized principles of ancient art such as harmony and balance in figures and in the arrangement of their drapery.

After his return to America in 1875, he established a portrait painting studio in Boston,[6] and in 1876 he helped to found the Museum of Fine Arts School of Drawing and Painting.[7] Subsequently, Millet obtained a temporary studio in New York in the fall of 1880, and he relocated to that city in 1881.[8] Thereafter, he commuted between Boston and New York.

Costume Lectures and Notebooks

In news for his Harvard class of 1869, Millet wrote in June 1881: "All my spare time has been devoted to the study of costume… Since November last, I have delivered ten lectures on the costume of the Ancients before the School of Drawing and Painting in Boston, two before the Philological Society in Cambridge, [and] one before the Union League Club in New York."[9] In this same news, Millet states: "My summer address is East Bridgewater, Mass, and my winter studio in no. 578 Fifth avenue, New York."[10] Harvard publications inform us that one of the lectures to the Harvard Philological Society was on Roman costume, the other on Greek costume.[11] The *New-York Tribune* of March 30, 1881, describes Millet's presentation to the Union League Club on "Roman Costumes": "The simplicity, beauty and grace of the method of wearing the toga were admirably illustrated by the draping of excellent models."[12]

The ten-lecture series on Roman costume began in November of 1880 and ended in the spring of 1881.[13] One publication by the School of Drawing and Painting states that the series was subsidized by a trustee of the Lowell Institute, and that the series was "largely attended, not only by students in the school but by artists and amateurs." It goes on to report that:

> The costumes, almost all of which were made under Mr. Millet's personal direction, much of the work being done by his own hand, were purchased by the school, and form an invaluable wardrobe for future use. They were posed during the lecture upon the living model, who was in attendance on the alternate Saturdays at the school, so that the students had the opportunity of making more careful studies than the sketches made during the lecture itself. These costumes were also utilized at once for the painting class, and greatly stimulated that part of the work.[14]

In 1882, Millet delivered a second series of six lectures at the School of Drawing and Painting, this one devoted to Etruscan and Greek costume. A publication on this series by the students

themselves[15] includes a series of sketches of Millet's draped models labeled "Notes from the Costume Lectures," to which we will return later (Fig. 3).

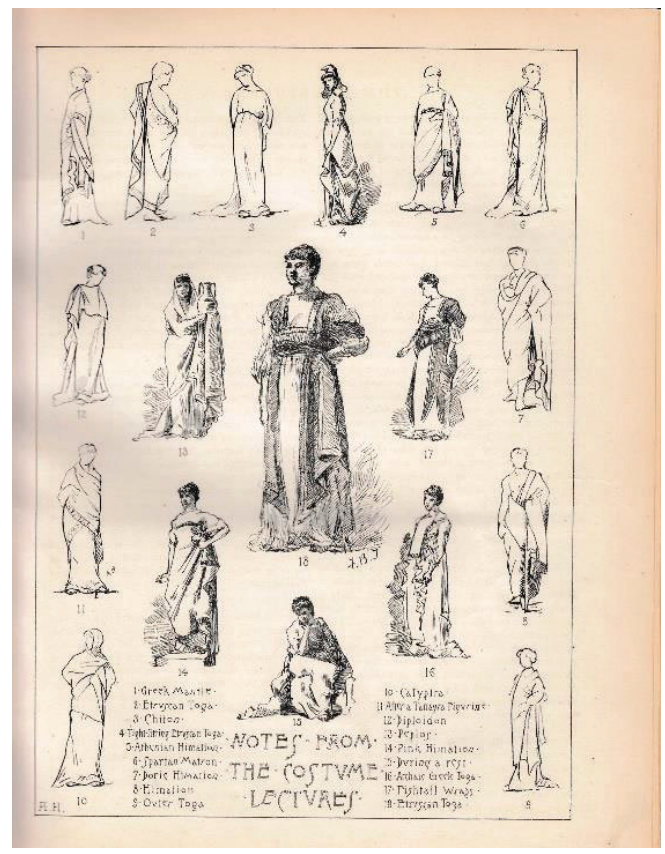


Fig. 3 Illustrations entitled "Notes from the Costume Lectures," from the article "Costume Lectures, 1882," *The Art Student* (Boston, Students in the School of Drawing and Painting, Museum of Fine Arts) vol. 1 no. 1 (June 1882), unpaginated; image courtesy of William Morris Hunt Memorial Library at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Also in 1882, Millet delivered two lecture series in New York on Roman costume: one, with three lectures, to the National Academy of Design; and the other, with four lectures, to the Society of Decorative Art. The Archives of American Art has a letter from Millet's sister Lucia, in which she states that she was making the costumes for these lecture series of 1882 in Boston and New York. In this letter, Lucia summarizes her brother's and her activities relating to these lecture series:

> Frank has commenced his lectures here [in New York], I heard him last Friday eve at the Academy and I am making the costumes, taking Mrs. Dexter's place you see. He is to give three in the Academy and as many more before the elite of New York for the benefit of the Decorative Art Society; these with six in Boston pretty well use up his evenings for writing and my time for sewing.[16]

The New York lectures of 1882 are well documented by enthusiastic reviews in contemporary newspapers. Regarding the first lecture to the National Academy of Design, the *New York Herald* stated: "Mr. Millet's discourse, which he illustrated by the use of a blackboard, an excellent model and many garments, was of interest and value to all present, and especially to the students to whom the vivification of the antique was apparently very grateful."[17] The *New York World* described the same presentation by Millet: "His lecture last night was illustrated by costumes shown upon a model, and he was frequently interrupted by applause after showing

some happy effects in drapery."[18] In regard to the third lecture to the Society of Decorative Art, the *New York Times* reported: "The Turf Club Theatre was about three-quarters filled yesterday afternoon with a fashionable audience … composed almost wholly of ladies and misses … The lecture was listened to with great attention, the speaker dwelling particularly upon the extravagance of Roman women in garments and jewelry."[19] Regarding this series, the *New York Herald* commented on the lectures' "value to the amateur, the student of art, the artist, the actor and the classical student."[20]

Millet's costume notebooks at the Archives of American Art can be securely dated to the period of Millet's ancient costume lectures between November 1880 and the spring of 1882 for several reasons. Perhaps most importantly, the cover of one of the ten notebooks has under Millet's signature the address of 578 Fifth Ave.,[21] which he stated in June 1881 was the location of his "winter studio."[22]

Further support for the dating is provided by the descriptions of his lectures in contemporary newspaper accounts, which roughly correspond in their wording to the text of the notebooks. These correspondences suggest that as he was writing the final form of each lecture, Millet was using his notebooks as sources for content. For example, many of Millet's words from his notebooks called "The Toga and its variations" and "The Tunic" are echoed in the newspaper articles on the first lecture he delivered to National Academy of Design on February 10, 1882.

In an article from *The New York World* of February 11, 1882, a direct quote from the lecture corresponds closely to the first words in the notebook "The Toga and its variations":

> "Properly speaking," said the lecturer, "the study of costume among the ancients should be begun with those worn by the Egyptians. I propose, however, to confine my remarks to the dress worn by the Romans at the beginning of the Christian era."[23]

Here is the corresponding passage from "The Toga and its variations":

> Although the study of costume in its relation to painting and sculpture properly begins with the dress of the Ancient Egyptians I propose to attack the subject at a point where it is probably the most familiar to all of you, namely in Rome at about the beginning of the Christian era.

The same newspaper article from *The New York World* continues:

> The tunic was not worn for some time after the adoption of the toga, but it became common in time. All wore it except the philosophers, the aesthetes of that day, gentlemen who thought their costumes made their reasoning more profound or their poetical systems more beautiful. The first form of the tunic was simply a square sack with holes for the arms and head. It reached halfway down the thigh, and when worn longer was regarded as a sign of effeminacy, the wearers being called *tulares …* It [the

> tunic] was used alone in the house or at manual labor and was generally girdled in at the waist. As luxury increased more of them were worn.

Millet's notebook entitled "The Tunic" has the following corresponding passages:

> This garment [the Tunic] was introduced later than the Toga and was long considered a luxury. The first form was like the Graeco asiatic garment a sleeveless sack girdled at the waist … The width of this garment varied but the length was ordinarily halfway down the thigh. Longer tunics were considered effeminate. Nevertheless in the period of the decadence long tunics reaching to the feet Tulares were not seldom worn … So much indeed was it [the Tunic] regarded as an absolute necessity to comfort that to leave it off was considered a proof of severe manners, and great asceticism. Philosophers to indicate their disregard of the comforts of the body wore the Toga or the Toga graeconica without the tunic vide Sophocles etc. etc.[24]

The notebook called "The Tunic" is interesting in other regards. Several pages contain advice addressed to art students that is crossed through. The texts include Millet's praise of the paintings of his role model and friend Lawrence Alma-Tadema for being "realistic to a degree that his figures seem to have lived and to have worn the clothes they are dressed in."[25] Some version of this crossed-out part of the text was perhaps delivered at the first lecture series on Roman costume to the School of Drawing and Painting in Boston, and then was subsequently deleted from the version of the lecture delivered to the general public in New York.

The other two notebooks that refer to Millet's lectures and the audience are "The Toga and its variations" and "Military Costume, Crowns and Decorations, Gladiators." All three of these notebooks relate to Roman costume, as do the notebooks entitled "Roman Costume;" "Costume of Women, Roman;" "The Poenula, Head and Foot Gear, Leg covering, Toilette, Ornament;" and "Costume Notes." Three notebooks deal with Greek costume: "Greek Costume: Archaic, Doric and Ionic;" another called simply "Greek Costume;" and "Arms & Armour." All the notebooks are illustrated, except for "Arms & Armour."

Besides the verbal correspondences between the text of Millet's notebooks and newspaper accounts of his lectures, there are also correspondences between the drawings in Millet's notebooks and the illustrations of his models in *The Art Student* article, "Notes from the Costume Lecture." The most striking example involves a model dressed like a Greek Tanagra figurine (Fig. 4), which has a similar stance and drapery arrangement to one of Millet's drawings from "Greek Costume" (Fig. 5). Both in turn have the same aspects in common with one of the Tanagra figurines in the collection of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 6). Millet surely would have studied this collection's figurines. We know that by 1879, the museum had a collection of at least 22 examples.[26] The commentary from *The Art Student* article calls attention to the "most interesting series of poses, taken by the model … from the Tanagra Figurines."[27]

Fig. 4 "After a Tanagra Figurine," illustration 11 from Fig. 3.

Fig. 5 Loose drawing of Tanagra figurine of a woman with a fan, from notebook Signed by F.D. Millet and entitled "Greek Costume," Francis Davis Millet Family Papers, 1858-1904, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

Fig. 6 Unknown artist, Tanagra, Boeotia, Greece, *Woman Holding a Fan,* terracotta figurine, ca. 5th century BCE; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.7785, Museum purchase with funds donated by contribution.

The bibliography that Millet provides in his "Costume Notes" (Figs. 7-8) and "Military Costume" (Fig. 9) shows the level of research that Millet put into his lectures. "Costume Notes" lists several references, the most important being Hermann Weiss' *Kostümkunde*, pt. 2 (1860); many of Millet's costume drawings are copies of illustrations from Weiss' authoritative reference. Another important reference that Millet quotes from, and which is the source of some of his drawings, is an edition no earlier than 1812 of Thomas Hope's *Costume of the Ancients*.[28]

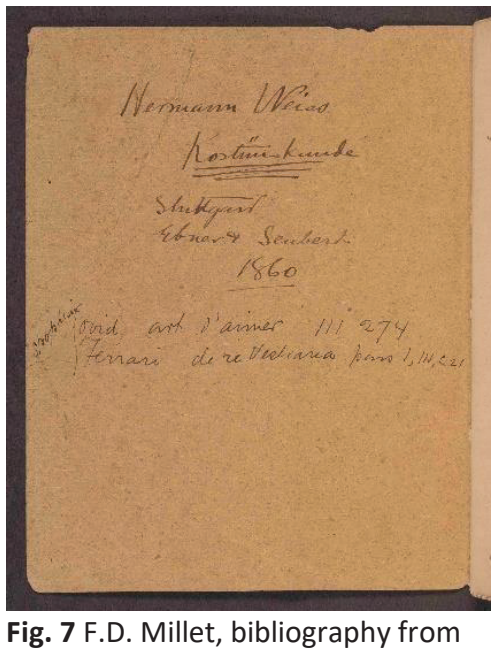


Fig. 7 F.D. Millet, bibliography from Back of front cover of "Costume Notes" Francis Davis Millet and Millet

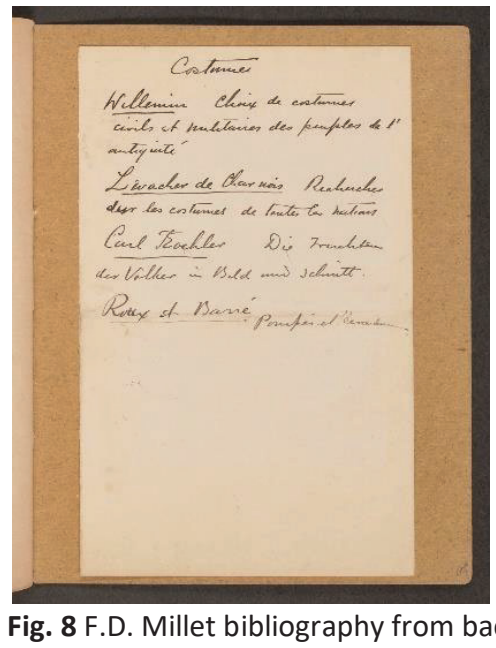


Fig. 8 F.D. Millet bibliography from back cover of "Costume Notes," Francis Davis Millet amd Millet Family Papers, 1858-

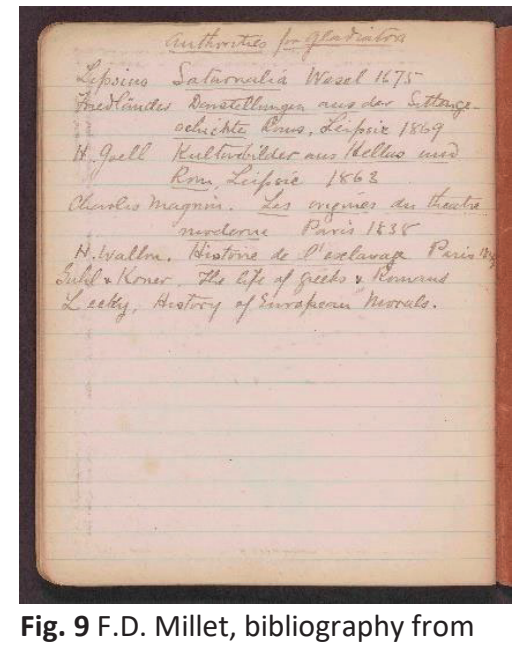


Fig. 9 F.D. Millet, bibliography from back cover of "Costume Notes," Francis Davis Millet and Millet Family

Family Papers, 1858-1904, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

1904, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Paper, 1858-1904, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

One figure type can be traced from one of Millet's costume drawings back to Weiss' *Kostümkunde,* and also to Hope's *Costume of the Ancients.* Millet's unlabeled drawing of this figure type (Fig. 10), from the pamphlet signed by Millet and entitled "Greek Costume," shows a bearded male figure wearing a himation/cloak and holding a forked stick. The same figure appears in the Weiss' 1860 reference that Millet first names in his "Costume Notes" (Fig. 7). Like Millet's drawing, Weiss' illustration (Fig. 11) is unlabeled. However, in the source that Weiss names for the bearded male, the 1841 edition of Thomas Hope's *Costume of the Ancients* (Fig. 12), the figure is labeled "Greek philosopher."[29] Millet does not indicate which edition he used as a source, but he is known to have consulted Hope's handbook; for in his "Costume Notes" he quotes a long passage from the 1812, the 1841 or the 1875 edition of *Costume of the Ancients.*[30] The same "Greek philosopher" (Fig. 12) appears in all three editions of Hope's reference.[31]

Fig. 10 F.D. Millet, drawing of a bearded male figure wearing a himation/cloak and holding a forked stick, which is pasted onto a page opposite page 2 of 'Greek Costume," Francis Davis Millet and Millet Family Papers, 1858-1904, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 11 Same bearded male as Fig. 1, from H.Weiss, *Kostümkunde: Handbuch der Geschichte der Tracht, des Baues und des Geräthes der Völker des Altertums Zweite Abteilung, Die Völker von Europa* (1860), p. 715, fig. 253c.

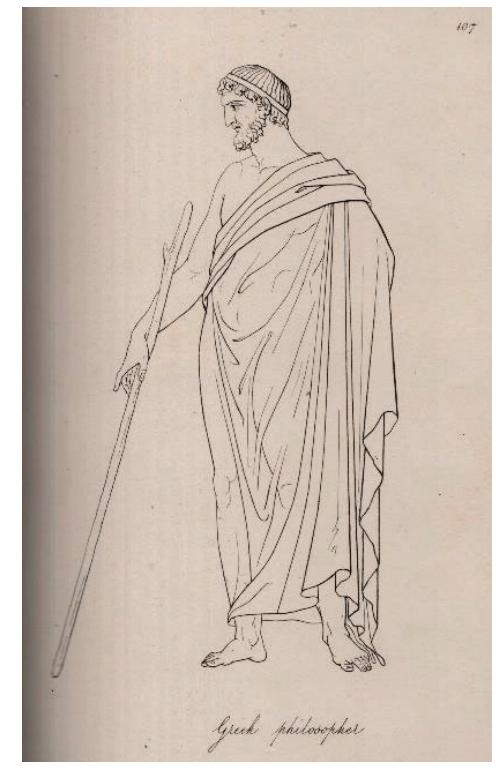


Fig. 12 "Greek Philosopher," from Thomas Hope, *Costume of the Ancients* (1841 ed.), pl. 107

Millet made two references to Greek philosophers in his costume pamphlets. In his "Greek Costume," he noted cryptically that an "Absence of chiton [an undergarment] became [a] sign of austerity,"[32] for which Greek philosophers were known. Here again, Millet reflects Hope's influence, for Hope states in all three editions of *Costume of the Ancients:*

> Among the male part of the Greek nation, those who, like philosophers, affected great austerity, abstained entirely from wearing the tunic, and contented themselves with throwing over their naked body a simple cloak or mantle.[33]

It is interesting that Greek philosophers are known to have frequented gymnasia and to have contributed to the education of youths as they honed their athletic skills.[34] However, vases depicting Greek youths at the gymnasium show that the figure type of a bearded male in a himation with a forked stick is actually a trainer.[35] One of the Greek vases that Hope once owned depicts such a trainer, who is the second figure from the right (Fig. 13).[36] A vase in the British Museum shows just how the forked stick was used by trainers to discipline their charges (Fig. 14, figure on the far right).[37] Hope, and Weiss and Millet after him, may have misidentified Greek trainers in Attic vase-paintings, and thought of them instead as Greek philosophers. It will be seen below that Millet used the figure type, in the same garb as his drawing but with a different pose, to depict Ulysses upon his return to Ithaca after the Trojan War and the hero's wanderings (see Figs. 87-89 below).

Fig. 13 Attic red-figure column krater; illustration from E.M.W. Tillyard, *The Hope Vases* (1923), pl. 21 no. 132.

Fig. 14 Attic red-figure cup by Foundry Painter, London, British Museum E78 (1850,0302.2)
© The Trustees of the British Museum

Afterlife of Millet's Costumes for his Lectures at the School of Drawing and Painting

In regard to Millet's six-lecture series to the School of Drawing and Painting at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the school's Sixth Annual Report provides this information:

> Mr. Millet continued his lectures by the study of Greek and Etruscan Costume, illustrated as before by the living model draped in dresses made for the purpose, which have now by special agreement become the property of the Museum, the right to use them at any time being reserved to the school.[38]

Scrapbooks with materials from the School of Drawing and Painting, now preserved at the Tisch Library, Tufts University, have photographs that appear to show the re-use of Millet's costumes in the School's studio classes. In particular, Scrapbook 1, dated 1878-1900,[39] has a photograph labeled "27. Etruscan Woman" (Fig. 15).[40] It shows a model who is garbed in a himation of unusual design; its front consists of two vertical pieces of fabric whose bottoms form an inverted v shape. The same unusual himation is shown in illustration no. 17 from the *Art Student*'s "Notes from the Costume Lectures," where the drapery is called "Fishtail Wraps" (Fig. 3, illustration 17). Preserved Etruscan funerary reliefs (cippi) from Chiusi in Etruria feature this same type of himation with front panels terminating in a fishtail pattern; this type of garment can be found, for example, in the central mourning figure on a cippus fragment from Chiusi that is now in Palermo (Fig. 16).[41]

Fig. 15 Photo labeled "27. Etruscan Woman," by A.J. Lewis, from Scrapbook 1, SMFA Special Collections, Tisch Library, Tufts University

Fig. 16 Fragment of an Etruscan Cippus from Chiusi with funeral procession, Palermo, Museo archeologico regionale "Antonio Salinas" 8448, from Collezione Casuccini; photo from Flickr: https://www.flickr.com/photos/dandiffendale/12666009953/in/photostream/

Another photo from the same scrapbook shows how Millet's costumes were studied in sketch classes at the School of Drawing and Painting (Fig. 17). This photo bears the title "Infant Sketch Club, 1884-'85." Here, a class composed of women and men are drawing a model who stands in front of a dark cloth backdrop. A third photograph is a detail of the model from "Infant Sketch Class." In this photo, labeled "Pose for Sketch Class" (Fig. 18), the same model is shown, reaching up both hands to fasten her garment on her left shoulder. This garment appears to be the same as the "Diploid[i]on" in the *Art Student*'s illustration no. 12 (Fig. 3, illustration 12). In his notebook called "Greek Costume," Millet provides this explanation of the diploidion (Fig. 19b):

> Women's dress ... Still they [women] wore long chitones to feet especially married women. These were of different patterns. The Diploidion was one of the most common forms. Piece of cloth third higher than woman, nearly her height in width sewn on long side doubled over at top. Girded so as to show fold under square piece falling over.[42]

In the "Pose for Sketch Class," the model's costume conforms to Millet's description, including in the way that the fabric billows out over a hidden belt at the model's waistline, making it visible beneath the overfold. Next to Millet's description of the diploidion in "Greek Costume" he provides an illustration of the fastening of a diploidion that is the mirror image of "Pose for Sketch Class" (Fig. 20, right drawing). The inspiration for part of the diploidion's decoration in "Pose for a Sketch Class" seems to be from one of the sources Millet quotes, Thomas Hope's *Costume of the Ancients*.[43] Hope's "Grecian female" (Fig. 21), like Millet's drawing, shows a woman fastening her diploidion at her right shoulder. The pattern on the overfold of Hope's figure, a closed lotus bud, is the same as that on the overfold of "Pose for Sketch Class" (Fig. 18). The pattern at the base of Fig. 18's skirt, the open lotus bud and palmette, can also be found in Hope (Fig. 22).

In summary, if the hypothesis that Scrapbook 1 contains photos of Millet's actual costumes from his lectures at the School of Drawing and Painting is correct, then these costumes were more complex and lovely than the previously known evidence indicated. They followed the ancient forms of drapery, as well as utilizing patterns that Millet derived from Hope's *Costume of the Ancients.* In his costumes for contemporary theatrical productions with classical themes, which are described below, Millet combined accurate ancient costume designs with modern touches, to make his renderings more accessible to theatrical audiences.

Fig. 17 Photo labeled "Infant Sketch Club, 1884-1885," Scrapbook 1, SMFA Special Collections, Tusch Library Tufts University.

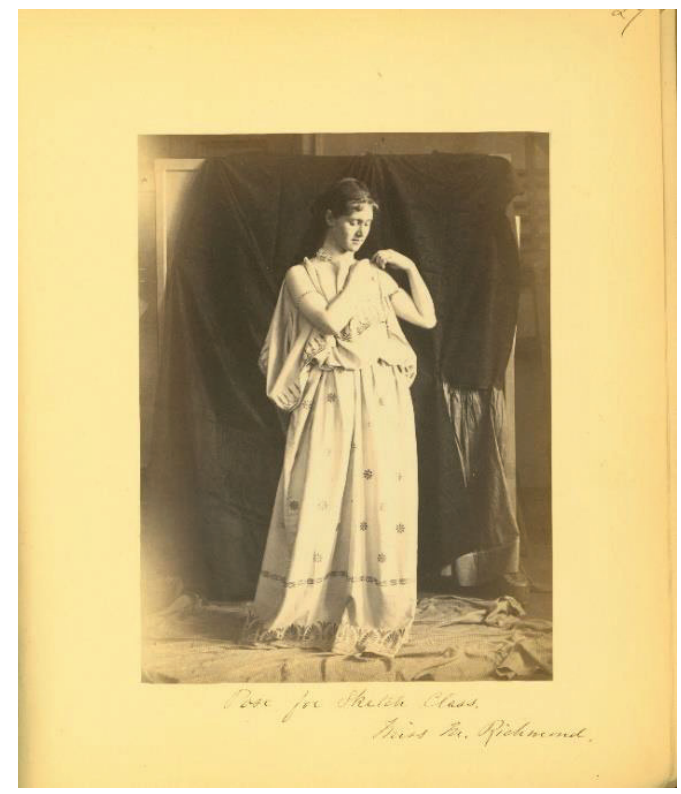


Fig. 18 Photo labeled "Pose for Sketch Class," Scrapbook 1, SMFA Special Collections, Tisch Library, Tufts University.

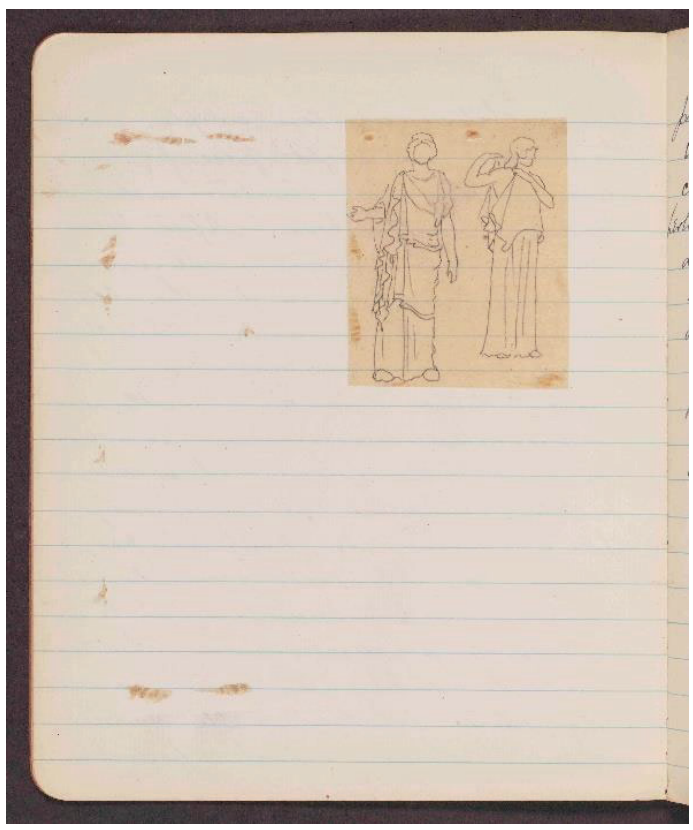
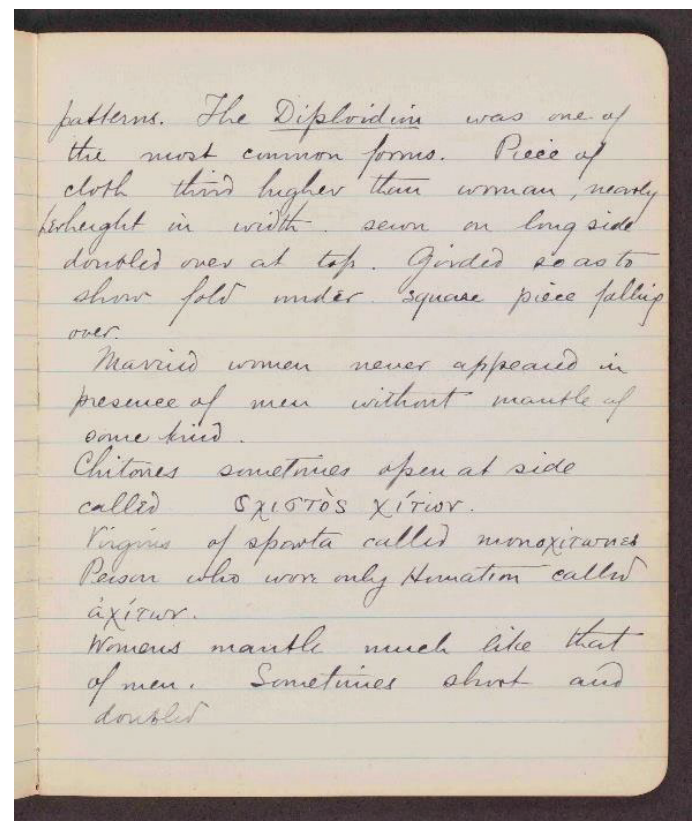


Fig. 19a F. D. Millet, page with drawings opposite page 4 Of “Greek Costume”; right drawing shows a woman in a diploidion (for a detail of the drawings, see **Fig. 20**), Francis Davis Millet and Millet family papers, 1858-1904, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution



patterns. The Diploidion was one of the most common forms. Piece of cloth third higher than woman, nearly breadth in width. sewn on long side doubled over at top. Girded so as to show fold under. Square piece falling over.

Married women never appeared in presence of men without mantle of some kind.

Chitones sometimes open at side called ὀξυστὸς χίτων.

Virgins of sparta called μονοχίτωνες

Persian who wore only Himation called ἀχίτων.

Womens mantle much like that of men. Sometimes short and doubled

Fig. 19b F.D. Millet, page 4 of “Greek Costume,” Francis Davis Millet and Millet Family Papers, 1858-1904, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

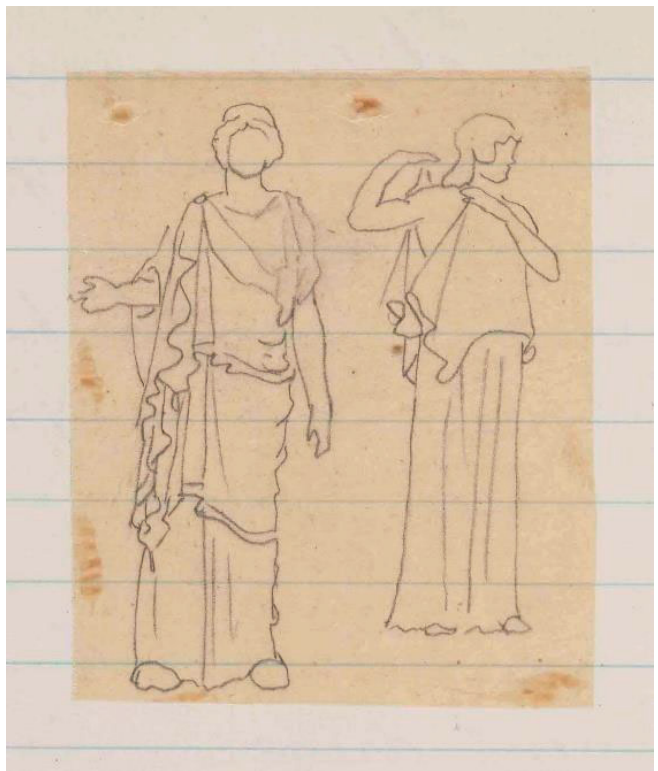


Fig. 20 F. D. Millet, detail of drawings opposite page 4 of “Greek Costume”; right drawing shows a woman in a diploidion (for the text of page 4, see **Fig. 19b**), Francis Davis Millet and Millet family papers, 1858-1904, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

Fig. 21 “Grecian Female,” Hope, *Costume of the Ancients,* (1875 ed.) vol. 1, pl. 64.

Fig. 22 “Grecian female, Hope, *Costume of the Ancients* (1875 vol. 2, p. 188.

Theatrical Costume

Millet's knowledge of ancient dress informed the first theatrical costumes he designed. They were for the actors in a production in Greek of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* (also known as *Oedipus Rex),* which took place at Harvard in May 1881 (Fig. 23, with Millet being the man in a dark suit adjusting drapery on the right).[44]

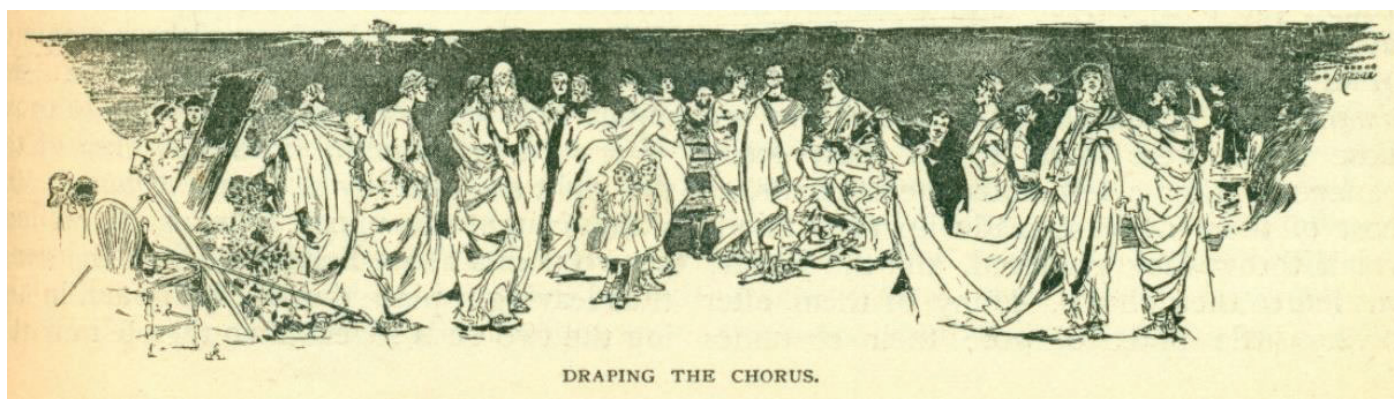


Fig. 23 DRAPING THE CHORUS, illustration by Alfred Brennan, from Frank D. Millet, "Costumes in the Greek Play at Harvard," *Century Magazine*, Nov. 1881, p. 67

In an article that he wrote about the experience, he recounts that "It was necessary, of course, to depart from the traditions of the Greek theater in so far as they might shock our modern notions of propriety or be out of place on our stage."[45] He chose to omit the "hideous masks" that Jocasta and other characters would have worn when the tragedy was presented in ancient Greek theaters, because such elements "did not promise to be agreeable" to the modern viewer.[46] Moreover, while holding true to the forms and uses of Greek garments in his costumes, he purposefully strayed from a strict time period and the actual textiles used. He states,

> The pure Doric costume admitted of so little variety that half the charm of the spectacle would be lost if this style of dress were rigidly adopted. Various changes had already been considered necessary in adapting the play to modern representation … There was then some excuse for departing from accuracy in the costumes, and accordingly various articles of Attic attire were substituted for simpler and less picturesque Doric garments, a greater range of color was fixed upon than was probably in perfect keeping with the costume of Pericles's time, and artistic license was taken with textiles and minor details of ornament.[47]

We will examine the costumes of one of the characters, Jocasta, to illustrate this point (Fig. 24, actress in the center). Millet specifies that Jocasta's first costume of the play is made up of a diploidion, a sleeveless robe with an overfold that is pinned at the shoulders (Fig. 25).[48] As noted above, Millet's notebook "Greek Costume" has a drawing of the diploidion (Figs. 19a and 20), and he provides an explanation of the garment (Fig. 19b).

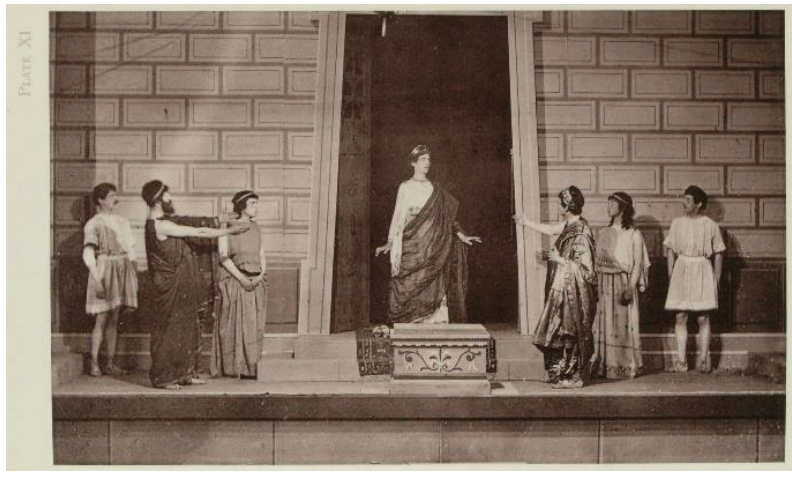


Fig. 24 *Jocasta's Entrance Interrupting the Quarrel between Oedipus and Creon*, pl. XI from Henry Norman, *An Account of the Harvard*

Fig. 25 Detail of Jocasta from **Fig. 24.**

Millet describes Jocasta's diploidion as being of "silver-shot muslin trimmed heavily with passementerie, and so weighted that it kept regular folds around the limbs."[49]

Jocasta also wears a himation, a cloak that in this case was made of "thin, crimped silk, delicate yellow in color, diaphanous and cloud-like in texture, contrasted with the under-garment."[50] Millet's use of muslin (a plain weave cotton) and silk in Jocasta's costume is admittedly different from what was usually used in Greek antiquity;[51] he had mentioned earlier in the article that "the himation of the Greeks was always of wool."[52]

Millet specifies that in the second half of the play, "The queen now appeared in a different dress, having substituted a clinging creamy woolen chiton for the diploidion, and a deep red himation for the silken wrap."[53] James Notman's photographs of Jocasta in the chiton (Fig. 26) show that, as in the labeled illustration of a chiton in *The Art Student* (Fig. 3, illustration 3), the chiton lacks the overfold of the diploidion (Fig. 3, illustration 12). Note that at the bottom of Jocasta's chiton (Fig. 27) is a decorative hem with the palmette and open lotus bud pattern; this pattern might have been inspired by renderings of the same motif in Weiss (Fig. 28) or Hope (Fig. 29).

Fig. 26 James Notman, photos of Jocasta from *[Album of photographs of the Oedipus tyrannus of Sophocles, presented in Greek at Sanders theatre, Harvard university, May 1881]*, Houghton Library TS 578.1.12 F, Harvard University

Fig. 27 Detail of hem of Jocasta's chiton from **Fig. 26.**

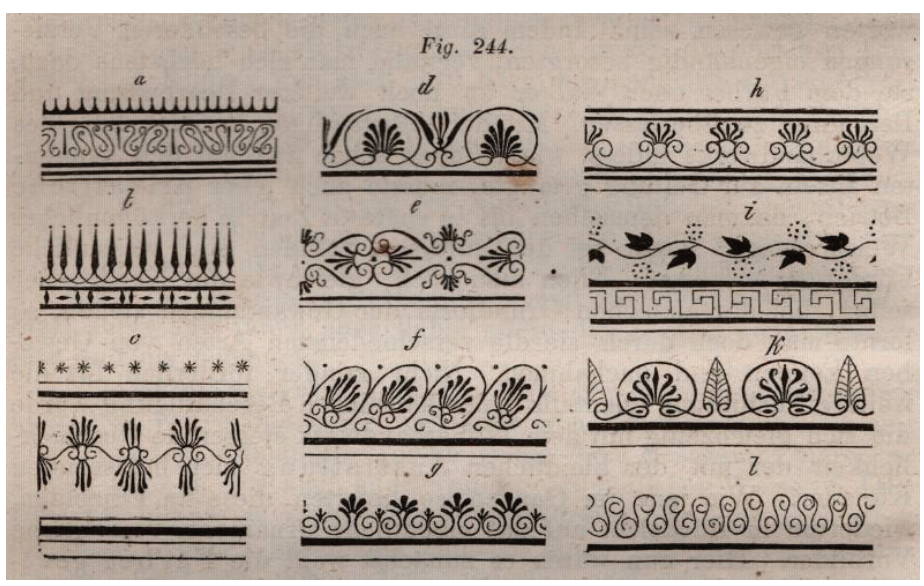


Fig. 28 H. Weiss, *Kostümkunde: Handbuch der Geschichte der Tracht, des Baues und des Geräthes der Völker des Altertums, Zweite Abteilung, Die Völker von Europa* (1860), p. 706, fig. 244d (palmette and open lotus bud pattern)

Fig. 29 "Grecian Lady," from Thomas Hope, *Costume of the Ancients* (1875) p. 65 (palmette and open lotus bud Pattern on hem of lady's skirt.

Apparent in Notman's photographs of Jocasta in the chiton is the use of a brooch to fasten the chiton on the right shoulder (another brooch is covered by the himation on her left shoulder) (Fig. 30). This is significant for the plot of the play, as Oedipus uses the brooches to blind himself. According to the English translation provided to those who attended the play at Harvard: "For he tore away /The brooch-pins that had fastened her attire,/And, lifting, smote his eyeballs to the root."[54] Millet heightened the tragic mood of these scenes in changing Jocasta's costume from the diploidion to the chiton, stating that it "...brought about the change from the quiet movement of the first part of the play to the violent action of the climax… *Jocasta's himation* ['a deep red'] made a violent contrast to the quiet tone of the attendants' *diploidia."*[55]

Millet also designed a chiton for noted actress Mary Anderson in her role of Galatea for W. S. Gilbert's *Pygmalion and Galatea* (Figs. 31-32), performed in New York in 1883.[56] In Gilbert's version of the myth, Galatea is the latest work by Athenian sculptor Pygmalion, who has created an idealized version of his wife. The sculpture comes to life as an answer to his prayers, and a comedy of misunderstandings ensues, which results in Galatea returning to her pedestal and her marble state.

Fig. 30 Detail of Jocasta from James Notman, *[Album of photographs of the Oedipus tyrannus of Sophocles, presented in Greek at Sanders theatre, Harvard university, May 1881]*, Houghton Library TS 578.1.12 F, Harvard University.

Fig. 31 Jose Maria Mora, *Mary Anderon as Galatea,* albumen carte-de-visite, ca. 1883, New York Public Library, 2073e6f0-c52e-012f-4fea-58d385a7bc34, Billy Rose Theater Collection.

Fig. 32 Napoleon Sarony, *Mary Anderson as Galatea*, albumen carte-de-visite by Napoleon Sarony, Mary Anderson as Galatea, ca. 1883; Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LOT 4723 (for a detail, see **Fig. 57**)

In her memoirs, Anderson remarked that "The dress for Galatea was a great difficulty … In those days stage costumes told one very little of the period they were meant to represent."[57] As playwright, Gilbert did not dictate that the costumes be historically accurate, and so in earlier productions they were colorful garments of "violet, scarlet, blue, and gold."[58] A lack of accuracy can be seen in the costumes of the actors who originated the roles of Pygmalion and Galatea in 1871 (Fig. 33). These call to mind Anderson's comment that, "The abominable 'key-

pattern' was everywhere to be seen, and seemed always to say, 'This may be a velvet gown; but look at me, I am Greek, and I can "Greekify" even a medieval dress.'"[59]

Fig. 33 Albumen carte-de-visite, *"Pygmalion and Galatea": Mr.Kendal and Miss Madge Robertson*, ca. 1871; London, National Portrait Gallery NPG x19110, Given by Mrs J. Gray, 1973

Millet's and Anderson's mutual friend, the Victorian Neoclassical painter Lawrence Alma-Tadema, felt that she "should be draped after some of those lovely Tanagra figurines [see Figs. 4-6]; and he was good enough to arrange [her] draperies himself, going with Mr. Gilbert into the stalls to see the effect. The author insisted that Galatea looked like a stiff medieval saint; so the Tanagra idea was abandoned."[60] Millet had studied the Tanagra figurines (see Fig. 3, illustration 11, labeled "After a Tanagra Figurine"), as well, and perhaps the influence of both artists led Anderson to adopt poses that reflected their compositions. A photograph by Jose Maria Mora (Fig. 31) shows her with her hand on her hip, looking down, which is similar to the pose of a Tanagra figurine in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 34). Millet, in Anderson's words, came to her rescue, avoiding the costume of Tanagra figurines and designing instead "the most charming and correct costumes for me, but had them cut and made under his own supervision."[61] The claim that Alma-Tadema and not Millet designed Anderson's Galatea costume is rebutted in an article by the *Boston Herald:*

> Mary Anderson's success in "Galatea" has been phenomenal … Alma-Tadema, the artist, denies the statement that he designed the dresses worn by Miss Anderson in her personification of Galatea. He stated that she followed the designs of Frank Millet, and that he (Tadema) simply modified the draperies.[62]

It appears that Millet was not present for the first performance of Gilbert's *Pygmalion and Galatea* and therefore could not make adjustments during the performance; but Alma-Tadema did attend the opening night and made these adjustments between acts: "But throughout the first act the drapery of Galatea was not entirely happy. At the end of the act he went to the green-room and pulled the drapery more fully round the upper arm, besides making one or two other little changes," and after the second act he "went round again, and the advantage of his touch was plain in the last act, where he had pinned up the dress in front, so that, instead of catching her feet and bulging out, it hung free in a straight line."[63]

Anderson was aided in performing the role of Galatea by wearing Millet's chiton. As shown in Fig. 31, it has one visible belt under the breasts. Then the chiton billows out over a hidden waistline, where a second belt must be imagined, to support the overhanging drapery. This second belt is consistent with Millet's observation in his notebook "Greek Costume" that the chiton is "sometimes twice girdled" (Fig. 35b).[64] Such a drapery arrangement is evident in the chiton in the left drawing that Millet pasted onto the facing page from "Greek Costume" (Figs. 35a and 63). Millet evidently copied this figure either from Weiss (Fig. 36) or Hope (Fig. 37). Note that in Anderson's chiton, the belt under her breasts is higher than its position in Figs. 35-37. A second photo of Anderson in her chiton (Fig. 32) lacks the belt under her breasts; this must, therefore, have been an expendable feature in her costume. A similar chiton is shown in one of the labeled drawings from the *Art Student* article (Fig. 38).

Fig. 34 Unknown artist, Greek, probably Greek, probably Boeotian, *Terracotta statuette of a standing woman*, late 4th–early 3rd century BCE; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 09.221.28, Rogers Fund, 1909

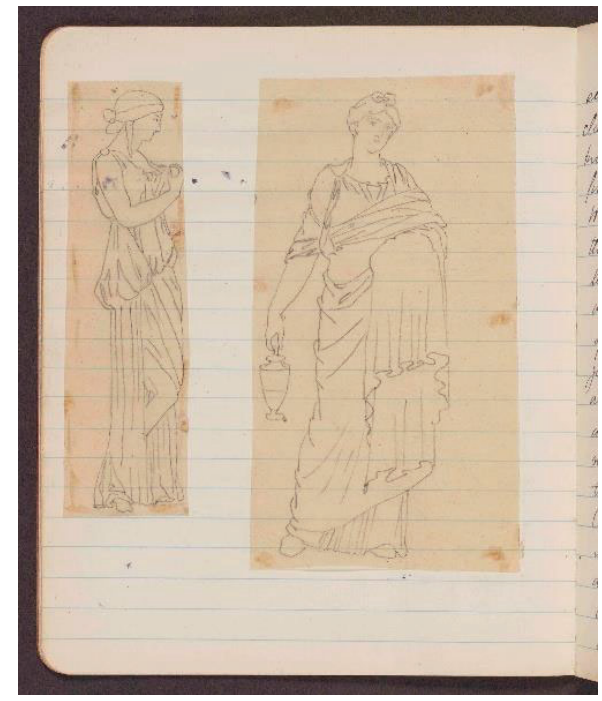


Fig. 35a F.D. Millet, page with drawings opposite page 7 of "Greek Costume," left drawing shows a woman in a chiton with drapery overhanging a hidden belt at her waistline (see detail in **Fig. 63**), Francis Davis Millet and Millet Family Papers, 1858-1904, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

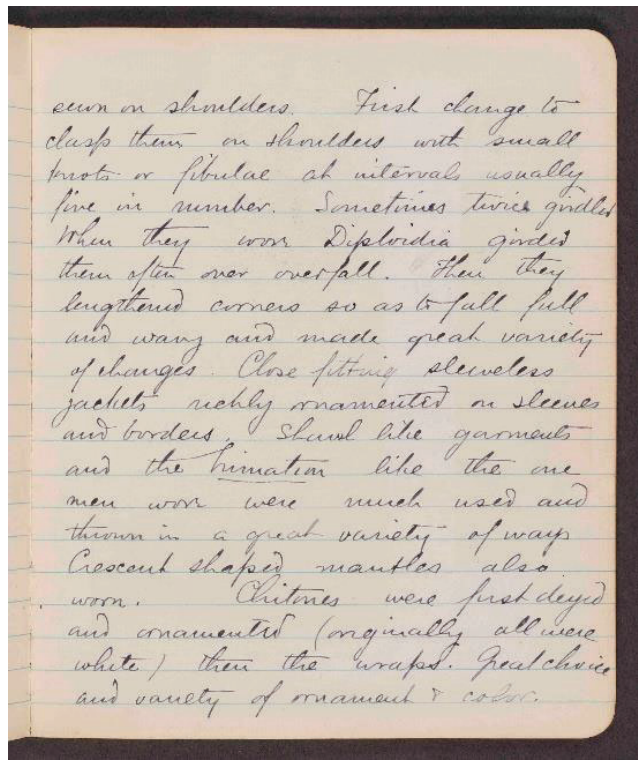

even on shoulders. First change to
clasp them on shoulders with small
fibula or fibulae at intervals usually
five in number. Sometimes twice girdled
When they wore Diplovidia girded
them often over overfall. Then they
lengthened corners so as to fall full
and wavy and made great variety
of changes. Close fitting sleeveless
jackets richly ornamented on sleeves
and borders. Shawl like garments
and the himation like the one
men wore were much used and
thrown in a great variety of ways
Crescent shaped mantles also
worn. Chitones were first dyed
and ornamented (originally all were
white) then the wraps. Great choice
and variety of ornament & color.

Fig. 35b F. D. Millet, page 7 of "Greek Costume", Francis Davis Millet and Millet family papers, 1858-1904, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

Fig. 36 H. Weiss, *Kostümkunde: Handbuch der Geschichte der Tracht, des Baues und des Geräthes der Völker des Altertums, Zweite Abteilung, Die Völker von Europa* (1860), p. 718, fig. 256

Fig. 37 "Greek Female," from Thomas Hope, *Costume of the Ancients,* (1875 ed.), pl. 145

Fig. 38 "Chiton," illustration 3 from **Fig. 3.**

A contemporary reviewer of Anderson's performance stated,

> An exquisite Greek tunic falls over her tall, slender figure in a perfection of graceful drapery, and a kind of heaviness suggestive of marble. This curious effect is produced by

> weighting the fabric with metal at various points, by shirring and staying in just the right spots, and by fastening certain portions of her body and legs with concealed bands. Not only was she a statue when posed as marble on the pedestal, but when moving about the stage every attitude was perfectly statuesque…. Her face, neck, and arms were whitened: her wig was quite like cut stone, and her feet were in stockings that fitted each separate toe. If she wore anything at all underneath this drapery, it was not enough to conceal any movement of her limbs.[65]

In fact, Anderson was not wearing a corset; as she said, "a Greek dress cannot be worn well with [stays]."[66] The reviewer had also stated, "She looked very handsome, though …to my mind, the exposure of a portion of her side below the arm was just a little too daring …". In the original myth, the Galatea sculpture would have been nude, which was not allowed for performers in Victorian theatre, but even classical drapery was more revealing of the body's form than typical clothing of the time. Therefore, the actress' body is simultaneously covered and revealed in a compromise between propriety and desirability.[67]

Gilbert's version of the story shows this same compromise: his play depicts an extramarital love and includes "passionate, yet innocent, love-scenes in which Galatea displays ignorance of the etiquette required by Victorian society."[68] However, actresses such as Anderson defused the risqué aspects by stressing Galatea's innocence.[69] She believed that the character could not "think, look, stand or speak like an earthly-born maiden" and felt that her "only hope of success was to stamp every word, look, tone, and movement with that ingenuousness which seemed the keynote of her nature."[70] Her interpretation focused on the classical serenity of the woman as a statue come to life, and Millet's costume, in the words of the Cincinnati reviewer, caused the daringness of partial exposure to be "palliated by the resemblance to marble."[71] Millet achieved both accuracy and decorum in his Galatea costume for Anderson, and in doing so helped her negotiate the morally contradictory aspects of the character.

Theatrical Portraiture

A foray into theatrical portraiture was a natural progression from Millet's work in theatrical costume. In 1882, he painted the acclaimed actor Lawrence Barrett as the Roman conspirator Cassius in William Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*. The portrait of Barrett is now lost, but it is represented by an extant sketch in oil (Fig. 39)[72] and an engraving from the original (Fig. 40). Both renderings bear Millet's signature and the date of 1882 on the lower right.

Fig. 39 F.D. Millet, oil sketch in private collection of lost, life-sized portrait of Lawrence Barrett as Cassius, 1882; signed "Laurence Hutton from F.D. Millet 1882." Swann Auction Galleries, New York: *American Art*, Sale 2386, June 4, 2015, Lot 17: Courtesy of Swann Auction Galleries.

Fig. 40 Engraving from the original of Millet's *Lawrence Barrett as Cassius*, from *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* January 1898, p. 203, signed "F.D. Millet 1882."

In a preserved letter of April 15, 1882, to the London art dealer Charles W. Deschamps, Millet discussed his painting of Barrett:

> Since you left [New York] I have finished a life sized portrait of Lawrence Barrett in the character of Cassius. White toga, marble steps, stucco background etc. etc. It is now in the gallery of the Union League Club and will go to the Society of American Artists on the 24th inst. [instant, meaning 'this month'] They are going to rehang their show. The fellows think it the best thing I have done.[73]

In fact, the portrait garnered much praise from colleagues and critics. Significantly, one reviewer called it the most important picture to come from his hands, "unless we except the very brilliant and life like ones he paints so skillfully with his models on the stage, when he delivers his lectures on Greek and Roman Costume" (see Figs. 15, 17 and 18).[74]

As attested by the sketch and engraving, the painting of Barrett showed the actor frowning tensely, and looking furtively to the left. He is wearing two garments: a sleeveless tunic, which is visible on the figure's right shoulder and chest; and a toga, which is wrapped around the body and over the figure's left shoulder and arm, and is pulled up over the head to form a veil. [75] Barrett clutches the veil with his raised left hand. In his raised right hand, he holds an unidentified yellow object, whose lower part seems to be hidden under the toga.

Cassius' frown likely alludes to a moment in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* when Caesar expresses his unease in regard to Cassius:

> Seldom he smiles, and smiles in such a sort
> As if he mock'd himself and scorn'd his spirit
> That could be moved to smile at any thing.
> Such men as he be never at heart's ease.[76]

Some critics questioned Barrett's act of drawing the toga around his face; a *New-York Tribune* writer stated, "We do not, we confess, understand the action of Cassius. He does not appear to be simply drawing the toga from his face, but holds on to it as if he were clinging to it in a forlorn hope."[77]

Cassius' act of veiling his head may be understood as a reference to the secrecy of the conspirators, as they plot the murder of Caesar. In the play, they are described thus:

> … their hats are pluck'd about their ears,
> And half their faces buried in their cloaks.[78]

In his signed notebook entitled "The Poenula" Millet explained that, in antiquity, the veiling of the head with the toga could signify several possible states of mind:

> The poenula with its hood is easy to cover the head on occasion and the corner of the toga gave equal facility. In grief despair or imminent danger the Roman always covered his head.[79]

In this case, Cassius' cloaked head may signify not only the secrecy of the conspirators, but also the danger they were in, should their plot be revealed before the murder of Caesar could be accomplished.

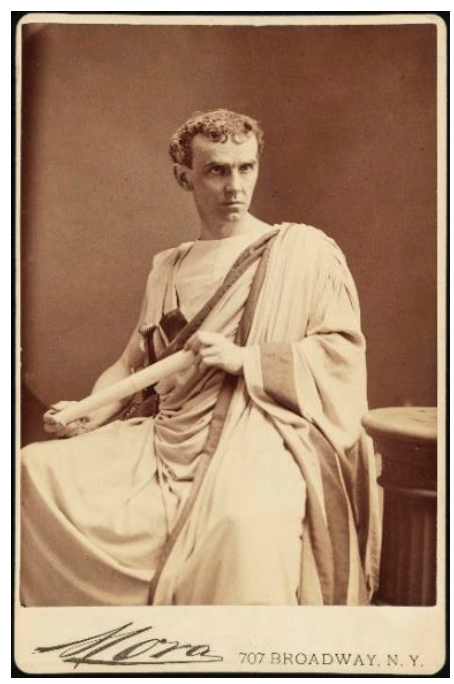


Fig. 41 Jose Maria Mora, *Lawrence Barrett as Cassius in "Julius Caesar"*,

albumen carte-de-visite; Mora/Museum of the City of New York 34.239.9

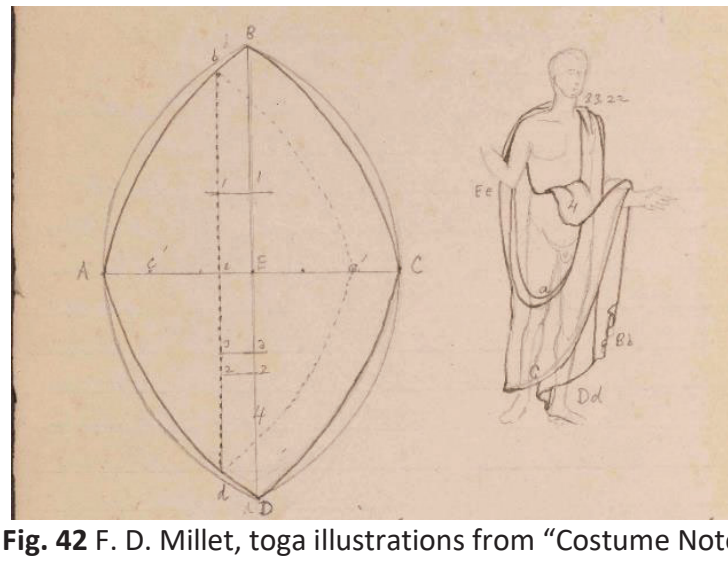


Fig. 42 F. D. Millet, toga illustrations from "Costume Notes" p. 2, Francis Davis Millet and Millet family papers, 1858-1904, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

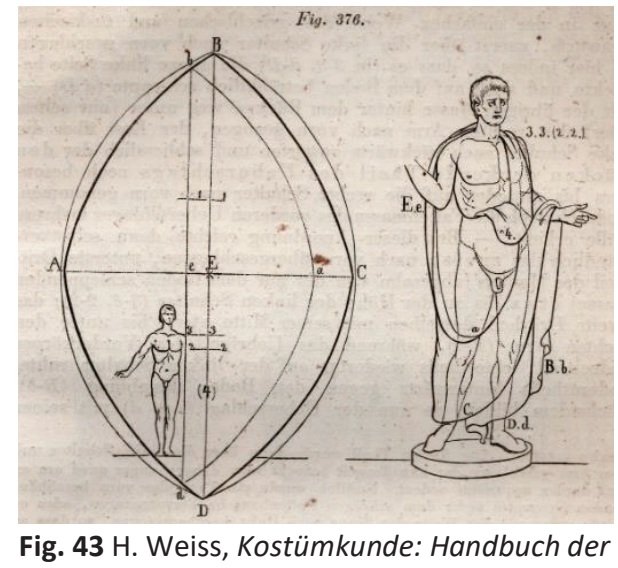


Fig. 43 H. Weiss, *Kostümkunde: Handbuch der Geschichte der Tracht, des Baues und des Geräthes der Völker des Altertums Zweite Abteilung, Die Völker von Europa* (1860), p. 957, fig. 376

The final mystery in regard to Millet's portrait is the identity of what Cassius is holding in his right hand, partially hidden in his toga. A reviewer suggested that the actor was holding a scroll.[80] A carte-de-visite of Barrett in the role (Fig. 41) shows him holding a scroll and wearing a dagger. Although there is no textual reason for Cassius to hold a scroll in a secretive fashion, Cassius would likely secretly hold the dagger with which he intends to stab Caesar. Shakespeare refers to Cassius' dagger in a conversation between him and his co-conspirator Casca:

> *Casca.* Indeed, they say the senators to-morrow
> Mean to establish Caesar as a king;
> And he shall wear his crown by sea and land,
> In every place, save here in Italy.
> *Cassius.* I know where I will wear this dagger then;
> Cassius from bondage will deliver Cassius.[81]

In regard to the toga, the outer garment that Cassius wears, Millet wrote in his notebook "Costume Notes":

> The information found in the early writers about the form and the use of the Toga are so meager that it almost seems as if they intended to leave this as a perpetual problem of costume to their posterity. The kinds of Toga were named but not the shape nor the manner of throwing it around the body.[82]

Millet goes on to say that he nonetheless arrived at an understanding of the toga "after most diligent research and comparison of statues and paintings."[83] The togate figures in these statues and paintings, unlike the secretive Cassius, veil their heads to show their piety towards the gods. In regard to paintings, many examples of Lararia, domestic shrines in Roman houses,

are preserved from sites in the vicinity of Mt. Vesuvius. Paintings from these shrines give pride of place to the youthful Genius (a protective deity) of the paterfamilias; the Genius customarily wears the same costume as Barrett's portrait, a tunic and a toga that is pulled up to cover the head (see, for example, Fig. 44). In such paintings, the Genius' veiled head, the patera in his right hand, and the altar under the patera all signify that the Genius is in the act of making a liquid offering. An example of a statue that Millet may have seen is a portrait of the Emperor Augustus in a tunic and toga with his head veiled (Fig. 45);[84] such portraits of Roman emperors adhere to a standard statuary type in which an emperor is in the role of Pontifex Maximus (highest priest of ancient Rome).[85] Since this portrait is known to have been in the Borghese Collection in Rome by 1833, it may have been seen by Millet.[86] A print based on the statue, published a year earlier in 1832, already shows the restoration of a patera for libations in Augustus' right hand (Fig. 46). Either this statue or a painting of a Genius may have inspired Millet's drawing (Fig. 47), [87] where, like the Genius and figure of Augustus, the male figure wears a toga with his head veiled and holds a patera. Millet could have based his toga design of Barrett's portrait on his drawing.

Fig. 44 Detail of Genius from G. Ferrario, *Il costume antico e moderno o storia*, vol. 5: *Europa* (1843), pl. 26

Fig. 45 *Portrait Statue of the Emperor Augustus as Pontifex Maximus;* Rome, Galleria Borghese XLI, © Galleria Borghese / ph. Enrico Fontolan

Fig. 46 *Caligola* (statue now believed to depict Augustus rather than Caligula), from A. Nibby, *Monumenti scelti della Villa Borghese* (1832), pl. 10.

Fig. 47 F.D. Millet, loose drawing from notebook entitled "Roman Costume"; it shows a male figure who is holding a patera for libations and is dressed in a toga with veiled head, Archives of American Art, Francis Davis Millet and Millet Family papers, 1858-1904.

These renderings of togate figures are consistent with Millet's description of the arrangement of the toga (see Fig. 42):

> The toga was of the form of an oval three times as long as man and twice as wide. It was doubled together dbl and at one end of its length 3-3 2-2 was gathered into folds and the shorter part thrown over left shoulder to the front so that it covered the whole left side and touched the ground. The rest was carried generally under (sometimes over) the right arm passing behind the back with many folds. The rest was thrown over the left shoulder backwards.[88]

Note the difference between the toga in Millet's painting and its sources, and an actual garment worn by Barrett in the play, as captured in a carte-de-visite (Fig. 41). Here Barrett's toga is not pulled up over his head, and appears to have sewn-down rather than loose folds on the left shoulder. Instead of copying the inaccurate toga that Barrett wore in the play, Millet chose to draw on his deep knowledge of classical sources to design a more convincingly Roman garment for Barrett's portrait.

Paintings of Classical Subjects

Throughout the 1880s and into the 1890s, Millet continued to exploit his broad knowledge of ancient costume sources in paintings with classical subject matter. He paid careful attention to the historical details of costumes, objects, and settings in these works. He also placed his figures within shallow spaces, seemingly influenced by the sculptures from the triangular

pediments of Greek temples that rested on projecting cornices and were backed by the pediments' walls (see, for example, Fig. 48). [89] At the same time, to figures clad in classical costume he gave contemporary, portrait-like faces, and mixed contemporary with classical ornaments on their drapery. He said: "Modem art may be noble, may be dignified, may be classical in spirit, without being imitative; that it may, indeed, be of our age, and appeal to our modem tastes and sympathies, and still have the essence of the highest art in its motives and in its results."[90] As with his theatrical costume, Millet reigned in his knowledge of the specifics of ancient costume and the tendency on the part of ancient artists to idealize the human form. He combined this knowledge with modern touches to produce work to which nineteenth-century viewers could relate. Specifically, he seemed to hope that viewers would imagine themselves in the roles of the characters he depicted.[91]

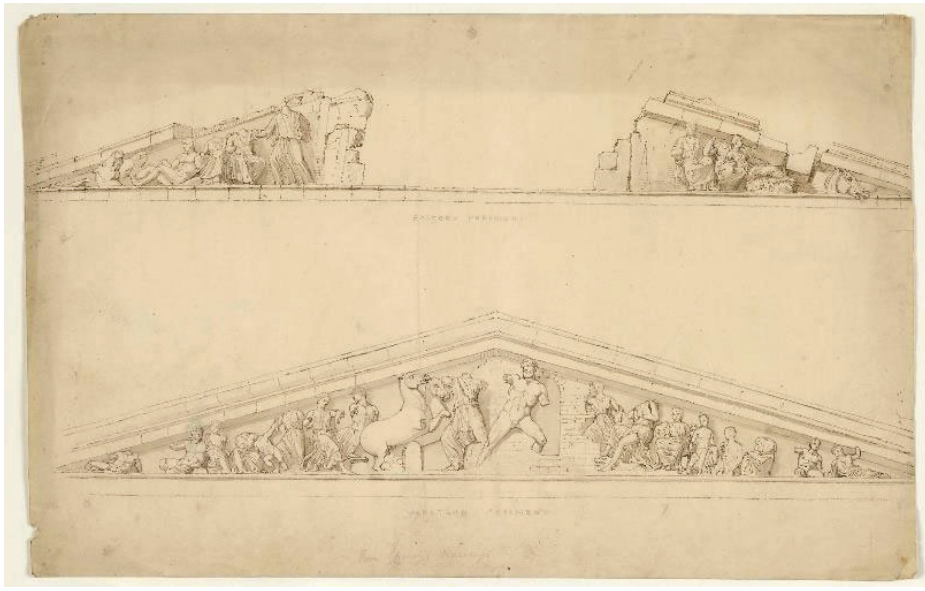


Fig. 48 Drawing by Charles Robert Cockerell, "EASTERN PEDIMENT / WESTERN PEDIMENT / from Carrey's drawings" (of 1674), London, British Museum 2012,5001.702; © The Trustees of the British Museum

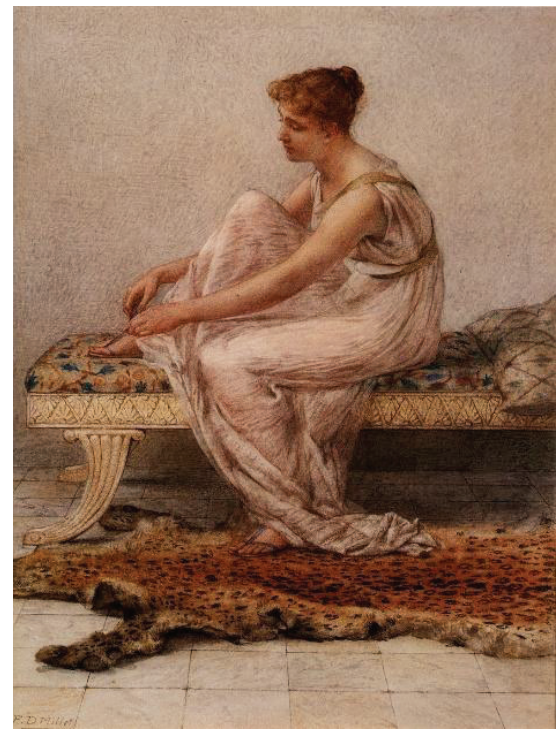


Fig. 49 F.D. Millet, *Lacing the Sanal,* c. 1883, watercolor in private collection; illustration from B. Weber, *Drawn from Tradition: American Drawings and Watercolors from the Susan and Herbert Adler Collection* (1989), p. 118-19 no. 46.

In 1883, Millet executed both single and multi-figure compositions with women in classical costume. Two strikingly lovely paintings depict single figures who are tying the straps of a sandal. One, a watercolor (Fig. 49), had the title of *Lacing the Sandal*.[92] It was exhibited in early 1883 at the Sixteenth Annual Exhibition of the American Water Color Society.[93] The second work, an oil painting (Fig. 50), was known by the title of *Lacing Her Sandal.*[94] It bears the date of 1883 beneath the artist's signature on the lower right; a wood engraving based on the painting repeats the signature and date in the same position (Fig. 51). Both the watercolor and the oil show a woman in a sleeveless chiton, over which is a type of breast-band with crossed straps on both the front and back, that is known from antiquity.[95] The poses of both figures show the influence of the famous Greek relief of a winged Nike called the *Sandal-Binder,* which is from the balustrade around the Temple of Athena Nike at the entrance to the Athenian Acropolis (Fig. 52). Millet is known to have visited the Acropolis and made sketches there in late

1873,[96] so he may have known the relief from one of his own sketches. Also, while this relief is now located at the Acropolis Museum in Athens,[97] the Boston Museum of Fine Arts had a cast of it,[98] and it was illustrated in a book of 1881 that Harvard owned (Fig. 53).[99]

Fig. 50. F.D. Millet, *Lacing Her Sandal,* 1883, oil on canvas in private collection; illustration from Carolyn Kinder Carr et al., *Revisiting The White City: American Art at The 1893 World's Fair* (1993), pl. 58

Fig. 51 Millet's signature and date of 1883 on lower right on wood engraving of **Fig. 50** by Frank French, from W.M. Laffan, *Engravings on Wood by Members of the American Wood-Engravers* (1887), n.p.

Fig. 52 Agorakritos' workshop, *The Sandal-Binder*, marble relief from balustrade around Athena Nike temple, Athenian Acropolis, c. 410 BCE; Athens, Acropolis Museum Ακρ. 973, photo by Marsyas, Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 53 R. Kekulé, *Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike* (1881), pl. 4, fig. O.

In both of Millet's paintings, like the ancient relief, the female figure reaches a long right arm to tie the sandal on her right foot. In the relief of the Nike (Fig. 52), the figure raises her right foot while balancing precariously on her left leg. Millet allows the standing figure in the oil painting (Fig. 50) to rest her foot on an ancient bronze table, while the figure in the watercolor (Fig. 49) is seated on a bench of antique design with her right foot raised onto it. The woman in Millet's oil, although shown from a back view rather than from the front, has curving drapery folds that stretch between her legs and accentuate their positions, as in the so-called catenary folds suspended between the legs of the Nike. [100] In Millet's watercolor, the woman's thighs and knees are emphasized by highlighting, while curving drapery folds wrap around her lower legs and heavy folds hang between them.

A prominent feature of both Millet's paintings of a woman tying the straps of her sandal is a leopard skin. It is on the floor in the watercolor and on the table in the oil, draped in a manner similar to one of Thomas Hope's furniture designs (Fig. 54). In Greek art, when worn by a female, the leopard skin can signify that the character is a Maenad (a Greek worshipper of the Greek god Dionysus). In later Roman art and in subsequent periods, such a follower was called a Bacchante (a worshipper of the Roman equivalent of Dionysus, i.e. Bacchus) (Fig. 55). In Millet's paintings, the leopard skin may indicate that the women are acting in the role of Bacchantes. An association in Millet's oeuvre of the leopard skin with Bacchanalian activities is supported by its presence in another of Millet's paintings from the following year of 1884 (which will be discussed below). Entitled *Regina Convivii* (*Qμeen of the Feast,* Fig. 73), it is easy to imagine that the drinking of wine was part of the festivities that the Queen presided over.

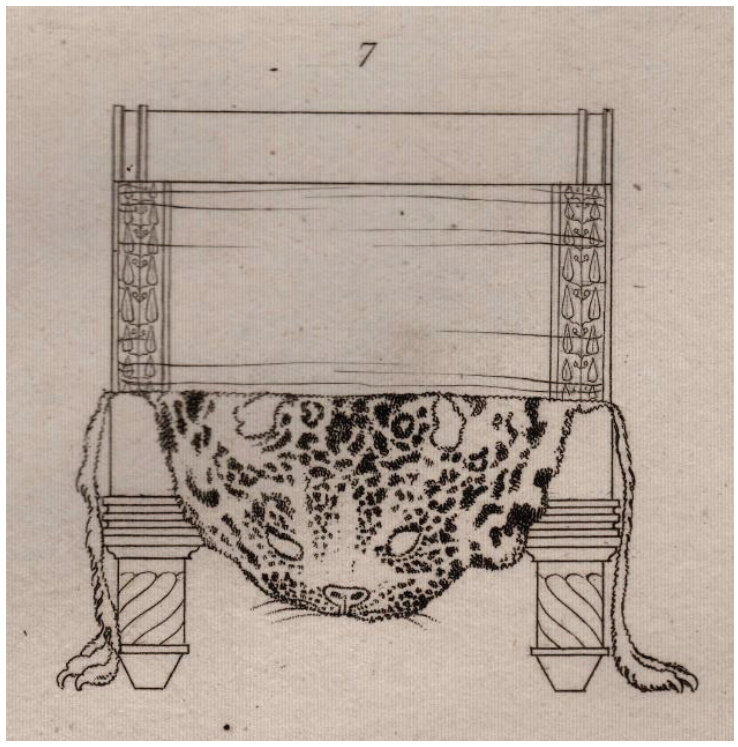


Fig. 54 "End of a couch," from Thomas Hope, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* (1807) pl. 28.7

Fig. 55 Maenad (follower of Dionysus), who holds out a leopard in her left hand, and who is wearing a leopard skin (see its tail on the lower left); Attic white-ground cup by Brygos Painter in Munich, Antikensammlungen 2645; Photo Wikimedia Commons.

In Millet's two paintings of figures lacing their sandals, the women are calm and focused on the everyday activity of fastening their footwear. In contrast, Bacchantes by Millet's contemporary, Lawrence Alma-Tadema (as in *A Bacchante* of 1875, shown in Fig. 56, who appears to wear a leopard skin),[101] have livelier poses and move within cluttered compositions that are filled with antiquities. Millet's simpler compositions with calmer figures make it easy for female viewers of any era to identify with these women, something that is enhanced by the portrait head on the oil painting, which resembles beautiful Mary Anderson (Fig. 57).

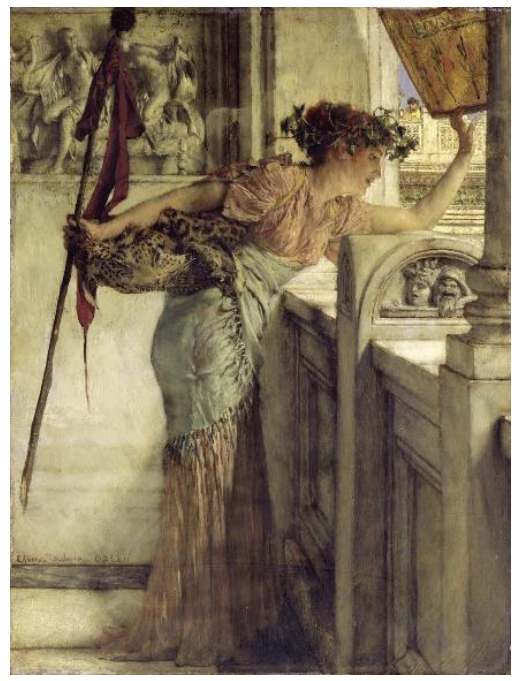


Fig. 56 Lawrence Alma-Tadema, *A Bacchante ("There he is!"),* 1875, oil painting; Liverpool, Sudley House, National Museums Liverpool WAG 178, National Museums Liverpool©/Bridgeman

Fig. 57 Detail of Napoleon Sarony, *Mary Anderson as Galatea,* ca. 1883, albumen carte-de visite; Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LOT 4723 (for a general view, see **Fig. 32**).

We do not know if Millet was intending to highlight the differences between his sandal-lacers and paintings like Alma-Tadema's *Bacchante.* However, their comparison demonstrates that Millet was developing a vision of classical themes that contrasted with Alma-Tadema's approach. Yet, in 1876, Millet praised a miniature version of Alma-Tadema's *Vintage Festival* for many of the same qualities that he avoided in his paintings; this painting was included in the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, and Millet devoted considerable attention to it in his review of the Exposition in the *Boston Daily Advertiser:*

> Tadema's real power is seen, perhaps, only in his large pictures. In three small specimens—the "Vintage Festival" is but little longer than the engravings of it—may be recognized his intense love for depth and richness of tone, the perfection of the textures and the remarkable treatment of detail, which is complex and multiform without interfering with the breadth or harmony.[102]

One of Millet's own works, *Reading the Story of Oenone* (fig. 58), was to gain considerable attention itself after it was first exhibited at the National Academy of Design in the spring of 1883.[103] In this ambitious oil painting, the pose but not the activity of Millet's watercolor *Lacing the Sandal* (Fig. 49) is taken up in the right figure. Rather than tying her sandal, she entwines

her fingers around her calf.[104] The fact that the figure from *Reading the Story of Oenone* is farther removed from the Greek relief of the *Sandal-Binder* than Millet's two paintings of sandal-lacers (Figs. 49-50) suggests that Millet was working on or had completed these two paintings as he laid out the composition for *Reading the Story of Oenone.*[105]

Fig. 58 F.D. Millet, *Reading the Story of Oenone*, ca. 1883, oil on canvas; Detroit Institute of Arts, 83.1; Detroit Museum of Art Purchase, Art Loan Fund and Popular Subscription Fund

Reading the Story of Oenone was one of Millet's most celebrated works. The painting's popularity is described in the catalogue for a later exhibition in Louisville in 1884:

> The picture, READING THE STORY OF OENONE was first exhibited in the National Academy last year; later it was one of the attractions of the Art Loan Exhibition in Detroit, Mich. It became so popular there that it was purchased by the Loan Association for the proposed Detroit Museum of Art.[106]

In his unpublished biography on Millet, believed to have been composed ca. 1955, Francis Millet Rogers noted:

> The picture was reproduced in color and was so popular that is was widely distributed as a color print suitable for framing. Mr. Clyde H. Burroughs of the Detroit Institute of Arts informs him that in 1928 on a visit to Naples he was intrigued to find such a framed color print of the picture hanging in the *pension* at which he stopped.[107]

The painting depicts three young women sitting on a divan and listening, while a fourth woman reads from a parchment scroll the Greek myth of Oenone. Charles M. Kurtz, the distinguished author of the entry on the painting in the *Illustrated Catalogue of the Southern Exposition, Louisville, Ky. August 16-October 25, 1884,* eloquently recounted the story that is being read:

> Oenone, daughter of Cebren, the river god, was a nymph on Mt. Ida, and had the gift of prophecy. She told her husband, Paris, that a visit which he proposed to make to Greece would involve both himself and his country in ruin. Paris, however, made the visit, and becoming enamoured of Queen Helen, wife of Menelaus, King of Sparta, eloped with her. This brought about the Trojan War. When Paris was wounded by an arrow from the

> bow of Philoctetes, he sent for his wife Oenone, who hastened to him, but too late. When the dead body of old Priam's son was laid at her feet, she stabbed herself.[108]

The composition of *Reading the Story of Oenone,* with its shallow space and an apparent wall behind the divan,[109] is similar to the limited space of sculptured figures from the pediments of Greek temples, such as those that crowned the short sides of the Parthenon (see Fig. 48). A connection to the Parthenon is also evident in the monumentality of Millet's ample, serene figures, and in the revelation of their underlying bodies through carefully arranged, diaphanous drapery. In particular, Millet's first three figures echo the grandeur of the *Three Goddesses* from the Parthenon's east pediment (Fig. 59), which Millet saw at the British Museum in 1872[110] and of which there were casts in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts collection.[111] Another possible connection to the Parthenon sculptures is the luxurious chiton with buttoned sleeves that the fourth figure in Millet's painting wears; the reclining right figure in the Parthenon's *Three Goddesses,* who is believed to be Aphrodite, wears the same type of chiton.

Fig. 59 Pheidias' workshop, *Three Goddesses* (goddess K, believed to be Hestia; goddesses L and M, believed to be Dione and her daughter Aphrodite) from the East Pediment of the Parthenon, 437 BCE-432 BCE, marble; London, British Museum 1816,0610.405 and 1816,0610.97, © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 60 H. Weiss, *Kostümkunde: Handbuch der Geschichte der Tracht, des Baues und des Geräthes der Völker des des Altertums, Zweite Abteilung, Die Völker von Europa* (1860), p. 711, Fig. 249.

Millet's "Costume Notes" (Fig. 20, right figure) shows the antecedent for the garment design of the second and third women from the left in the Oenone painting, which is the diploidion. Millet's drawing that shows the diploidion being fastened at the shoulder was copied from Weiss (Fig. 60). As indicated above, the pink garment on the blond figure on the far right is a chiton with buttoned sleeves, part of which Millet represents in "Costume Notes" by a sleeve detail (Fig. 61); Millet copied this detail from Weiss (Fig. 62). The figure on the far left in the painting wears a sleeveless chiton with a belt under the breasts, a garment that is similar to a drawing in "Costume Notes" (Fig. 63), which is itself derived from Weiss (Fig. 36) or Hope (Fig. 37). However, the garment in the painting does not show the over-blousing effect attained by a

second belt. It is more similar to the chiton illustrated in *The Art Student* article (Fig. 3, illustration 3).

Fig. 61 F.D. Millet, illustration of buttoned sleeve of a chiton, page 18 of "Costume Notes", Francis Davis Millet and Millet family papers, 1858-1904, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

Fig. 62 H. Weiss, *Kostümkunde: Handbuch der Geschichte der Tracht, des Baues und des Geräthes der Völker des Altertums Zweite Abteilung, Die Völker von Europa* (1860), p. 972, fig. 388c.

Fig. 63 F. D. Millet, drawing opposite page 7 of "Greek Costume" (see also **Fig. 35a**); it shows a woman in a chiton with drapery overhanging a hidden belt at her waistline, Francis Davis Millet and Millet family papers, 1858-1904, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

There are some non-antique details in the painting, including the fabric of the garment of the second figure from the left. The floral fabric of this figure does not look antique but more closely resembles the Renaissance textile seen in the figure of Hora from Botticelli's *Birth of*

Venus (Fig. 64) and the richly-embroidered fabrics of Renaissance Revival-era gowns by designers such as Charles Frederick Worth (Fig. 65).

Fig. 64 Hora of Spring from Sandro Botticelli's *Birth of Venus*, ca. 1485, tempera on canvas, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, 1890, 878; Photo: Wikimedia Commons

Fig. 65 Charles Frederick Worth, *Court Presentation* Ensemble, ca. 1888, silk, metal, feathers, glass; New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 2007.385a-l, Purchase, Friends of the Costume Institute Gifts.

Millet's use of non-antique fabrics is further illustrated by his painting called *A Roman Girl Carrying an Amphora* (Fig. 66), which shows a three-quarter length view of a young lady carrying an amphora on her left shoulder.[112] Her Greek chiton with a breast-band with crossed straps is accessorized with a fringed shawl embroidered in bright colors with floral motifs. The fabric of the shawl is not antique, but more closely resembles Renaissance (Fig. 67) or contemporary fabrics of Worth (Fig. 65). The figure in Millet's *Proserpina Gathering Flowers (The Poppy Field)* (Fig. 68)[113] wears a Greek chiton that is similar to Fig. 66, and also is garbed in a Greek himation with floral decoration that seems to derive its inspiration from these later fabrics (Figs. 64-65 and 67).

Fig. 66 F.D. Millet, *Roman Girl Carrying an Amphora*, ca. 1884-85, oil on canvas; University Park, Palmer Museum of Art, Pennsylvania State University 2014.149. Photo: Wikimedia Commons

Fig. 67 Detail of Flora from Botticelli, *Primavera,* ca. 1480, tempera and plaster on panel, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, 1890 n. 8360. Photo: Wikimedia Commons

Fig. 68 F.D. Millet, *Proserpina Gathering Flowers,* ca. 1883-1884, oil on wood panel, private collection Photo courtesy of Gina M. D'Angelo, Pelham Manor, New York.

Deborah Fenton Shepherd has suggested that in portraying the reading of Oenone's story as a domesticated genre scene rather than showing the dramatic action in the myth, Millet's "interest is in the relationship of modern readers to those who read or heard the story [Oenone's] in ancient Greece."[114] This process of relating modern readers with ancient ones is enhanced by the individualization of the women's faces in the painting. In fact, the heads look contemporary to Millet's time, and possibly depict women from his own circle: the blonde's face (Fig. 69) looks like Mary Anderson (Fig. 57), and the reader (Fig. 70) resembles Millet's wife Lily (Fig. 71).[115] While these non-ancient details are admired today, one critic of the time criticized the work for not looking ancient enough:

> There is exquisite flesh-painting shown, besides skillful management of the draperies, and in parts the color is excellent, but the work lacks the fine flavor of antiquity which it should possess.[116]

Charles M. Kurtz seems to have felt differently from this critic. He suggested that the attributes of three of the painting's four figures may have alluded to characters from Oenone's story:

> She who reads the story to the others, sitting noble, erect, her brows and dark hair bound with the flowering laurel, might be a type for Pallas [Athena]; her dark eyes flash and melt as she tells the tale. Next to her sits one whose grace and rapt attention suggest that she might almost be the "beautiful-browed Oenone," or had dreamed of one "white-breasted like a star." The woman on the extreme left is also listening intently to the reader. Her clear, white skin shows through the pink folds of her gown; her auburn

hair is bound with a broad fillet of a deeper pink than her dress, and her brown eyes look wonderingly at the reader. Though these three women all differ in type and expression, the girl on the right of the picture is still further removed from the others, both in space and in sentiment ... Her blue eyes are full of a dream that is not suggestive merely of sympathy for the "Mournful Oenone;" the woes of fair Helen seem to have found a place in her heart. The luxuriousness of her pose, the rich purple of the cushions that embrace her arm, bound with a serpentine armlet of gold, the drapery, half concealing, half revealing her fair form, all proclaim that she has a human sympathy with him [Paris] who awarded the prize of beauty to the goddess of Love [Aphrodite].[117]

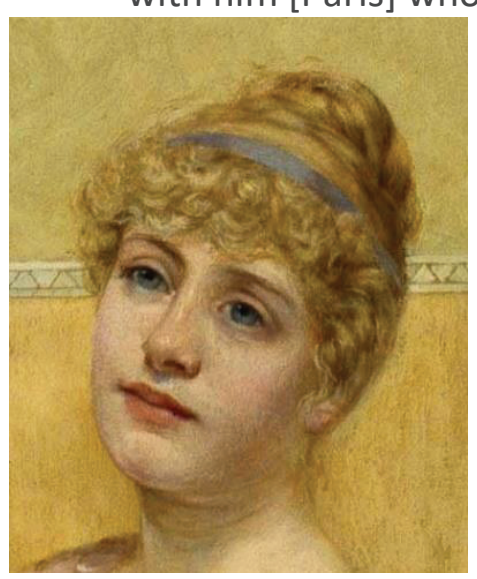


Fig. 69 Head of right woman from F.D. Millet, *Reading the Story of Oenone*, ca. 1883 (see **Fig. 58**)

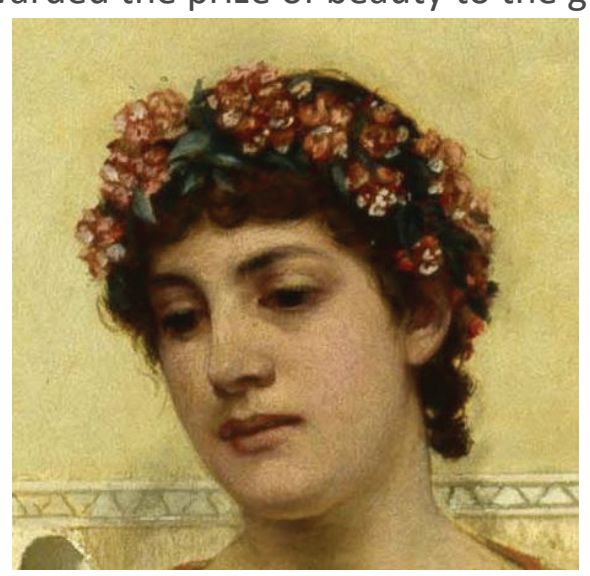


Fig. 70 Head of central woman (reader) from F.D. Millet, *Reading the Story of Oenone,* ca. 1883 (see **Fig. 58**).

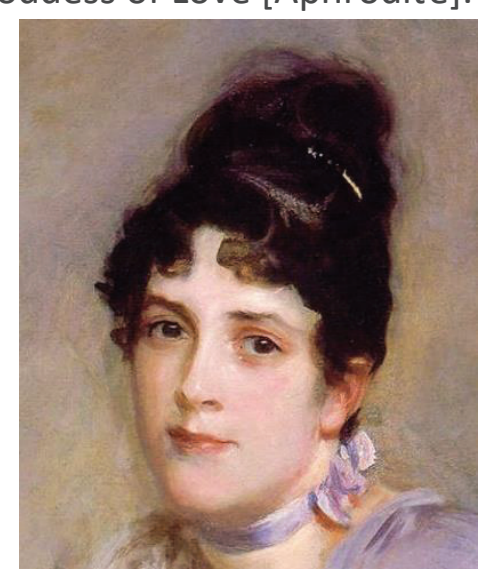


Fig. 71 Detail of head from John Singer Sargent, *Lily Millet* (See **Fig. 80**), 1885, Oil on canvas, on loan to Metropolitan Museum of Art from private collection. Photo: Wikimedia Commons.

That Oenone was present at Paris' judgment of the goddesses Athena, Aphrodite, and Hera is supported by Tennyson's poem *Oenone,* which is quoted by Kurtz.[118] The following passage from the poem spells out Paris' instructions to Oenone, so that she can observe the three goddesses but not be seen doing so:

> … Thou, within the cave
> Beyond yon whispering tuft of oldest pine,
> Mayst well behold them [the goddesses] unbeheld, unheard
> Hear all, and see thy Paris judge of Gods.[119]

If Millet intended that the central figures in the painting alluded to Oenone and Athena, as Kurtz suggested, then further identifications for the first and last figures can be proposed: that the lovely figure on the right has characteristics appropriate for Aphrodite herself as well as Helen, and that the left figure may reference Hera, the third goddess who was judged by Paris. The garment of a diploidion for Millet's reader is Athena's garb, as in copies of Pheidias' lost Athena Parthenos (Fig. 72),[120] the colossal gold and ivory statue that once graced the Parthenon. The chiton with buttoned sleeves is standard for Aphrodite, as in the pediment sculpture from the Parthenon (see the reclining right goddess in Fig. 59). Identifying the left

figure in Millet's painting as Hera would complete the cast of goddesses who were judged by Paris, in the presence of Oenone. That Millet's possible Oenone leans forward and looks beyond the reader of her story towards Millet's right figure makes sense, whether this figure is identified as Aphrodite or Helen.

Like *Reading the Story of Oenone,* Millet's *Regina Convivii* (*Qµeen of the Feast;* Fig. 73) seems to include both ancient and contemporary references.[121] In this single-figure painting of 1884, a female figure holding a rose like a scepter is seated with wreaths of roses on her head and lap. Behind the Queen is a wall with a pilaster. The backless throne that she sits on is draped with a leopard skin (see Fig. 55), perhaps an indication that she is presiding over a feast with wine, the drink associated with Bacchus.

Fig. 72 Varvakeion copy of Athena Parthenos, early 3rd century CE, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 129.

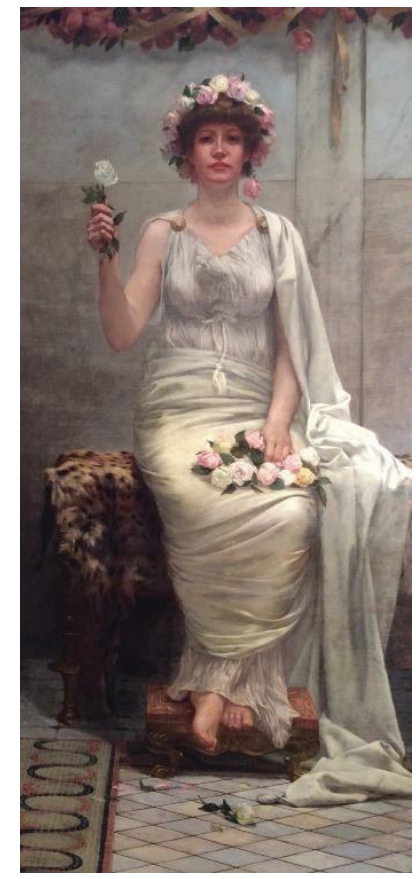


Fig. 73 F.D. Millet, *Regina Convivii (Queen of the Feast)*, 1884, oil on canvas, New York, National Academy of Design 874-P, © National Academy of Design.

Francis Millet Rogers provides information on how the painting came to be owned by the National Academy of Design:

> It was … in 1885 that Millet was elected a National Academician of the National Academy of Design (N. A.). In keeping with the rule that a National Academician must present the Academy with a specimen of his work, Millet presented a painting entitled "The Queen of the Feast."[122]

A contemporary critic had high praise for Millet and the *Regina Convivii:*

Mr. Millet is a true classicist, and while he keeps, as in his “Queen of the Feast,” to ideal types, he will sacrifice nothing to his love of the Greek ideal; but if, mistaking, he attempts to make classic life an actuality, he will fall as all creators of the *antiquarian genre* have fallen—Gérôme, Alma-Tadema, etc., etc. … Alma Tadema, who is of moderns most ambitious in this vein, has, for instance, painted, in his Sappho [Fig. 74], a theatre of the post-Periclean epoch, whose seats are inscribed in the most archaic Greek letters, and has given Sappho a reading-desk of a Pompeian pattern!... no intelligence can restore the externality of antique life, and to attempt to realize what we can only conjecture about, is utter absurdity. All we know is here and there a fragment.[123]

Fig. 74 Lawrence Alma-Tadema, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, 1881, oil on panel; Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 37.159, acquired by William T. Walters, after 1881

Another critic had an equally positive response to Millet’s *Regina Convivii,* but for different reasons:

> It is large in conception and design, graceful in its drawing, and radiant in the exquisite quality of its color and the delicacy and refinement of its treatment … Unless treated with great imaginative power such subjects as his are apt to be stiff and unsympathetic, but he imbues them with vitality and clothes them with poetic sentiment.[124]

A third critic criticized the painting for its insufficient “human interest”:

> Charmingly delicate in color, we repeat again, but we must confess that it is only a superficial pleasure which Mr. Millet gives us. We should like to see less absorption in color and more human interest in Mr. Millet’s work.[125]

An examination of the types of ancient sources that Millet seems to have looked to may help to determine his intentions in the *Regina Convivii.* Her drapery, throne with a leopard skin, and the shallow architectural space in which she sits (as in the sculptures in the Parthenon’s pediments, Fig. 48) are all authentically antique. The garments that the Queen wears are a Greek sleeveless chiton and a himation that is wrapped around her legs and over her left shoulder. The way that the folds of the himation echo the roundness of the Queen’s underlying legs is also Greek, and resembles the treatment of himatia on the full-figured goddesses from

the Parthenon's east pediment (Figs.75-76).[126] Also, the treatment of center folds at the neck of her chiton, the cord under her ample breasts, and her grip on the rose resemble Millet's drawing of a Roman Empress with a scepter (Fig. 77), which he would have copied from Hope (Fig. 78).

Fig. 75 Seated goddess (believed to be Hestia; see **Fig. 59**), from the right half of the East Pediment of the Parthenon (see **Fig. 48**, upper right), London, British Museum 1816,0610.405, © The Trustees of the British Museum

Fig. 76 Detail of **Fig. 75**, showing back and left sides of the goddess;

Fig. 77 "Roman empress," drawing opposite p. 9 from notebook signed by F. D. Millet, and entitled "Costume of Women: Roman", at Archives of American Art, Francis Davis

Fig. 78 "Roman Empress," from Thomas Hope, *Costume of the Ancients* (1875 ed.) p. 260

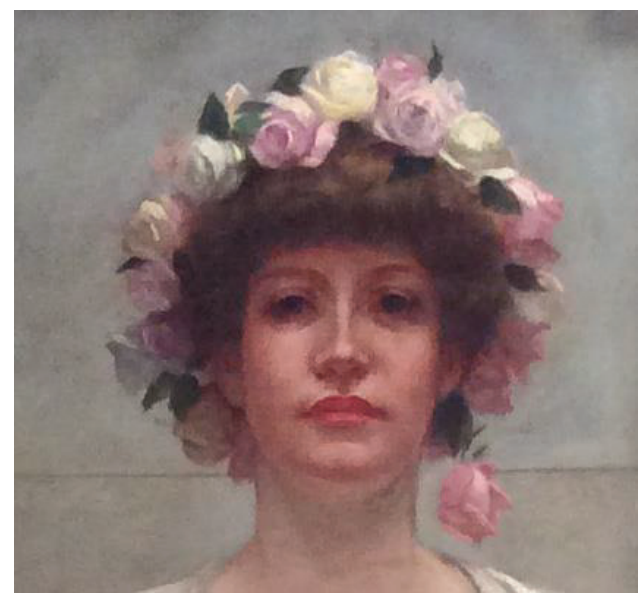


Fig. 79 Detail of head from F.D. Millet, *Regina Convivii (Queen of the Feast),* (see **Fig. 73**).

Millet and Millet family papers, 1858-1904,
Francis Davis Millet and Millet family papers,
1858-1904, Archives of American Art,
Smithsonian Institution

The depiction of the Queen with elements from a Parthenon goddess and a Roman empress would have perfectly suited Millet's preference for idealized bodies, while her contemporary facial type (Fig. 79) fits Millet's desire to make his paintings with classical subjects accessible to viewers of his time. Like the reader in Millet's *Reading the Story of Oenone* (Fig. 70), the Queen's head may be intended to refer to Millet's wife Lily (Fig. 71).[127] Note also that in the figure of the Queen*,* Millet loosens the crown of tight curls worn by the Roman empress (Fig. 77), making the hair seem more contemporary to the Victorian era.

Scholar Trudy Baltz has made note of the contemporary nature of the *Regina Convivii,* pointing out that, "Millet's Queen, far from being an idealized conception, looks very much like a Gilded Age matron, dumpy and a little bored, dressed up in costume."[128] In the opinion of the authors, Millet intended to give the Queen a monumentality of form and drapery, emulating these ideal qualities in ancient sculptures, particularly those from the Parthenon pediments. While Millet gave the head a general resemblance to his wife Lily, he regularized its features in accordance with ancient facial canons, as in the long, ideally straight nose and the full cheeks (compare the head of Fig. 72). In our opinion, he intentionally made the Queen*'s* expression regal and calm, following the classical norm, rather than attempting to portray her as being bored.

A particular frame of reference can be proposed for the Queen*.* In the 1880s, Millet had established a studio in Broadway, England. Francis Millet Rogers notes:

> Broadway became quite an American artists' colony, and it was here that the Millets became well acquainted with not only [John Singer] Sargent but also Edwin Austin Abbey, Alfred Parsons, and the Englishman Alma Tadema. Indeed, Sargent, and also Henry James, were neighbors.[129]

Henry James remembered times spent there when he viewed Sargent's portrait of Lily (Fig. 80) in 1902, observing: "Ancient summers look out at me of its charming eyes and the poetry of past experiences lurks in that exquisite smile."[130] Thus, we can imagine Lily, like the *Regina Convivii,* presiding over delightful festivities at Broadway*.*

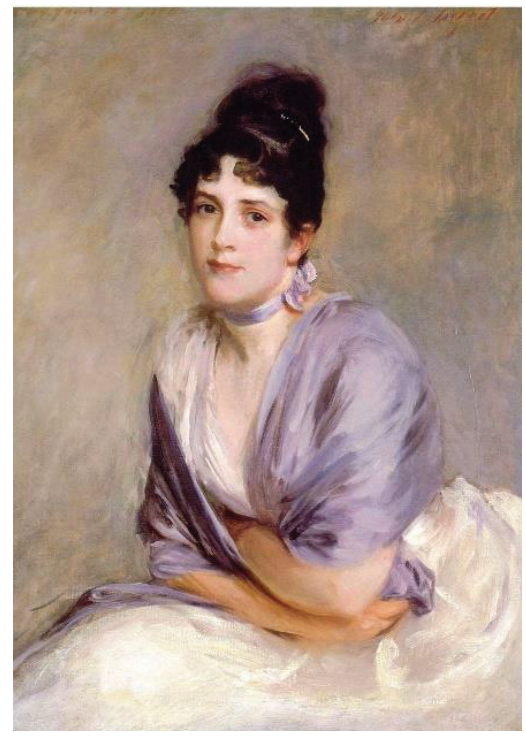


Fig. 80 John Singer Sargent, *Lily Millet*, 1885, oil on canvas, on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, from private collection:

Mural Commissions

In 1892, Millet took on a role for which all of his studies of ancient dress and themes had ideally prepared him: Director of Decorations and of Functions for the World's Columbian Exposition, which would open in Chicago on May 1, 1893. Millet was responsible for the oversight of the planning and execution of all color schemes and the decoration of the interiors and exteriors of the exposition's buildings. For the buildings' interiors, he himself designed several large murals that were consistent with the classical style of the architecture. Millet's three most complex murals were two compositions based on Homer's *Odyssey—Penelope at the Loom* and *The Return of Ulysses*,[131] and a third called *The Triumph of Juno* (Fig. 81). In *The Triumph of Juno,* once located on the ceiling in the banquet hall of the New York State Building, the goddess is enthroned on the right, and is approached by personifications of the arts and sciences. Since Millet did not derive the theme of the mural from classical mythology or life,[132] it is not discussed in this article. [133]

Fig. 81 *Mr. Millet [on the right] and Assistants at Work, on The Triumph of Juno*, a mural from banquet hall of the New York State Building, the World's Columbian Exhibition, 1893; photo from T. Johnson, *A History of the World's Columbian Exposition, Held in Chicago in 1893*, vol. 1 (1897), illustration p. 146.

As in his theatrical costumes and easel paintings, in the *Odyssey* murals Millet avoided complete archaeological accuracy for the sake of creating an impression of antiquity that was convincing to his contemporary late Victorian viewers. To achieve this goal, he seems to have borrowed from John Flaxman's popular illustrations of the *Odyssey*,[134] and from Thomas Hope's respected handbook, *Costume of the Ancients.*

Millet's *Odyssey* murals from the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building and his *Triumph of Juno* from the New York State Building were very well-received by knowledgeable visitors to the Columbian Exposition:

> One of these decorations, however, that of the northwest pavilion of this building … has escaped the attention accorded to the others in the descriptions of these features of the work of artists at the fair. It is the work of Mr. Millet, and it has been pronounced by discriminating judges the most successful example of decorative painting to be found here. The two great panels filling the arches of the pavilion represent "Penelope Spinning with Her Women," and the "Return of Ulysses." It is a scholarly conception of the theme, treated in a purely decorative manner, with a fine sense of the limitations of this form of art manifest in the simplicity of line, the dignity of grouping and the employment of color in broad and effective masses. Another very attractive decoration by Mr. Millet, is that of the ceiling of the splendid banquet hall of the New York state building, the most gorgeous and palatial interior at the fair. It is an allegorical representation of New York [Juno] welcoming the arts and sciences.[135]

The two lost *Odyssey* murals occupied two tympana in the northwest corner pavilion of the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building (Fig. 82). Millet designed these murals to fit the

manufacturing theme of the building, with scenes representing the arts of weaving and spinning.

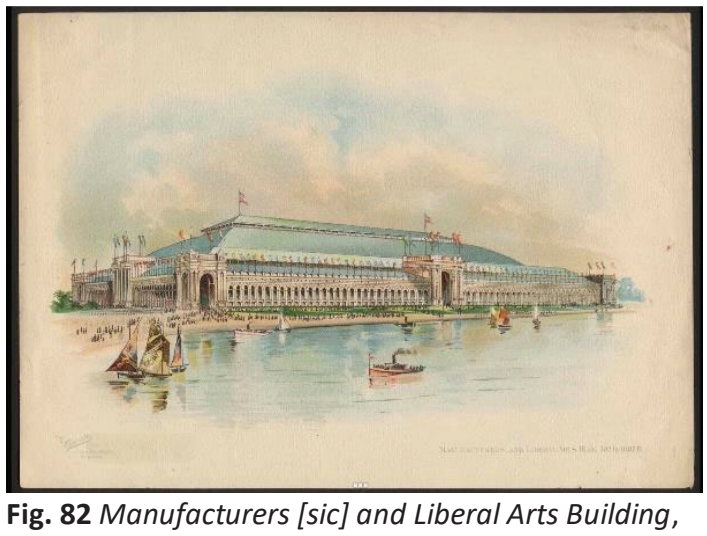


Fig. 82 *Manufacturers [sic] and Liberal Arts Building*, designed by George Browne Post, World's Columbian Exposition, 1893, color lithograph; University of Maryland Libraries

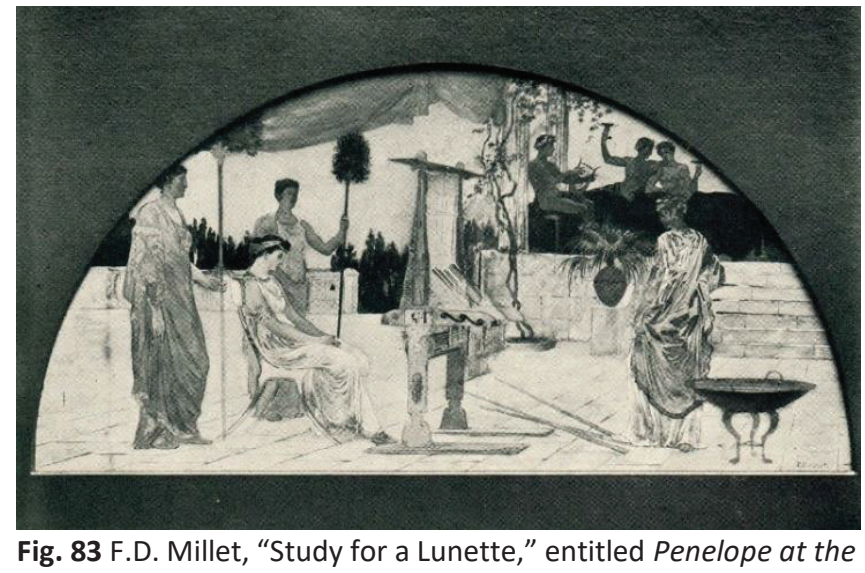


Fig. 83 F.D. Millet, "Study for a Lunette," entitled *Penelope at the Loom (Weaving),* lost watercolor, ca. 1893, for lost mural once in Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago; G.W. Stevens, "The Artistic Value of the Buek Collection," *Fine Arts Journal* (June 1911), illustration p. 379.

Penelope at the Loom (Weaving) is only known through a lost watercolor study (Fig. 83). One reviewer remarked: "He [Millet] has chosen for his subject: 'Penelope at the Loom,' as illustrative of the textile industry."[136] Here, a dejected Penelope, who does not know Ulysses' fate after the end of the Trojan War, sits on a Greek klismos next to her loom. A passage from William Morris' contemporary translation of the Odyssey explains why Penelope sits idle at her loom:

> And through the day my weaving in the mighty loom I plied.
> And undid my web in the night when the torches were set by my side;
> So for three years I beguiled them [her suitors], and the Achaeans did I tame.
> But when it now was the fourth year, and around the seasons came,
> And time, through the waning of months and the days' fulfilling must speed,
> Then by the means of the handmaids and the wantons lacking heed
> They [the suitors] came upon me, and caught me, and loud they chided me,
> And perforce my work must I finish for as loth as I might be.[137]

In the mural, Penelope sits beneath an awning and inside of a what appears to be a patio with a low wall, behind which trees are visible. She is flanked by two female figures with fans or torches(?). On the right is a brazier, next to which a handmaiden stands watching Penelope. In the distance on a raised platform on the upper right, underneath a grape arbor, the suitors are reveling; they listen to lyre music and raise their wine cups high. Millet does not seem to have looked to ancient art for a model of the figure of Penelope. There, the iconographic tradition consistently depicts her next to her loom, seated on a stool and in a position of grieving, with her veiled head bent and resting on the back of a raised forearm (Fig. 84).[138] Penelope's simpler pose in Millet's mural, with her head bent down and her hands in her lap, and the klismos that

she sits on, are instead close to the figure of Circe from Flaxman's *Ulysses at the Table of Circe* (Fig. 85). Millet's composition, with the reveling suitors on a platform on the right, seems to have been inspired by another of Flaxman's illustrations for the *Odyssey,* i.e. *Penelope Carrying the Bow of Ulysses to the Suitors* (Fig. 86).

Fig. 84 Penelope Painter, Attic red-figure skyphos with Penelope seated at her loom, c. 440 BCE; Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1831. Photo: Wikimedia. Commons.

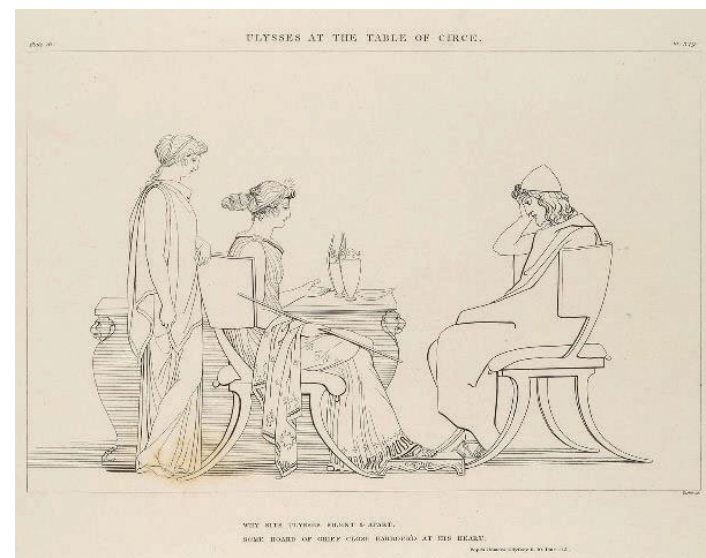


Fig. 85 *Ulysses at the Table of Circe,* line engraving and etching by James Parker after John Flaxman, from Alexander Pope's translation of *The Odyssey,* book 10, line 445f, inscribed below "Why sits Ulysses silent and apart, Some hoard of grief close harbour'd at his Heart," pl. 16 from *The Odyssey of Homer Engraved from the Compositions of John Flaxman* (1805); New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1977.595.53(16), Gift of Harvey Smith, 1977.

Fig. 86 *Penelope Carrying the Bow of Ulysses to the Suitors*, line engraving and etching by James Neagle after John Flaxman, with lines from Alexander Pope's translation of the Odyssey, book 21, lines 61f. inscribed below: "To the proud suitors bears in pensive state th' unbended bow and arrows winged with fate;" pl. 30 from *The Odyssey of Homer Engraved from the Compositions of John Flaxman* (1805); London, Tate Britain, Prints and Drawings Room T11216, purchased as part of the Oppé Collection with assistance from the National Lottery through the Heritage Lottery Fund 1996; Photo: © Tate

Millet's *Return of Ulysses (Spinning)* (Figs. 87-88)[139] takes place in a setting that is similar to *Penelope at the Loom (Weaving),* except that in the background on the left are Doric columns

that must belong to Ulysses' palace. The figures comprise an invented scene that is not recounted in the *Odyssey.* In the mural, Penelope's handmaidens are engaged in in the activity of spinning, while Ulysses looks on, and Ulysses' faithful dog Argus sits next to him. Penelope's handmaidens are only mentioned in the *Odyssey* in connection with their betrayal of their mistress' nightly activity of unraveling her day's work on her weaving (see the passage quoted above that makes reference to this and compare the handmaiden watching Penelope in the *Weaving* mural, Fig. 83).

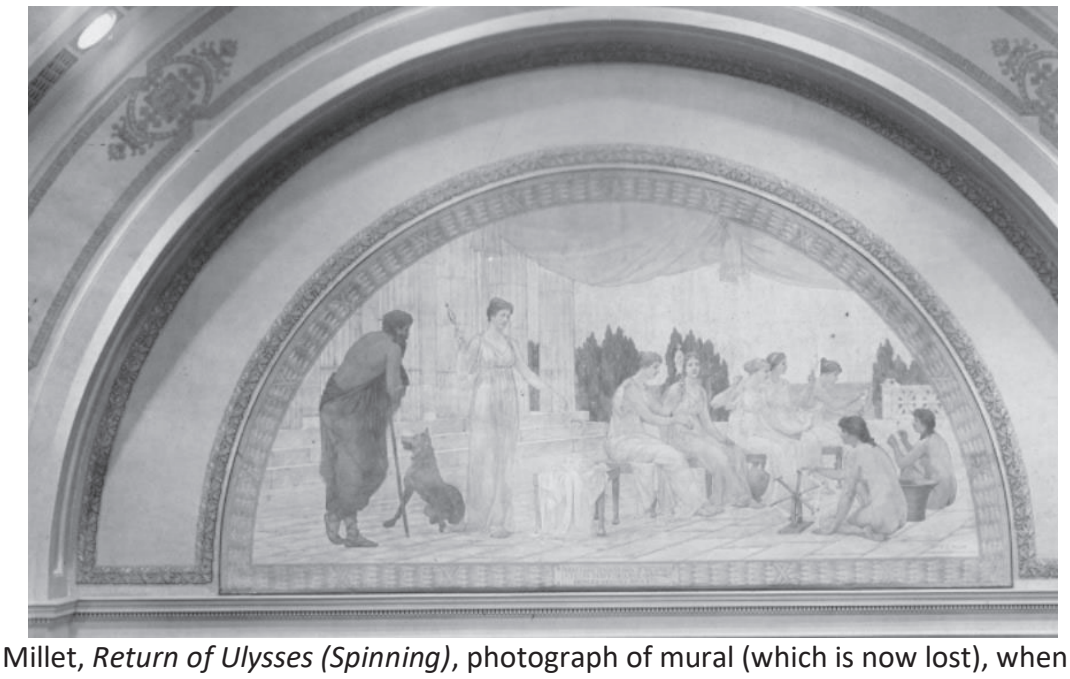


Fig. 87 F.D. Millet, *Return of Ulysses (Spinning)*, photograph of mural (which is now lost), when it was in the Auditorium at the University of Illinois; photo courtesy of the University of Illinois Archives (for inscription, see **Fig. 88**)

Fig. 88 F.D. Millet, *Return of Ulysses (Spinning)*, color lithograph from Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair: an historical and descriptive presentation of the world's science, art, and industry, as viewed through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893* (1893) vol. 1 plates; with lines from Alexander Pope's translation of the *Odyssey*, book 17, beneath image: "Next came Ulysses lowly at the door, A figure despicable, old and poor;" image from Bridgeman Images, taken from copy of *The Book of the Fair* (see above) in Special Collections, Newberry Library, Chicago.

The meeting of Ulysses and Argus to the left of the handmaidens (Fig. 89) does not occur in the palace of Ulysses, but on the way to it:

> Lo a hound his head was uplifting and pricking his ears as he lay,
> E'en Argus, the hound of Odysseus [Ulysses], whom he bred in the earlier day …
> … there he lay outcast
> Amongst the dung of oxen and of mules …
> But now so soon as he noted Odysseus [Ulysses] drawing anear
> He wagged his tail, and fawning he laid down either ear,
> But had no might to drag him nigher from where he lay
> To his master, who beheld him and wiped a tear away …
> But the murky doom of the death-day of Argus now took hold
> When he had looked on Odysseus in this the twentieth year.[140]

Presumably, Millet added the arthritic Argus to make certain that the Victorian viewers would recognize Ulysses. The story of his loyal dog, who waited twenty years for his master's return, would surely have been known to them. Besides an acquaintance with the *Odyssey,* and in particular William Morris' 1887 translation of it that is quoted in this article, these viewers may have known of the poignant story from Flaxman's composition (Fig. 90), which was republished in 1870.[141] Also, it was a popular subject for 19th-century artists, as in a print of 1885 (Fig. 91).

Fig. 89 Detail of Ulysses and his dog Argus, from **Fig. 87.**

Fig. 90 *Ulysses & his Dog*, line engraving and etching by James Parker after John Flaxman with lines from Alexander Pope's translation of the Odyssey book 17, line 399f. inscribed below: "Takes a last look, & having seen him dies, So closed for ever faithful Argus' eyes." pl. 26 from *The Odyssey of Homer Engraved from the Compositions of John Flaxman* (1805); London, Tate Britain, Prints and Drawings Room T11212, purchased as part of the Oppé Collection with assistance from the National Lottery through the Heritage Lottery Fund 1996; Photo: © Tate.

Fig. 91 Frederick Stacpoole, after Briton Rivière, *Ulysses and Argus*, 1885, print; London, British Museum 2010,7081.6046,
© The Trusteesof the British Museum.

While Argus is close to death in Flaxman's illustration, in Millet's mural he is able to raise himself on his stiff front legs. Millet's depiction of the scene also differs from Flaxman's in the appearance of Ulysses. According to Homer, Athena transformed Ulysses into an unrecognizable, aged beggar:

> So spake Athene, and touched him with the staff that she did bear,
> And on his round limbs withered the skin that was fresh and fair,
> And she wasted the yellow locks on his head; and his every limb,
> The skin of an old man ancient she did it over him,
> And bleared his eyen moreover that were so bright erewhile,
> And she cast a foul clout [cloth] on him, and a kirtle [tunic] very vile,
> All tattered and torn, and sullied with the smoke of the feasting-hall,
> And a great bald skin of a stag swift-foot she cast o'er all,
> And a staff therewith she gave him, and a scrip [a small bag], an unseemly thing,
> All tattered it was and foul, and slung by a twisted string.[142]

Flaxman followed Homer's description more closely, by showing him as a balding old man, with sagging muscles and a tunic and pouch with a cord. Millet on the other hand, seems to have made an intentional choice not to follow Homer's description of Ulysses transformed; the only detail that is consistent with Homer's account is his staff. Note that the contemplative pose that Millet gave to Ulysses, where he is leaning on his staff, is similar to the thoughtful pose that Flaxman gave him. In contrast with Flaxman, Millet depicted Ulysses in a more heroic mode with an ideal, strong body (as his viewers would have expected). Also, Millet clad Ulysses in the garb of bearded Greek philosophers and athletic trainers, who like Ulysses in his mural wore only the himation. Millet included a drawing of such a philosopher or an athletic trainer in his

"Greek Costume" (see Fig. 10 above), which he copied from Hope (Fig. 12) or Weiss (Fig. 11). Another possible connection to Hope's *Costume of the Ancients* is evident in the first seated handmaiden of Penelope in the same mural, who holds a spindle in one hand and thread in the other (Fig. 92);[143] she seems to be adapted from a Grecian lady from Hope (Fig. 93, right figure). Millet therefore modernized the classical subject matter of the *Odyssey* by inventing a new composition that demonstrated a knowledge of episodes from the original text (Penelope at her loom and Ulysses' viewing of Argus), a familiarity with antique dress, and Flaxman's depictions of the subject.

Fig. 92 Detail of handmaiden from **Fig. 87.**

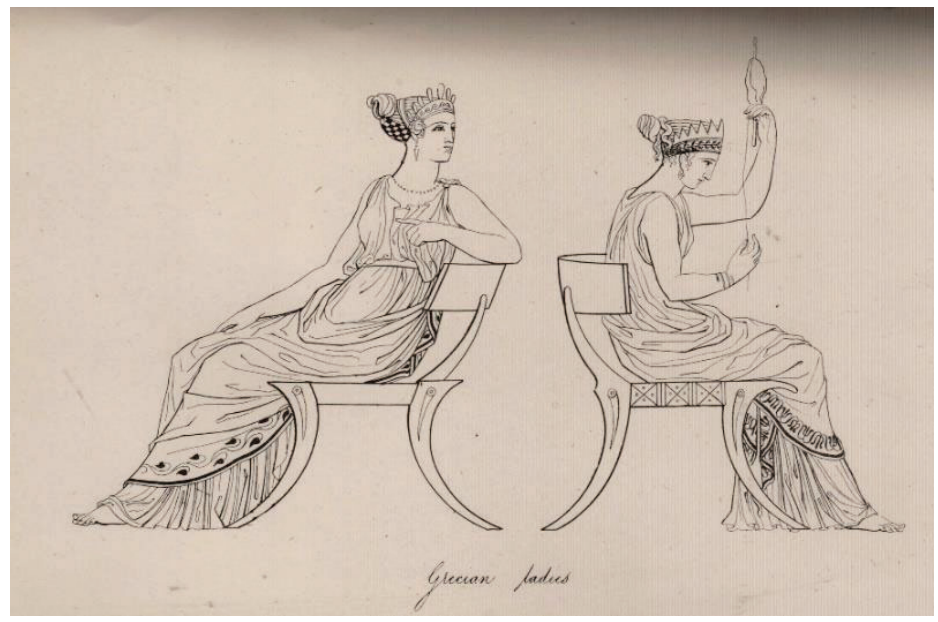


Fig. 93 "Grecian ladies," Thomas Hope, *Costume of the Ancients* (1875) pl. 134

Another of Millet's lost murals, the *Athenian Festival of the Thesmophoria* (see below for the source of the full title, although the mural is frequently referred to simply as *Thesmophoria)* of 1897, was painted for the Bank of Agriculture in Pittsburgh. Biographer Francis Millet Rogers noted that:

> Millet, observing that the architecture of the building was Grecian,[144] had very appropriately conceived the idea of placing in the lunette assigned to him, the one over the entrance, a decoration drawn from Greek mythology.[145]

Not only was the Greek architecture of the bank inspirational to Millet's choice of themes, but also the design of the bank's interior (Fig. 94) seems to have influenced the composition of his mural. In particular, the verticals of the Corinthian pilasters were repeated in the vertical processional figures. Also, the pronounced horizontal ground beneath the processional figures in the mural repeated the emphatic horizontal of the elaborate entablature below. Even the upper curve of the lunette's frame was reiterated in the kneeling figure on the right, while the children in the front of the procession called attention to the decreasing height of the left side of the lunette's rounded top. An interrelation between a building's architecture and its decoration was common in antiquity, as in the case of the Parthenon's pediments, where the

figures' positions and scales were in harmony with their triangular architectural frames (see Fig. 48).

Fig. 94 *The Bank Historical: The Bank Interior Looking Toward Entrance, 1810-1906*; photo with mural (F.D. Millet, Athenian Festival of the Thesmophoria, 1897) in situ, in Bank of Pittsburgh until its destruction ca. 1940; Francis Millet Rogers Research Material Regarding Francis Davis Millet, 1897-1955, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 95 "Thesmophoria.—Mural Decoration, by F. D. Millet, for the Bank of Agriculture, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania," photomechanical print, by permission of Curtis & Cameron, Publishers, Boston; from Charles H. Caffin, "Frank D. Millet's Mural Painting for Pittsburg," *Harper's Weekly* 41, no. 2140 (December 25, 1897), p. 2185

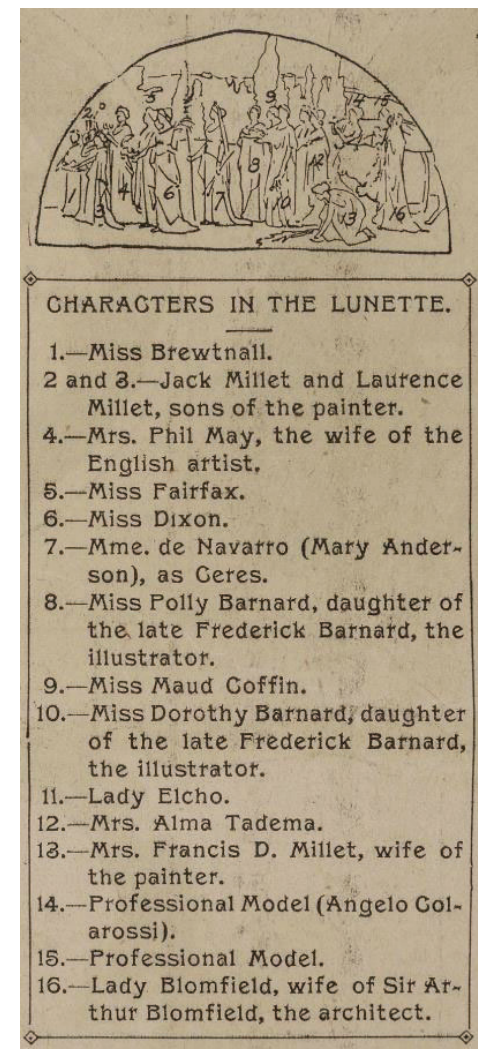
Fig. 96 F.D. Millet, *Athenian Festival of the Thesmophoria*, oil sketch on canvas, ca. 1894-1897; Provo, Utah, Brigham Young University Museum of Art, purchased with funds provided by Ira and Mary Lou Fulton

FOURTH SECTION. NEW YORK HERALD, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1897.

REPRODUCTION OF F. D. MILLET'S BEAUTIFUL LUNETTE "THESMOPHORIA."

This Exquisite Work Is Twenty-six Feet Long and Thirteen Feet High, and Many Well Known Persons Posed for the Figures. It Is for the Bank of Pittsburg, and Is Now on View in the American Art Galleries.

Fig. 97 'Reproduction of F.D. Millet's Beautiful Lunette "Thesmophoria"', 1897, New York Herald, 12, 1897, fourth section; image courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago



CHARACTERS IN THE LUNETTE.

1.—Miss Brewtnall.
2 and 3.—Jack Millet and Laurence Millet, sons of the painter.
4.—Mrs. Phil May, the wife of the English artist.
5.—Miss Fairfax.
6.—Miss Dixon.
7.—Mme. de Navarro (Mary Anderson), as Ceres.
8.—Miss Polly Barnard, daughter of the late Frederick Barnard, the illustrator.
9.—Miss Maud Coffin.
10.—Miss Dorothy Barnard, daughter of the late Frederick Barnard, the illustrator.
11.—Lady Elcho.
12.—Mrs. Alma Tadema.
13.—Mrs. Francis D. Millet, wife of the painter.
14.—Professional Model (Angelo Colarossi).
15.—Professional Model.
16.—Lady Blomfield, wife of Sir Arthur Blomfield, the architect.

Fig. 98 "Characters in the Lunette, key to the modern models who posed for characters in the *Thesmophoria* procession; from same Article as **Fig. 97;** image courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

Like the *Odyssey* murals, the *Thesmophoria* mural had costumes evidently derived from Millet's notebooks. Although the mural is now lost, its features are well known from a photograph of it in situ (Fig. 94); a black-and-white photomechanical print (Fig. 95);[146] a surviving finished sketch in oil (Fig. 96); and a contemporary newspaper article with an outline drawing (Fig. 97) and keys to the modern identifications of the figures (Fig. 98).

Charles H. Caffin, in an article in *Harper's Weekly,* provides the full title of the mural, and describes the festival that it depicts:[147]

> He [Millet] has chosen for his subject the "Athenian Festival of the Thesmophoria," celebrated yearly by women in honor of Demeter (better known by the Roman name of Ceres), the goddess who was said to have founded agriculture and the civic rite of marriage. Each year, the season which corresponds to the end of our October, the women betook themselves to the promontory of Colias, where, in the temple of the goddess, they offered sacrifice for three days, and then returned to complete the festival in Athens. Some noble lady was chosen on each occasion to act as priestess. In the picture she is represented walking alone, and carrying a thurible, from which the smoke of the incense floats. It was as happy thought to give to this figure the likeness of Madame Navarro, who, as Miss Mary Anderson,[148] is held in such high esteem by all the English-speaking world. Like all her companions, the figure is robed in white, but distinguished from them by a yellow mantle (peplos [himation]) edged with gold [Fig. 99]. Her tunic (chiton) is draped in the fashion that Mr. Millet designed for Miss Anderson's representation of *Galatea* [Fig. 31]. All the faces are portraits.[149]

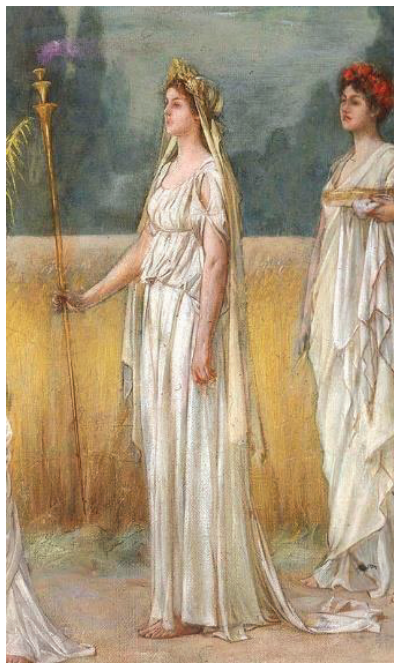


Fig. 99 Detail of Mary Anderson as priestess of Ceres or as Ceres, from **Fig. 96**

Fig. 100 Pheidias' workshop, Maidens from the east frieze of the Parthenon, 443 BCE-438 BCE, marble, London, British Museum 1816,0610.24, © The Trustees of the British Museum

The composition of the *Athenian Festival of the Thesmophoria* (hereafter, *Thesmophoria)* echoes ancient friezes like the processional maidens from the east frieze of Parthenon (Fig. 100), which Millet saw during a visit to the British Museum in 1872 (see note 110) and in the

cast collection at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.[150] At the front of the *Thesmophoria* on the left were three children, and after the women in the center, a bull was being led to sacrifice. Behind the procession was a field of grain, an attribute that the priestess of Ceres (the identification of the figure in Charles H. Caffin's artcle from *Harper's Weekly* quoted above) or Ceres herself (as identified in Fig. 98) holds in her lowered left hand. As the full title of the mural indicates, Millet set the scene of the procession in ancient Athens; in the distance on the right was the temple of Hephaestus, located above the Athenian Agora. Farther in the distance on the left was the Athenian Acropolis with the Parthenon (or an imagined temple dedicated to Demeter [Ceres] Thesmophoros, the law-giver, i.e. a Thesmophorion)[151] visible.


MR. FRANCIS D. MILLET
An American painter who has received medals on the battlefield as well as at art exhibitions

Fig. 101 Millet at work on the *Thesmophoria* mural, from Leila Mechlin, "A Decorator of Public Buildings: The Work of Francis D. Millet, an Artist who finds his Chief Inspiration in the Life of his Own Land*," The World's Work* 19.2 (December 1909), p. 12378

Fig. 102 Detail of Mary Anderson as Ceres, from same article as **Fig. 97;** Image courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

Fig. 103 Detail of Mary Anderson as Ceres, from **Fig. 95.**

However, Millet's *Thesmophoria* differed from ancient Greek friezes in the presence of portrait heads, posed on bodies in classical dress. While portrait heads of Millet's contemporaries have been proposed for figures in mythological paintings discussed above (see Figs. 50, 58, 69-70, 73 and 79), the key to the identifications for *the Thesmophoria* figures (Fig. 98) makes the practice certain in this case. To achieve the recognizable heads of members of Millet's circle in Broadway, Millet used paintings of the heads of his models, and he would balance these portraits on a ladder as he worked on the final canvas (Fig. 101). At the center of the composition was Mary Anderson as priestess of Ceres or as Ceres (Figs. 99 and 102-103); Millet also included several of his neighbors in Broadway, including Mrs. Lawrence Alma-Tadema (Figs. 104-105, right standing woman), wife of the painter of classical scenes who influenced Millet (see Figs. 56, 74, and 113). Millet's sons Jack and Laurence were featured at the front of

the procession (Figs. 98, nos. 2-3 and 106), and his wife was the model for the figure that is set apart, having stooped down to tie her sandal (Fig. 107; for the same figure type in Millet's earlier work, and its ancient source, see Figs. 49-50 and 52-53 above).

Millet wasn't the only artist to work on the mural. The contemporary newspaper (see Figs. 97-98) tells us that two of his fellow artists worked on the wreaths of two of the women, which are not visible in the oil sketch but which are visible in Figs. 104-105:

> Alma Tadema painted the wreath of flowers on his wife's hair, and Alfred Parsons, the artist, painted the wreath of poppies on the head of Mrs. Millet.[152]

Fig. 104 Detail of Mrs. Lawrence Alma-Tadema, right standing woman, and Lily Millet, kneeling figure, from **Fig. 97.**

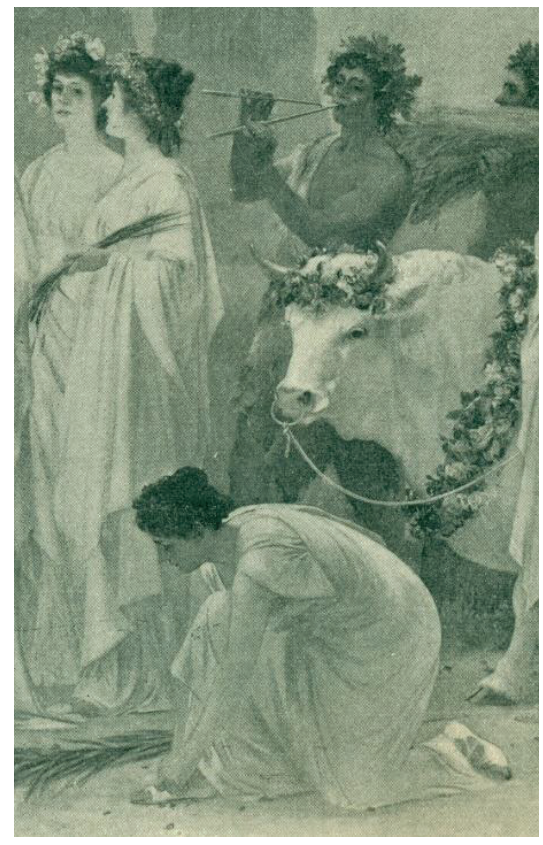


Fig. 105 Detail of Mrs. Lawrence Alma-Tadema, right standing woman, and Lily Millet, kneeling figure, from **Fig. 95.**

The same article explains the ancient deities who were included in the mural, and who were all associated with agricultural abundance. Of course, an actual procession with deities was an imaginative fabrication on Millet's part.

> In "Thesmophoria," the harvest festival in honor of Ceres, a procession is shown on its way to the temple, headed by children bearing symbols of Bacchus [see the wine amphora and thyrsus in Fig. 106], followed by maidens representing Flora [Fig. 108, woman with a basket of flowers], Pomona [Fig. 109, central woman with bowl of fruit], Persephone [woman with veiled head in Fig. 110],[153] and others accompanying Ceres ... the maidens carry palms, laurel branches, sheaves of wheat, baskets of fruit, &c., and wear garlands of flowers of the season.[154]

Fig. 106 Detail of children leading the procession, from **Fig. 96.**

Fig. 107 Detail of Lily Millet, from **Fig. 96.**

Fig. 108 Detail of Flora, from **Fig. 96.**

Fig. 109 Detail of Pamona, from **Fig. 95.**

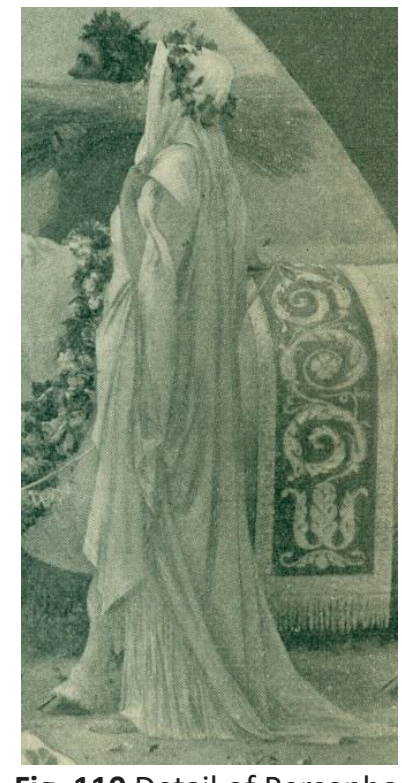


Fig. 110 Detail of Persephone. from **Fig. 95.**

The women in the center of Millet's mural were clad in white chitons, with and without sleeves, and himatia. Earlier examples of these garments have been discussed above, in regard to the Millet's costumes for Jocasta and Galatea, and in the garments in *Reading the Story of Oenone.* The central woman with the thurible (incense burner), Mary Anderson as Ceres (Figs. 99 and 102-103), wears a sleeved chiton draped similarly to the sleeveless example Millet produced for her Galatea costume (Fig. 31). In the mural and in Galatea's costume, in addition to the hidden belt over which the excess fabric is pulled to create a blousing effect, the garment is also bound under the breasts. The decoration at the hem (Figs. 102-103) consists of open and closed lotus

buds, perhaps inspired by pattern motifs from Hermann Weiss' *Kostümkunde*, pt. 2 (1860) (Fig. 112d), one of the references that Millet is known to have consulted.

Fig. 111 Persephone Painter, *Attic red-figure bell krater depicting Persephone ascending from the Underworld, assisted by Hermes, Hekate and her mother Demeter* (all the figures have their names inscribed), c. 440 BCE; New York, Metropolitan Museum 28.57.23, Fletcher Fund, 1928

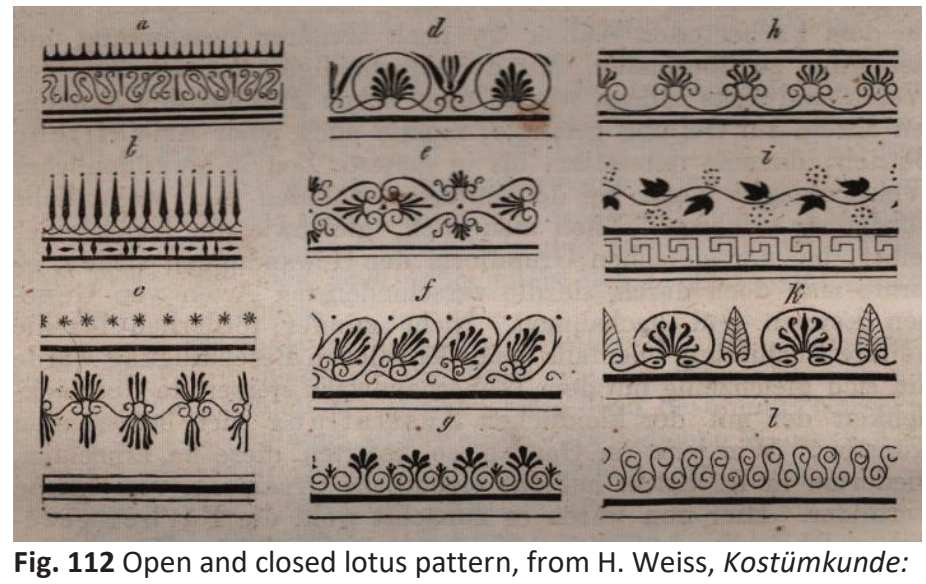


Fig. 112 Open and closed lotus pattern, from H. Weiss, *Kostümkunde: Handbuch der Geschichte der Tracht, des Baues und des Geräthes der Völker des Altertums, Zweite Abteilung, Die Völker von Europa* (1860), p. 706, fig.244d.

Alma-Tadema's *Vintage Festival* of 1871 (Fig. 113)[155] has a priestess figure with a smoking thurible and a processional composition that are similar to Millet's *Thesmophoria*. It could be said, though, that Millet's elegant chiton appears to be more accurately depicted than the loose and double-layered white overgarment worn by Alma-Tadema's priestess (Fig. 114). However, Alma-Tadema probably invented his priestess' more complex costume, perhaps to make it more ornate than everyday dress, as would be fitting for a woman of her elevated sacred status. In 1990, Louise Lippincott noted:

> He [Alma-Tadema] painted almost all his figures from life, fully dressed and adorned as they would appear in the finished painting. He seems to have designed their costumes himself using Greek and Roman prototypes. The dresses were made up from silks and wool imported by the firm of Liberty and Company, London. [156]

The popularity of pageants was an additional contemporary influence on Millet's processional composition, where contemporary figures were often clad in ancient garments. Prevalent in turn-of-the-century England and America, these were productions in which members of the general public, not professional actors, posed in allegorical and historical scenes (Fig. 115). In his role as Director of Functions at the World's Columbian Exposition, Millet had organized dozens of parades and pageants. Trudy Baltz has pointed out that in emulating the structure of these pageants in their mural paintings, artists like Millet could gain popular approval for their murals, as viewers would be more likely to take the time to understand their content and to identify with the people depicted in them.[157]

Fig. 113 Lawrence Alma-Tadema, *The Vintage Festival*, 1871, oil on wood panel; Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria p.312.7-1, Purchased, 1888

Fig. 114 Detail of priestess from **Fig. 113.**

SHEEP ADDED TO THE PASTORAL BEAUTY OF THE GREEK PAGEANT, AT NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE.

DELIGHTFULLY EFFECTIVE DANCE WITH GARLANDS OF LAUREL LEAVES AND BOLD, SIMPLE DRAPERIES.

Fig. 115 Photographs from R. Davol, *A Handbook of American Pageantry* (1914), p. 204

Conclusion

Francis Davis Millet's interest in painting Classical subjects waned after the 1890s, and he began to focus on scenes of the more recent past, namely 18th and 19th century British and American history, such as his series of murals illustrating the settlement of Ohio in the Cleveland Trust Company building (Fig. 116).[158]

Fig. 116 F.D. Millet, *Migration*, 1909, from Linda Mechlin, *Development of Civilization in America: Reproductions of the Mural Paintings by Frank Millet in the Main Banking Room of The Cleveland Trust Company* (1909), Ohio. Photo: Wikimedia Commons.

However, the study of antiquity was still important to him. Millet was a charter member of the American Academy in Rome, where he subsequently served as resident chief administrator. The founders wanted to open an American school for artists in Europe as a place to study and further their skills, and they chose Rome because the city itself was a treasure trove of art and architecture from the ancient world on. Millet was en route to America on Academy business when he perished aboard the S.S. Titanic in 1912.[159] He had made it his life's work to bring knowledge of ancient costume to his contemporaries, producing costumes, paintings, and murals that drew on his extensive knowledge. At the same time, he modernized ancient figures by using contemporary fabrics and pattern motifs in the costumes and incorporating portrait faces of his contemporaries on ideal bodies in their classical garb. He modernized classical subject matter as well, by inventing new compositions that were influenced by literary texts and popular artists' renderings of similar themes.

These innovative interpretations of classical themes were underappreciated in Millet's time, and his works were often dismissed by critics as being simply decorative. Nonetheless, in his costumes, easel paintings, and murals, Millet satisfied his own personal devotion to classical studies as well as the aesthetic expectations of his time. Finally, he can now be recognized by the distinction of having taken a path different from Alma-Tadema, who achieved greater fame than Millet in their lifetimes. Rather than overloading his paintings with antiquities, as Alma-Tadema had done, he created simpler and more elegant compositions that focused on the human protagonists. Had more of his work survived, we would understand more fully just how much recognition Millet deserves today.

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[1] Evangeline W. and Edwin H. Blashfield, "Pictorial Art on the Stage," *The Century Magazine* 35, no. 4 (February 1888): p. 545.

[2] These notebooks are in the Francis Davis Millet and Millet Family Papers, 1858-1984. Study photographs of the originals were taken September 25, 2015.

[3] On Millet's studies at Harvard, where he received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Modern Languages and Literature, see Peter A. Engstrom, *Francis Davis Millet: A Titanic Life* (2010), pp. 27-31. See also unpublished manuscript by Francis Millet Rogers, "Francis D. Millet, American of the Americans" (ca. 1955), p. II-3, Francis Millet Rogers research material regarding Francis Davis Millet, Archives of American Art.

[4] On Millet's studies at the Antwerp Academy, see Gina M. D'Angelo, "Francis Davis Millet—The Early Years of 'A Cosmopolitan Yankee,' 1846-1884" (Diss. City University of New York, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 51-76. In his first year, he won the silver prize for "excellence in the antique class"; see manuscript by Francis Millet Rogers (note 3 above), p. IV-2.

[5] See F. D. Millet, "The Art Competitions," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 69 no. 414 (November 1884): pp. 917 ff.

[6] On Millet's studio in Boston, see Peter A. Engstrom, *Francis Davis Millet: A Titanic Life* (2010) p. 83.
[7] See Ibid., p. 86.
[8] See Gina M. D'Angelo, "Francis Davis Millet—The Early Years of 'A Cosmopolitan Yankee,' 1846-1884" (Diss. City University of New York, 2004), vol. 1, p. 125.
[9] *Fourth Triennial Report of the Secretary of the Class of 1869 of Harvard College, Fifth Report—June 1881* (Boston 1881), p. 33. See also "American Art Chronicle," *American Art Review* 2.1 (Nov. 1880) p. 38.
[10] Ibid.
[11] *Harvard Daily Echo,* January 12, 1881, p. 2; and January 19, 1881, p. 6. *Harvard University Weekly Calendar,* no. 6, April 1881.
[12] "Roman Dress Described," *New-York Tribune,* March 30, 1881, p. 2e.
[13] "American Art Chronicle," *American Art Review* 2.1 (Nov. 1880) p. 38.
[14] Museum of Fine Arts. School of Drawing and Painting, *Fifth Annual Report* (1882), p. 6.
[15] "Costume Lectures, 1882," *The Art Student* vol. 1 no. 1 (Boston, June 1882), n.p.
[16] From Lucia Millet (sister) to Family, 1882-1886, undated; from the Francis Davis Millet and Millet Family Papers, 1858-1984, the Archives of American Art.
[17] February 11, 1882, p. 10.
[18] February 11, 1882, p. 8.
[19] "Roman Costumes Described," March 15, 1882, p. 2.
[20] March 22, 1882, p. 4.
[21] F.D. Millet, front cover of notebook at Archives of American Art signed by F.D. Millet, and entitled "Costume of Women, Roman."
[22] *Fourth Triennial Report of the Secretary of the Class of 1869 of the Class of 1869 of Harvard College: Fifth Report —June 1881* (Boston 1881), p. 33.
[23] "Fashions in Togas: The First of Mr. Frank D. Millet's Lectures on the Costumes of Rome," *The New York World,* February 11, 1882, p. 8.
[24] Millet, "The Tunic," pp. 1-5.
[25] Ibid., p. 10.
[26] Mary F. Curtis, *Tanagra Figurines* (1879), p. 5.
[27] "Costume Lectures, 1882," *The Art Student* vol. 1 no. 1 (Boston, June 1882), n.p.
[28] The edition that has been used for this article is the one closest in date to Millet's study of ancient costume, i.e. Hope's *Costume of the Ancients, A New Edition, with Three Hundred and Twenty-One Plates* (1875).
[29] Weiss names the 1841 edition of *Costume of the Ancients* as the reference that he consulted: see *Kostümkunde,* pt. 2, (1860), p. 689 note 1. Also, Weiss cites Hope fig. 107 as his source for fig. 253c: see *Kostümkunde,* pt. 2 (1860), p. 1365.
[30] See Millet's "Costume Notes," pp. 3-4, where he includes a long quote from the 1812 or 1841 edition of *Costume of the Ancients,* pp. 39-40; or from the 1875 edition of the same reference, p. 35. Here Millet only names "Hope" as his source for the quotation.
[31] It is plate 107 in each edition. Hope's *Costume of the Ancients* remains to this day a standard reference on ancient costume. For example, illustrations from Dover's *Costumes of the Greeks and Romans,* a 1962 reprint of the 1812 edition of Hope's *Costume of the Ancients,* are used in P.G. Tortora and S.B. Marcketti, *Survey of Historic Costume* (25th ed., 2015).
[32] Millet, "Greek Costume," undated, p. 5.
[33] See the 1812 and 1841 editions, p. 21; and the 1875 edition, p. 22.
[34] See C.M. Lehmann, "Early Greek Athletic Trainers," *Journal of Sport History* 36.2 (Summer 2009), pp. 189-190 and 194.
[35] A search of the term "philosopher" in the Decoration Description query box of the Beazley Archive Pottery Database, which is a comprehensive database of Attic/Athenian vases, failed to yield any results, while a search of the term "trainer" provided 620 Attic vases with this figure type.
[36] On the vase, now in a private collection in Zürich, see vase no. 214607 in Beazley Archive Pottery Database: https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/0B73EF5C-0DB9-4A96-BB73-823B23A8410B.
[37] On the vase, see the Beazley Archive Pottery Database; and its entry on the web site of the British Museum.
[38] Museum of Fine Arts. School of Drawing and Painting, *Sixth Annual Report* (1882), p. 6.
[39] The cover of Scrapbook 1 also bears the dates 1885-1905.
[40] Study photos of Figs. 15, 17 and 18 were kindly provided to Frances Van Keuren, with the assistance of Michael Sullivan, Independent Art Historian, by Dr. Charlotte Poulton, Assistant Professor of Art History at Utah Valley University, and Dr. Gina M. D'Angelo, Independent Art Historian. Dan Santamaria, Director of Tufts Archival Research Center, facilitated the request for the photographs in these figures.

[41] L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* (updated edition, 2003), pp. 48 and 52; figs. 101 (Fig. 16 in this article) and 127; J. Jannot, *Les reliefs archaïques de Chiusi* (1984), p. 12 no. 6, pl. 74.
[42] Millet, "Greek Costume," pp. 3-4 (Fig. 19b is p. 4). What Millet called the diploidion is now commonly referred to by archaeologists as the peplos. For a recent discussion of the drapery term peplos, see M. M. Lee, *Body, Dress, and Identity in Ancient Greece* (2015), pp. 100-106.
[43] For the quotation from Hope's *Costume of the Ancients* (1875 ed.) vol. 1, p. 35, see Millet, "Costume Notes," pp. 3-4.
[44] "The Greek Play at Harvard," *Harper's Weekly: Journal of Civilization* vol. 25 no. 1274 (May 28, 1881) pp. 344-345 and 351; and Frank D. Millet, "Costumes in the Greek Play at Harvard," *The Century Magazine* vol. 23.1 (November 1881) pp. 65-79. In the article "The First Number of the Century Magazine," *The Portland [Maine] Daily Press* (October 27, 1881) p. 2, this and the other illustrations by Alfred Brennan are described as being "drawings from life."
[45] Frank D. Millet, "Costumes in the Greek Play at Harvard," *The Century Magazine* vol. 23.1 (November 1881) p. 66.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid., p. 72.
[49] Ibid. Evidence for weights can be found in the long edges of the diploidion's overfold, that hang straight down over the right side of Jocasta's himation.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Frank D. Millet, "Greek Costume," undated, p. 6, states: "While Doric chiton [the diploidion] was of wool Ionic [as in Jocasta, Fig. 26, and Galatea, Figs. 31-32] was of linen silk or cotton usually former." There is limited evidence for cotton in ancient Greece. On a possible cotton fiber from a late-fifth century BC tomb in the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens, see C. Margariti and M. Kinti, "The Conservation of a 5th-Century BC Excavated Textile Find from the Kerameikos Cemetery at Athens," in *Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress: An Interdisciplinary Anthology,* ed. M. Harlow and M.-L. Nosch (2014), pp. 130-149. On possible mentions of cotton in ancient literary sources, see J.P. Wild, "Byssus," *The Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 4th ed. (2012) p. 256. Although it is possible that silk was known in the Greek Hellenistic period, it did not become common until the Roman period; see B. Hildebrandt, 'Silk production and trade in the Roman Empire', in *Silk: Trade and Exchange along the Silk Roads between Rome and China in Antiquity,* ed. B. Hildebrandt with C. Gillis (2017), pp. 34-37.
[52] Frank D. Millet, "Costumes in the Greek Play at Harvard," *The Century Magazine* vol. 23.1 (November 1881) p. 67.
[53] Ibid., p. 73.
[54] Translation by Lewis Campbell, from *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles, Harvard University, Sanders Theatre, May 17, 19, and 20, 1881, the Greek Department,* lines 1268-1270, p. 68.
[55] Frank D. Millet, "Costumes in the Greek Play at Harvard," *The Century Magazine* vol. 23.1 (November 1881) p. 73.
[56] *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Feb. 4, 1883, p. 13.
[57] Mary Anderson, *A Few Memories* (1896), p. 117.
[58] J. W. Stedman, *W.S. Gilbert: A Classic Victorian and His Theatre* (1996), p. 91.
[59] Mary Anderson, *A Few Memories* (1896), p. 117.
[60] Ibid., p. 148.
[61] Ibid., pp. 118-119.
[62] *Boston Herald,* December 16, 1883, p. 2.
[63] *Pall Mall Budget,* December 14, 1883, p. 7.
[64] Frank D. Millet, "Greek Costume," undated, p. 7 (Fig. 35b).
[65] "Mary Anderson's Costume as a Statue", *Cincinnati Enquirer* Feb. 4, 1883, p. 13.
[66] Mary Anderson, *A Few Memories* (1896), p. 119.
[67] Gail Marshall, *Actresses on the Victorian stage: feminine performance and the Galatea myth* (1998), p. 56.
[68] Essaka Joshua, "The Mythographic Context of Shaw's Pygmalion," *Nineteenth Century Theatre*, vol. 26, No. 2 (Winter 1998), (pp. 112-137), p. 126.
[69] Ibid., p. 121
[70] Mary Anderson, *A Few Memories* (1896), p. 147.
[71] "Mary Anderson's Costume as a Statue", *Cincinnati Enquirer* Feb. 4, 1883, p. 13.
[72] The oil sketch was sold June 4, 2015, by Swann Auction Galleries, New York; see catalog, American Art (sale 2386), lot 17: https://catalogue.swanngalleries.com/Lots/auction-lot/FRANCIS-DAVIS-MILLET-A-Roman-Patrician?saleno=2386&lotNo=17&refNo=705393. We can trace the provenance of the oil sketch through a mention by Millet's friend Laurence Hutton, in his *Talks in a Library* (New York and London, 1905), p. 98: "The original

study for it [i.e. Millet's lost painting], a small sketch in oils given to me by the painter many years ago, is still in my possession …" Gina M. D'Angelo, who examined the oil sketch at Swann Galleries before the auction of 2015, clearly saw the inscription "Laurence Hutton from" above Millet's signature on the lower right.

[73] Archives of American Art, Reel 5904, Frames 276-278: https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/francis-davis-millet-and-millet-family-papers-9048/series-3/reel-5904-frames-235-431

[74] *New York Tribune,* May 4, 1882, p. 5.

[75] Compare the description of the portrait in "The Society of American Artists," *The New York Times,* May 4, 1882, p. 5: "Cassius is covering his head with the upper portion of his toga, and looks down and sidewise with pinched cheeks and an expression of anger and disdain. Perhaps the weak spot is the expression. It is not thoroughly decisive and has a touch of the actor; it has a suggestion of a pose."

[76] Shakespeare, *Select Plays: Julius Caesar,* ed. W.A. Wright (1879), lines 205-208, p. 10.

[77] "Society of American Artists," *New-York Tribune,* May 4, 1882, p. 5.

[78] Shakespeare, *Select Plays: Julius Caesar,* ed. W.A. Wright (1879), lines 73-74, p. 20.

[79] "The Poenula, Head and Foot Gear; Leg covering; Toilette; Ornament," note opposite p. 8.

[80] See the article "American Art at the Munich International Exhibition," in *The Sun (Baltimore),* May 23, 1883, p. 5: "The actor stands in his white hooded drapery on a marble platform against a light background, holding a parchment scroll."

[81] Shakespeare, *Select Plays: Julius Caesar,* ed. W.A. Wright (1879), lines 85-89, pp. 15-16.

[82] "Costume Notes," p. 1.

[83] Ibid. Millet's research included the study of costume histories to achieve a knowledge of the toga. See, for example, his copies (Fig. 42) of illustrations of a simplified toga design from Weiss' *Kostümkunde,* pt. 2 (1860), p. 957, fig. 376 (Fig. 43).

[84] For a detailed description of this statue and its history, along with bibliography, see: HTTPS://WWW.COLLEZIONEGALLERIABORGHESE.IT/EN/OPERE/PORTRAIT-HEAD-OF-AUGUSTUS-ATTACHED-TO-A-TOGAED-BODY

[85] For discussions and illustrations of Roman emperors in the role of Pontifex Maximus, see D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (1992), pp. 63, 65, 72-73, 141-142, 183, 185, 226, 240-241, 252, 294 and 336-337. Leonhard Schmitz, "Pontifex," in *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities,* ed. William Smith (2nd ed. 1851), p. 942, states: "The emperors themselves were always chief pontiffs." Besides the Roman emperors, elite Romans engaged in religious ceremonies customarily wore their togas with their heads veiled as a sign of piety. See A. Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion* (2010), pp. 52, 80 and 82; and S. Stone, "The Toga: From National to Ceremonial Costume," in J. L. Sebesta and L. Bonfante, eds., *The World of Roman Costume* (1994), pp. 17, 20-21, 24 and 42 note 58.

[86] On Millet's time in Rome from 1873 to 1874, see Peter A. Engstrom, *Francis Davis Millet: A Titanic Life* (2010), pp. 55-58

[87] Loose drawing in "Roman Costume."

[88]"Costume Notes," pp. 1-3. Compare the similar description and illustrations of the draping of the toga in S. Stone, "The Toga: From National to Ceremonial Costume," in J. L. Sebesta and L. Bonfante, eds., *The World of Roman Costume* (1994), p. 16 and Fig. 1.4a-d: "First an entire side of the garment was loosely rolled into folds. One end of the side with these folds was placed against the lower left leg of the wearer, then passed up the left side and over the shoulder. The rest of the toga was then wrapped loosely around the back and placed beneath the right arm in order to facilitate the use of the arm. Then the remainder of the garment was brought around the chest and thrown back over the left shoulder, concealing the end of the toga from which the drapery started."

[89] Cockerell used this drawing after Jacques Carrey as the basis for pl. 20 of his *Description of the collection of ancient marbles in the British Museum with engravings, Part VI* (1830): https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_BgNVAAAAcAAJ/page/n117/mode/2up

[90] F. D. Millet, "The Watts Exhibition," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 71 (June 1885) p. 98.

[91] On the artists of Broadway, England, dressing up in period costumes for a now unknown painting by Millet's friend Edwin Austin Abbey, see Marc Simpson, "Windows on the Past: Edwin Austin Abbey and Francis Davis Millet in England," *American Art Journal* 22.3 (1990) pp. 77-78. The passage that Simpson quotes on p. 77 is from a letter by Millet's sister Lucia of August 3, 1886, written from Broadway to family, in the Archives of American Art, Reel 5904, Frame 1102.

[92] On this watercolor, see Gina M. D'Angelo, "Francis Davis Millet—The Early Years of 'A Cosmopolitan Yankee,' 1846-1884" (Diss. City University of New York, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 249-250.

[93] *Illustrated Catalogue Sixteenth Annual Exhibition of the American Watercolor Society* (1883) p. 13 no. 171; and "Fine Arts. The Water-color Exhibition," *The Nation* vol. 36 (Feb. 15,1883) p. 157. The exhibition is known to have opened on Jan. 26, 1883 and closed on Feb. 25, 1883; see the "Analytic Chart of the Annual Exhibitions of the

American Watercolor Society, 1867/68-1921," Version 2: June 2019, exhibition 16: https://philamuseum.libguides.com/ld.php?content_id=50398840.

[94] On this oil painting, see Gina M. D'Angelo, "Francis Davis Millet—The Early Years of 'A Cosmopolitan Yankee,' 1846-1884" (Diss. City University of New York, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 250-251.

[95] See Emma J. Stafford, "Viewing and Obscuring the Female Breast: Glimpses of the Ancient Bra," in Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, eds., *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World* (2005), p. 105.

[96] Peter A. Engstrom, *Francis Davis Millet: A Titanic Life* (2010), pp. 54-55.

[97] See Acropolis Museum 973: https://www.theacropolismuseum.gr/en/athena-nike-temple-parapet-south-slab-sandalbinder. Also see R. Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet* (1929), pp. 62-65.

[98] See E. Robinson, *Museum of Fine Arts: Descriptive Catalogue of the Casts from Greek and Roman Sculpture* (1887), pp. 106-107.

[99] R. Kekulé, *Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike* (1881), pl. 4, fig. O.

[100] Peter A. Engstrom, *Francis Davis Millet: A Titanic Life* (2010), p. 146, noted in regard to this oil painting: "Frank probably took the subject's position from *Nike Fastening Her Sandal,* a balustrade feature on the Temple of Athena Nike [here, Figs. 52-53]." Engstrom did not, however, connect the Sandal-Binder (Figs. 52-53) to Millet's other renderings whose poses show a less obvious connection to the ancient relief (Figs. 49 and 106 [see below]).

[101] Fig. 56 is discussed in the exhibition catalog *Pre-Raphaelite and Romantic Painting from National Museums Liverpool* (2015) p. 197 no. 19, where the Bacchante is described as wearing "the pelt of a leopard or panther."

[102] "The Exhibition: English Contributions to the Fine Art Department," *Boston Daily Advertiser,* May 25, 1876, p. 1. For the catalog entry for the painting, see the *International Exhibition. 1876 Official Catalogue, Part II: Art Gallery, Annexes, and Outdoor Works of Art. Department IV.—Art,* second and revised edition (1876), p. 64 no. 165. For a large version of *Vintage Festival,* see Figs. 113-114.

[103] Charles M. Kurtz, *Illustrated Art Notes upon the Annual Exhibition of the National Academy of Design* (1883), p. 70 no. 462. *The Evening Bulletin* of Providence, Rhode Island, stated in the issue for April 11, 1883, p. 2, that the exhibition opened on April 2, 1883.

[104] H. Barbara Weinberg noted that "the figure on the far right in the painting *[Reading the Story of Oenone,* Fig. 58] is a 'first cousin' to that in the watercolor" [Fig. 49], but she did not identify the ancient Sandal-Binder as a source for both works; for Weinberg's observation, in a letter from her to Herbert Adler of 16 June 1988, see B. Weber, *Drawn from Tradition: American Drawings and Watercolors from the Susan and Herbert Adler Collection* (1989), pp. 12 and 25 note 6.

[105] The first showing of the watercolor *Lacing the Sanda*l was on Jan. 26, 1883 (see note 93).

[106] Charles M. Kurtz, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Art Gallery of the Southern Exposition,* Louisville, Ky., August 16-October 25, 1884, pp. 37-38 no. 171.

[107] *Francis D. Millet, American of the Americans* (ca. 1955), p. VII-4, Francis Millet Rogers research material regarding Francis Davis Millet, Archives of American Art. The Detroit Institute of Arts (previously known as the Detroit Museum of Art), the owner of the painting, still sells such color prints (see https://customprints.dia.org/detail/491429/millet-reading-the-story-of-oenone-ca.-1883); they are available from other outlets as well.

[108] Charles M. Kurtz, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Art Gallery of the Southern Exposition,* Louisville, Ky., August 16-October 25, 1884, p. 37.

[109] Michael Sullivan kindly called the authors' attention to an 1885 painting by Alma-Tadema with a similar theme, *A Reading from Homer,* Philadelphia Museum of Art E1924-4-1: https://philamuseum.org/collection/object/102964 and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A_Reading_from_Homer For a detailed discussion of the painting, see R. Dorment, *British Painting in the Philadelphia Museum of Art from the Seventeenth through the Nineteenth Century* (1986), pp. 3-7. The setting of Alma-Tadema's painting has much greater depth, with its four figures in a curved exedra from a building that overlooks the sea and a peninsula.

[110] Peter A. Engstrom, *Francis Davis Millet: A Titanic Life* (2010), pp. 42-43, reports that during a visit to London in 1872, Millet and two friends "were soon visiting the important art museums [in London]." Gina M. D'Angelo kindly called our attention to a mention in her dissertation of a letter, which she shared with us, from one of these two friends. Dated 20 August 1872, it confirms that Millet saw the Elgin Marbles at the British Museum in August 1872. See D'Angelo, "Francis Davis Millet—The Early Years of "A Cosmopolitan Yankee,' 1846-1884" (Diss. City University of New York, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 257-258 and note 220 p. 297. The letter is from Edwin Graves Champney to his father; a microfilm copy of it is in the Edwin Graves Champney papers, reel 2898, the Archives of American Art. Champney wrote: "The Elgin Marbles did not please me so much as I had expected. They were very much mutilated." Unfortunately, Champney does not indicate what Millet's reaction was to the sculptures, but, given their apparent influence on his work, it seems likely that Millet appreciated them more than his friend did.

[111] See E. Robinson, *Museum of Fine Arts: Descriptive Catalogue of the Casts from Greek and Roman Sculpture* (1887), pp. 69-70.
[112] See "Fine Arts: Annual Exhibition of the Artists' Fund Society," *New York Herald,* Jan. 4, 1885, p. 11; and ledger for "Artist Fund Society Sale Jany 13th & 14th 1885," no. 39, New York Historical Society.
[113] Gina M. D'Angelo, "Francis Davis Millet—The Early Years of 'A Cosmopolitan Yankee,' 1846-1884" (Diss. City University of New York, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 273-4; "The Art Association Exhibition," *Art Amateur*, vol. 10.4 (March 1884) p. 87; "Fine Arts: Pictures by Native Artists at the American Art Gallery," *New York Herald,* Jan. 19, 1884, p. 6; "Sales at the Water-color Exhibition—Oil Exhibitions Present and to Come," *New York Tribune,* Feb. 3, 1884, p. 4; and "American Art Association," *New York Times,* Jan. 19, 1884, p. 3.
[114] *The Quest for Unity: American Art Between World's Fairs 1876-1893*, ed. Deborah Fenton Shepherd, David Hanks, and Kathleen Pyne (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1983), p. 123.
[115] Michael Sullivan, Independent Art Historian, suggested that the red-headed left woman is intended to reference Alma-Tadema's wife Laura Epps Alma-Tadema. As a parallel, Mr. Sullivan proposes that Laura served as the model for the red-headed Maenad in the middle foreground of Alma-Tadema's 1887 oil painting, *The Women of Amphissa,* Sterling and Francine Clark Institute, Williamstown, Mass. 1978.12: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Women_of_Amphissa; https://www.clarkart.edu/artpiece/detail/the-women-of-amphissa. See R. J. Barrow, *Lawrence Alma-Tadema* (2001), pp. 131-134. If Mr. Sullivan is correct, then the red-headed woman in *Reading the Story of Oenone* adheres to a more feminine ideal than the figure in *The Women of Ammphissa* and in two portraits that predate Millet's painting (Fig. 58), i.e. Alma-Tadema, *Portrait of Miss Laura Theresa Epps,* ca. 1871, private collection: https://www.wikiart.org/en/sir-lawrence-alma-tadema/portrait-of-miss-laura-theresa-epps; and Jules Bastien-Lepage, *Laura, Lady Alma-Tadema,* 1879: https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/laura-lady-alma-tadema-141670. In all three works, a long, prominent nose is apparent, while Millet's red-headed woman has a more delicately proportioned nose.
[116] See "National Academy of Design," *The Sun* of Baltimore, April 4, 1883, Supplement page 1.
[117] Charles M. Kurtz, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Southern Exposition, Louisville, Ky. August 16-October 25, 1884,* p. 38.
[118] Ibid., pp. 37-38.
[119] *Poems by Alfred Tennyson,* vol. 1 (1842), p. 122.
[120] This Pentelic marble copy of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos, found in a Roman house in Athens in 1880, is believed to be the ancient replica that best reproduces all the features of the original statue. On a modern reconstruction of the Athena Parthenos, see N. Leipen, *Athena Parthenos: A Reconstruction* (1971).
[121] *Paintings and Sculpture in the Collection of the National Academy of Design: Volume I, 1826-1925,* ed. D. B. Dearinger (2004), p. 395.
[122] "Francis D. Millet, American of the Americans" (ca. 1955), p. VIII-2, Francis Millet Rogers research material regarding Francis Davis Millet, Archives of American Art.
[123] *New York Evening Post,* 2nd edition, April 22, 1884, p. 3. For the view that Alma-Tadema intentionally combined archaeological sources from different eras in his *Sappho* (or *Sappho and Alcaeus),* see R. J. Barrow, *Lawrence Alma-Tadema* (2001), p. 98: *"Sappho* presents no faithful archaeological reconstruction but a suggestion of antiquity based on an imaginative combination of sources."
[124] *New York Sun,* April 18, 1884, p. 2
[125] *New York Daily Tribune,* April 5, 1884, p. 5.
[126] A photo showing the damaged back and left side of Hestia (Fig. 76) shows that her himation was once pulled up over her left shoulder, as in Millet's *Queen of the Feast.*
[127] Dr. Gina M. D'Angelo, who kindly read and commented on this article, observed: "Not sure I see a resemblance to Lily—model's face seems more pudgy. But Millet truly does try to give his classical sources a modern/contemporary visage."
[128] "Pageantry and Mural Painting: Community Rituals in Allegorical Form," *Winterthur Portfolio,* vol. 15, no. 3 (Autumn, 1980), pp. 211-228 (p. 223)
[129] "Francis D. Millet, American of the Americans" (ca. 1955), p. VIII-3.
[130] For the quotation, see https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/21401.
[131] These titles for the two *Odyssey* murals can be found in the reliable sources of *Rand, McNally & Co.'s A Week at the Fair Illustrating the Exhibits and Wonders of the World's Columbian Exposition* (1893), p. 134; and Col. George R. Davis and Mrs. Potter Palmer, *The World's Columbian Exposition* (1893), pp. 101-102.
[132] Francis Millet Rogers describes the mural's theme as "an allegory of the Empire State [New York] encouraging the arts and sciences. The state is represented by the goddess Juno attended by a peacock." See Rogers, "Francis D. Millet, American of the Americans" (ca. 1955), p. X-5, Francis Millet Rogers research material regarding Francis Davis Millet, Archives of American Art.

[133] For a view of the mural of *The Triumph of Juno* in situ, see: https://www.fdmillet.org/landing-page/1893-the-new-york-state-building-banquet-hall-mural/ For a description of the figures in the mural, see the *Report of the Board of General Managers of the Exhibit of the State of New York at the World's Columbian Exposition* (1894), pp. 98-99. According to SIRIS' Inventory of American Paintings no. 86130002, the mural survives today, and is in the New York State Capitol in Albany, New York. This claim on the mural's survival can be found in two additional sources: *Brochure of the Mural Painters, a National Society Founded 1895* (1916) p. 45; and *Heroes in the Fight for Beauty: The Muralists of the Hudson County Court House,* exhibition at the Jersey City Museum (1986) p. 95. Frances Van Keuren, one of the authors of this study, has written twice to the Curatorial Services for the Office of General Services in New York (more recently on September 3, 2024) to inquire about the mural's current location, but she has not yet received a response.

[134] In Fig. 88 below, Millet followed Flaxman in quoting a passage from Alexander Pope's translation of the *Odyssey*.

[135] *The Sunday [Boston] Herald,* Oct. 22, 1893, p. 26.

[136] *Muskegon [Michigan] Daily Chronicle,* April 13, 1893, p. 5.

[137] *The Odyssey of Homer done into English verse by William Morris,* vol. 2 (1887), p. 349, Book 19, lines 149 ff.

[138] For the extensive scholarly literature on Fig. 84, see the Beazley Archive Pottery Database 216789: https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/F322BAD4-652B-4E56-AFE7-E51A636F2E81 The skyphos was known in Millet's time, as attested by its publication in the *Monumenti inediti pubblicati dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 9 (1869-1873) pl. 42: https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/2467832/image/2470406.

[139] After being in the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, the mural was moved to the Auditorium of the University of Illinois, Champaign, where it was located from 1908 to 1938. It was subsequently lost. See Muriel Scheinman, "Letters to the Editor," *Archives of American Art Journal* 18.2 (1978) p. 25.

[140] *The Odyssey of Homer done into English verse by William Morris,* vol. 2 (1887), pp. 315-317, Book 17, lines 291 ff.

[141] *The classical compositions of John Flaxman ... sculptor, comprising the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, and the tragedies of Aeschylus, engraved at Rome by Piroli; and the Theogony, and Works and days of Hesiod, engraved by William Blake* (1870). On December 20, 2024, Frances Van Keuren examined a copy of this reference at the Harry Ransom Book Collection, The University of Texas at Austin, -F- NB 497 F63. The engraving from the 1805 edition of *The Odyssey of Homer Engraved from the Compositions of John Flaxman* that is shown in Fig. 90 is identical to that in the 1870 edition, seeming to indicate that the plate from the 1805 edition was reused to print the 1870 engraving.

[142] *The Odyssey of Homer done into English verse by William Morris,* vol. 2 (1887), p. 246, Book 13, lines 429 ff.

[143] On Penelope's handmaidens, see the quotation above from the *Odyssey* Book 19.

[144] The bank had Corinthian columns on its facade and Corinthian pilasters in its interior. The building, along with the two murals inside of it, was demolished in 1944. See J. D. Van Trump, *Life and Architecture in Pittsburgh* (2nd ed. 1985), pp. 59-61; and S. B. Landau, *George B. Post, Architect: Picturesque Designer and Determined Realist* (1998), pp. 101-102, figs. 59-60.

[145] "Francis D. Millet, American of the Americans" (ca. 1955), p. XI-3, Francis Millet Rogers research material regarding Francis Davis Millet, Archives of American Art.

[146] For the original photomechanical print, see Photograph Study Collection LOC LC001505, Smithsonian American Art Museum.

[147] For knowledge in Millet's time about the ancient Thesmophoria, which differed from Millet's depiction in details such as the sacrifice of piglets rather than a bull, see "Thesmophoria," in W. Smith et all, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* vol. 2 (1891), pp. 829-836. For a modern summary of the festival, see E. V. Håland, *Greek Festivals, Modern and Ancient* vol. 2 (2017), pp. 352-367.

[148] Mary Anderson married Antonio Fernando de Navarro in 1890.

[149] Charles H. Caffin, "Frank D. Millet's Mural Painting for Pittsburg," *Harper's Weekly* 41, no. 2140 (December 25, 1897), p. 2194.

[150] E. Robinson, *Museum of Fine Arts Boston: Catalogue of Casts Part III: Greek and Roman Sculpture* (1891), p. 172.

[151] On the possible location of the traces of the Thesmophorion on the northwest slope of the Acropolis, see O. Broneer, "The Thesmophorion in Athens," *Hesperia* 11.3 (July-September 1942), pp. 250-274.

[152] "Millet's Lovely Models," *New York Herald,* 12, 1897, fourth section.

[153] Millet may have here intended to allude to the idea of Persephone's annual return from the Underworld to bring renewed fertility to the earth, a theme depicted in *anodos* (rising up) scenes on Greek vases (for example,

see Fig. 111; for literature on the vase, see Beazley Archive Pottery Database no. 214158: https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/99A760A4-C4C4-4114-B1F2-3493A8D4822D).

[154] "Millet's Lovely Models," *New York Herald,* 12, 1897, fourth section.

[155] Alma-Tadema painted a second, nearly identical *Vintage Festival* in 1871, which is now located at the Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. HK-1906, Hamburg. For a good discussion of the iconography of both paintings, see R. J. Barrow, *Lawrence Alma-Tadema* (2001), pp. 48-52.

[156] Louise Lippincott, *Lawrence Alma Tadema: 'Spring'* (1990), p. 75.

[157] "Pageantry and Mural Painting: Community Rituals in Allegorical Form," *Winterthur Portfolio,* vol. 15, no. 3 (Autumn, 1980), pp. 211-228 (p. 223).

[158] For a description of the project and illustrations of the murals, see https://glts.org/articles/millet/ctc/murals.html.

[159] Michael Sullivan has kindly called our attention to the fact that Millet was urgently called back to America in 1912 for another reason: "Millet, as Vice Chair of the US Commission of Fine Arts, was en route to America in the quickest way possible at the urging of Daniel Burnham, chair of the US Commission, to urge final passage of the design and placement of the Lincoln Memorial" (communication of 18 June 2025). In accordance with the wishes of the US Commission, the exterior of the Lincoln Memorial, designed by Henry Bacon, has a peristyle of Doric columns in imitation of the Parthenon; and the huge seated statue of Lincoln in the interior, by Daniel Chester French, may have been intended to evoke Pheidias' colossal enthroned statue of Zeus from the god's famous Doric temple at Olympia. See Edward F. Concklin, *The Lincoln Memorial, Washington* (1927), pp. 85-86: https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015028026378&seq=221; and National Park Service, "Lincoln Memorial Design and Symbolism": https://www.nps.gov/linc/learn/historyculture/lincoln-memorial-design-and-symbolism.htm On ancient copies of Pheidias' lost statue of Zeus, see Gisela M. A. Richter, "The Pheidian Zeus at Olympia," *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 35.2 (1966), pp. 166-170: https://www.jstor.org/stable/147305