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We're All A Little Bit Gay: Female Homoeroticism In Greek Art

by
Devon Matson

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements of Senior Independent Study

Supervised by
Dr. Jordan Biro-Walters and Dr. Olivia Navarro-Farr
History and Archaeology

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ABSTRACT

This study provides a close analysis of women in artwork from Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic Greece (700-30 BC). Such images have traditionally been considered from exclusively heteronormative and androcentric perspectives. I employ queer and feminist theory in an attempt to provide a new understanding of the images present on these examples of ancient art which showcase women's relationships. I examine a terracotta figure, a stamnos, a psykter, and a cup that display women interacting with one another. Their interactions demonstrate both homosocial and homoerotic relations. In an effort to reach a broader audience, I have curated a digital exhibit that displays each piece along with their individual analysis. The pieces and their reinterpretation create a space for women and lesbians of the ancient world to have their history told, as it has commonly been underacknowledged from the historical narrative, particularly in ancient Greek archaeology.

DEDICATION

To the women whose stories have been overlooked.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would first like to thank my parents, Dale and Darcy Matson, who have always supported me and instilled in me a work ethic that has allowed me to complete this Independent Study to the best of my abilities. My mother has seen the ups and downs of this project, but she has encouraged me every step of the way. Although my father is not here to see the completion of this work, I know that he would have been proud of it and me. I am grateful to have parents that have encouraged me and provided me with the opportunity to tackle such a large research project. I would also like to thank my brother David, my sister-in-law Steph, and my nephew Nathan. They have provided support and been a source of joy during this process.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	i
Dedication.....	iii
Acknowledgments.....	v
Table of Contents.....	vii
List of Figures.....	ix
Chapter 1: Historiography.....	1
Chapter 2: Theory and Methods.....	13
Theory.....	13
Methods.....	23
Chapter 3: Digital Exhibit.....	29
Demeter and Persephone.....	29
Female Athletes Bathing.....	31
Four Hetaerae.....	32
Cup From Tarquinia.....	35
Bibliography.....	37
Work Cited.....	46

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1 Outside of kylix with two nude women handling their clothes.....	18
Figure 2.2 Outside of kylix with girls and youths in conversation.....	18
Figure 3.1 Front view of Demeter and Persephone terracotta.....	29
Figure 3.2 Side view of Demeter and Persephone terracotta.....	30
Figure 3.3 Stamnos with female athletes bathing.....	31
Figure 3.4 Four Hetaerae, Side One.....	32
Figure 3.5 Four Hetaerae, Side Two.....	33
Figure 3.6 Four Hetaerae, Side Three.....	33
Figure 3.7 Four Hetaerae, Side Four.....	34
Figure 3.8 Cup from Tarquinia.....	35

CHAPTER ONE: HISTORIOGRAPHY

Although Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic Greek artwork commonly features depictions of interactions between women, much of the current scholarship identifies and interprets these interactions as examples of homosocial relationships. I argue that these relationships can be understood as homoerotic, and that the current scholarship is comprised of heteronormative and androcentric, or male, biases within it that limits queer interpretations of the images. By disregarding the possibility or existence of same-sex relationships among women, scholars risk erasing and rendering invisible a group of people from the historical and archaeological narrative and impose a heteronormative interpretation of the past. In my Senior Independent Study, I engage with scholarship from fields such as History, Archaeology, and Classical studies, that discuss the varied roles of women in ancient Greek society, along with the current interpretation of images of women depicted on Greek art. From this information, I propose a reinterpretation of several artifacts through my digital exhibit. In this exhibit, I will provide my analysis of each artifact and how they may suggest a homoerotic relationship between the women.

The scholarship in History, Archaeology, and Classical studies, concerning homoerotic relationships between women in ancient Greece is unfortunately lacking. Nancy Rabinowitz, a Classical scholar specializing in Greek literature and intersectional feminism, is an exception. In *Excavating Women's Homoeroticism in Ancient Greece* she asks specifically how the relationships between women were portrayed on Greek vases, and questions whether or not they were homoerotic.¹ Her research is directly related to

¹ Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz, "Excavating Women's Homoeroticism in Ancient Greece: The Evidence from Attic Vase Painting," in *Among Women: From the Homoerotic to the Homosocial in the Ancient World*, ed. Nancy S. Rabinowitz and Lisa Auanger (Texas: University of Texas Press, 2002), 106-150.

my question of how and why homoerotic and homosocial relationships between women were displayed in Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic Greek art, and how the cultural dynamic of the time influenced how the images were viewed, understood, and reacted to. Much of our argumentation overlaps and we come to the same conclusions. I, however, look at different art pieces from a wider time period (700-30 BC) than Rabinowitz, who focuses mainly on Attic vase paintings from the Archaic period of Greece (700-480 BC). I expand the interpretive lens to a wider array of cultural materials, as I examine both red-figure vase paintings and terracotta figures, demonstrating the broader existence of these relationships and their representation. As an archaeologist, I also take an approach that focuses on the cultural context of each piece. Although we differ in our methodology and analysis, Rabinowitz and I both consider the same basic question, and come to similar conclusions: homoerotic relationships did exist between women in ancient Greece, and that the current interpretations of the artwork has to be reevaluated in order to understand this.

Few scholars in all three fields have addressed this specific question, so I have turned to the works of Classical scholars, Robert Sutton, Dyfri Williams, K.J Dover, Mary Lefkowitz and Maureen Fant, Sarah Pomeroy and Claude Berard to broadly evaluate Greek art, women's lives, and Greek sexuality. By assessing their arguments and research, I provide background knowledge that will allow me to further contextualize and strengthen my analysis of the selected art pieces. Robert Sutton, a Classical scholar and professor, looks at pornographic images of heterosexual activity, meaning those that show explicit sexual activity, pederasty, and erotic images of women in *Pornography and*

Persuasion on Attic Pottery.² Dyfri Williams, in *Women on Athenian Vases: Problems of Interpretation* also explores ancient art to better understand the lives of women, specifically focusing on the issues of interpretation.³ K.J Dover, who is a British Classical archaeologist, writes *Classical Greek Attitudes to Sexual Behavior*, which provides historical and cultural context regarding the Greeks' response to sexual activities, using images on artifacts to support his research.⁴ Mary Lefkowitz is an American scholar of Classics and Maureen Fant is a scholar of Classical Studies and Archaeology. In their book, *Women's Life in Greece and Rome* they, like Dover, provide historical and cultural context to the lives of women in Greece, by using stories and plays that explain women's roles in society.⁵ Sarah Pomeroy is an American scholar of Classics, and is the author of *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves*, which looks at the different roles that women played in ancient Greek society.⁶ Claude Berard is the author of *A City of Images*, which examines the ancient Greek world through vases.⁷ As a whole, these scholars provide contextual information about the way that women were viewed in society, the roles that they played, how they were depicted in art, and the cultural attitude towards sex and sexuality during this time period.

² Robert F. Sutton, Jr, "Pornography and Persuasion on Attic Pottery," in *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*, ed. by Amy Richlin (New York:Oxford University Press, 1992), 3-35.

³ Dyfri Williams, "Women on Athenian Vases: Problems of Interpretation," in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, ed. by Averil Cameron and Ameile Kuhrt (Detroit:Wayne State University Press, 1983), 92-105.

⁴ K.J Dover, "Classical Greek Attitudes to Sexual Behavior," in *Women in the Ancient World: The Arethusa Papers*, ed. By John Peradotto and J.P Sullivan (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 143-155

⁵ Mary R. Lefkowitz and Maureen B. Fant, *Women's Life in Greece and Rome* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

⁶ Sarah Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975).

⁷ Claude Berard, et. al, *A City of Images: Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989).

One of the most important themes that each author looks at is the way that women interact with one another, both in art and in the recorded history. Dover argues that “Greek girls were segregated from boys”⁸ but does not suggest that this would promote any homoerotic relationship. I object to Dover’s assertion and believe that this type of segregation would create a stronger bond between women in the household, which could lead to homoerotic relationships. Scholarship focusing on the 19th century, such as *The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth Century America* by Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, explains how close contact between two women, such as in boarding schools or in working environments, promotes the development of romantic relationships between them.⁹ By using letters written between women, Smith-Rosenberg proves that deep emotional relationships, and in some cases physical relationships, developed because of these close encounters. Rabinowitz uses this same argument and applies it to ancient Greek women, by saying that “women were not isolated but were placed in relation to other women,”¹⁰ and were represented in homosocial groups such as group dances, presenting gifts, preparing bodies for burial, gathering at a fountain, or playing music. It is here that Rabinowitz poses the question of “whether the homosocial was not also homoerotic and...that some of these occasions provided the opportunity for the experience of physical attraction for one another.”¹¹ I accept Rabinowitz’s argument, as I believe that the interaction between women would not only allow close friendships to form but could also serve as the basis for homoerotic

⁸ Dover, “Classical Greek Attitudes,” 145.

⁹ Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, “The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America,” *The University of Chicago Press Journals* 1, no. 1 (Autumn 1975): 1-29.

¹⁰ Rabinowitz, “Excavating,” 116.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 117.

relationships, especially if, as Dover argues, girls were segregated from boys. The fact that this question hasn't been raised or considered is an example of the continuous heteronormative narrative that is being pushed on this field and one that I argue must be reevaluated.

Rabinowitz, in her research, looks primarily at women interacting together and provides multiple readings of these interactions. In a red-figure cup, where a woman is lifting her dress up in front of another woman, in what she calls a flirtatious gesture, Rabinowitz accepts "the eroticism but suggests that it might be addressed to the other woman in the vase or even to a female audience."¹² For Rabinowitz, the interactions between women did not have to be explicitly sexual to suggest homoerotic relationships. She argues that looking at scenes that are analogous to male pederasty and are explicitly sexual, can help us understand the different relationships portrayed between women.

Like Rabinowitz, Lefkowitz and Fant, also provide insight as to the relationships and interactions that women had with one another, both homoerotic and homosocial. Unlike Rabinowitz, however, they look towards texts and letters between men and women in an attempt to further understand female relationships. One text that they provide describes a conversation between two women gossiping over a dildo.¹³ Rather than arguing a homoerotic relationship in this overtly sexual conversation, they argue that this shows the existence of a close homosocial relationship that the women have developed, explaining that women did have multiple forms of relationships with each other. Both women want to engage in sexual pleasure through the use of a dildo, and are sharing this desire, but are not making explicit homoerotic marks towards one another. I

¹² Rabinowitz, "Excavating," 110.

¹³ Lefkowitz and Fant, *Women's Life*, 175.

am in agreement with Lefkowitz and Fantz that this does provide another layer to the relationships that women had with each other and deepens our understanding of their sexual experiences. Another example that they provide is a text of societal expectations about sexual encounters and behaviors, part of which explains what were to happen if a woman desired another woman. The text that they describe says “if in a dream a woman penetrates another woman, she will share her secrets with the other woman.”¹⁴ Here we can gain some insight into the reaction of society if women were to desire one another. The examples from Lefkowitz and Fanatz show us first-hand accounts of the way that women interacted with each other and that intimate homosocial and homoerotic relationships existed and were documented.

Each scholar addresses the roles of women, whether that be as a ‘respectable’ woman or as hetaira, in their work. Hetaira, or prostitutes, are the women that are most often depicted, especially in a sexual manner, and these images are often analyzed the most by scholars. When referencing ‘respectable’ or ‘normal’ women, scholars are referring to a woman who stays in the household or is performing tasks such as funeral, religious or marriages ceremonies, and isn’t involved in sex work like a hetaira is. By classifying women as either ‘respectable’ or as hetaira, we limit our understanding of women’s lives and their roles in society. This limiting language that places women into only two categories is a problematic part of the field that stems from the prevalent heteronormative and androcentric biases. The language in existing scholarship used to describe women in ancient Greece deserves to be reevaluated and not exist in such a narrow framework. Williams notes that because the vase painters are typically male, “we

¹⁴ Lefkowitz and Fant, *Women’s Life*, 175.

quickly realize just why it is that there are so many more scenes involving hetaira than respectable women.”¹⁵ Williams, however, perpetuates the idea that women exist mostly as hetaira, by not providing alternate readings to any images. When he looks at a scene of two women washing on a small hydria, he argues that they are hetaira, claiming that “we look in vain for scenes of respectable women washing: respectable women, like goddesses, should not be seen naked nor shown naked.”¹⁶ I challenge Williams’ assumption, and argue that it should be considered that these women may not be hetaira, but could be women of the household. Sutton also looks at images of nude bathers but provides a different reading. He writes that “certainly it cannot be maintained that all these naked women must be regarded as hetaira simply because of their nudity.”¹⁷ He provides an example of a naked bride bathing to show that nudity cannot be uncritically equated with sex-work. I believe that this argument encourages the interpretation of nude women as more than just hetaira. Despite Sutton’s argument, however, he still acknowledges that the images of naked females contain an erotic association, specifically when Eros, the god of love and passion, is pictured with them. Like Sutton’s claim that nudity does not always suggest that the women are hetaira, Berard takes notice of the fact that many times women are denied a normal status in the reading of vases, and asks “must we say then that there were no respectable women?”¹⁸ He questions our current understanding of the images on vases and the social classes that women have been assigned based on their interactions with one another. I accept Berad’s questioning and believe that it should be examined in greater depth, which I will do using a queer and

¹⁵ Williams, “Women on Athenian Vases,” 97.

¹⁶ Ibid., 99.

¹⁷ Sutton, “Pornography and Persuasion,” 24

¹⁸ Bérard, *City of Images*, 89.

feminist theoretical approach, in an attempt to gain a better understanding of the roles of women, and push against the limiting language used to describe them.

One of the common themes addressed throughout the scholarship reviewed here is the importance of the audience and the artist. Rabinowitz argues that while cups for symposia may have been used by men, they still “might been handled and seen by women”¹⁹ as they were the ones serving and washing them. She also argues that “even if the vases were designed for men, women would have access to them.”²⁰ Sutton also addresses the importance of the audience, but he notes that “we must rely heavily on the evidence of the vases themselves and their archaeological context, for we cannot observe them actually in use.”²¹ Here Sutton means that we must understand if the objects are found in sanctuaries, graves, domestic, or commercial settings so that we can interpret what their use was and have a better gauge of who the audience would have been. Williams also acknowledges the different uses of a vessel and the different archaeological context that they can be found in. He provides an example of a hydria that was “probably intended as a gift for the tomb,”²² which tells us that the image on this vase would not have had many viewers and would rather be a representation of the woman’s life.

Comparatively, objects such as drinking vessels would have had a more consistent use, meaning the images on them would have been seen by a broader public. While I agree that we must consider the archaeological context in order to interpret the use of each object and who would have been viewing them, I also acknowledge that we must be careful as we do this as we may be imposing our modern interpretations onto the spaces

¹⁹ Rabinowitz, “Excavating,” 109.

²⁰ Ibid., 109.

²¹ Sutton, “Pornography and Persuasion,” 4.

²² Ibid., 94.

in which these objects are recovered from. Like Rabinowitz, Sutton also argues that ‘respectable’ women would have left the house for shopping or other activities and thus would have interacted with and viewed some of the vases, making them audiences for these objects. Berard also addresses the audience and artists of certain vases. He notes that, “although produced by men...the means of production are masculine, the clientele for these vases consists mostly of female customers.”²³ Here, Berard argues that some vases were intentionally made for women and that the consumers and viewers of the images would be women. Other scholars argue that women would have only briefly interacted with these pieces. Rabinowitz, like Berard, pushes back and notes that “the boxes were used by women in their toilet, as their contents reveal.”²⁴ While she is referencing boxes and not vases, it still shows that women had objects made for them that would have included images designed for their viewing. I believe that there were certain objects, both vases as Berard argues and boxes as Rabinowitz argues, whose images were designed solely for women to be the viewers of. However, due to the androcentric scholarship, the understanding of how women would have interpreted these images is lacking.

Authors also look at specific events, such as myths, rituals, and weddings, to understand the homoerotic or homosocial undertones within each of these. Rabinowitz looks at weddings portrayed on vases. While the marriage is a heterosexual ritual, the preparation of the bride was “in large part homosocial,”²⁵ and the images “evoke a strong connection between the women engaged in the preparations for marriage.”²⁶ The images

²³ Berard, *A City of Images*, 89.

²⁴ Rabinowitz, “Excavating,” 107.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 119.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 122.

often feature Eros, the god of passion and desire, with the women as well. Rabinowitz thus suggests that the preparation of the bride for the wedding could have homoerotic undertones. In a wedding preparation scene that Sutton looks at, he suggests that the nude image of the bride contains erotic notions because of the presence of Eros and Aphrodite. He notes however, that the “female sensuality has been domesticated and brought in as a kind of Peitho [goddess who personifies persuasion and seduction] to persuade the Athenian bride... of her proper sexuality.”²⁷ This reminder of ‘proper sexuality’ suggests that women may have had tendencies to engage in homoerotic relationships with other women, and that upon their marriage to a man, they had to give these up.

Myths and rituals offer further evidence of intimacy. Rabinowitz argues that “In working on women or, more particularly, female homoeroticism, you quickly find out that you cannot exclude mythological scenes.”²⁸ In mythological scenes, women can be depicted as goddesses, and during some rituals, such as those with Dionysos, a more intimate relationship is apparent between the women. Rabinowitz says that “other iconographic evidence suggests that Dionysiac worship was a time of women's intimacy.”²⁹ This suggests the possibility for homoerotic relationships to develop, similar to how we see them develop as they are segregated from men in society. Pomeroy also discusses that “another festival honoring Demeter, but strictly reserved for women, was the Thesmophoria.”³⁰ This ritual, that involved women being alone together for three days, provided a space for them to create stronger bonds together, whether they be homosocial or homoerotic. She also agrees with the importance of women as goddesses,

²⁷ Sutton, “Pornography,” 24.

²⁸ Rabinowitz, “Excavating,” 126.

²⁹ Ibid., 128.

³⁰ Pomeroy, *Goddesses*, 77.

as she argues that all goddesses serve as female archetypes. I agree with Pomeroy, because we can compare the way that women are intended to be understood along with the way the images are intended to be interpreted, based on the goddesses that are included in the art. Sutton supports the idea of goddesses serving as archetypes for women as he explains that “female nudity, in contrast, did not develop as an artistic convention until the transition from Classical to Hellenistic style during the second half of the fourth century, when Praziteles created a nude cult statue of the goddess Aphrodite that established a canon for the female body.”³¹ We can see here the influence that religion played throughout history in the portrayal of women and potentially their sexuality and eroticism.

While Rabinowitz focuses on a question similar to mine regarding how female homoeroticism was depicted on Greek art, there are other scholars in History, Archaeology, and Classical studies that provide supporting and similar arguments. Each scholar uses major themes such as the way women are depicted interacting, the roles that women hold in Greek social life, the activities they are engaging in, and the consideration of the audience and artist to show the lives of women in the ancient world. Their evidence and their interpretations show that there is an androcentric and heteronormative bias in the field, thus limiting our understanding of women’s lives. My interpretation and use of their evidence pushes back against this bias, and proposes an alternative understanding of the past. Through the supporting arguments and information from each scholar, I build a foundation for my argument that homoerotic relationships between women were meaningfully depicted on Greek art. Moreover, this scholarship, together

³¹ Sutton, “Pornography,” 21.

with my theoretical arguments, which I expand on in the next chapter, permit building a case for how these relationships were understood in society. I explain my methods and theoretical framework which form the basis for my selection and analysis of each of the selected art pieces, along with how I designed my digital exhibit in the following chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORY AND METHODS

In this chapter I explain how I implement queer and feminist theory, along with the digital methods that I apply to my analysis of each art piece and the creation of my exhibit. I first establish the feminist and queer theoretical framework that I employ to interpret certain attributes of Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic Greek sculpture and red-figure vases and the impact of same-sex relationships between women in Greek art. I argue that interpretations regarding sexuality amongst females in antiquity must extend to include homoerotic relationships. Additionally, I argue that the heteronormative approach to this history must be challenged, and our understanding of past sexualities questioned while considering how gender, class, and religion intersect and inform evolving interpretations about ancient art. After my discussion of theory, I explain the research methods that I employ throughout this study. My methodology is rooted in archaeology and history, as I provide cultural and historical context for the pieces that I analyze and display. I conclude by discussing how I created my exhibit in Artsteps, which is a digital platform that allows users to create exhibits for audiences to view and interact with online.

Theory

My research is informed by a feminist and queer theoretical lens. These two theories encourage us to question our current, often androcentric and heteronormative, understandings of archaeological data and narratives, including our knowledge of same-sex relationships among women in the ancient world. This is especially important to do, given the heteronormative and androcentric biases that currently dominate the scholarship in Classical archaeology. Feminist and queer theory, although different, can work in

conjunction with one another to encourage a more extensive questioning of the prevailing interpretation of the past.

Feminist theory gave rise to feminist archaeology and challenged the long dominating processualist model of archaeology. The processual model arose in the 1960s with the work of Lewis Binford and his article *Archaeology as Anthropology*.¹ In it, he stresses the process of archaeology and anthropology, emphasizing that the research and processes must be more scientific and empirical. This would often result in generalizing the common characteristics of human behavior, thus ignoring the individual. In contrast, postprocessual archaeology focuses on the cultural and historical context, specifically focusing on individuals and how their behavior can be discerned through material culture. Feminist archaeology, which emerged in the 1980's in contestation to processualist androcentrism, falls under the postprocessual school of thought. It has been applied to a number of different archaeological fields, such as Native American archaeology, and, as Blackmore shows, South American archaeology.² Feminist theory, which slowly began to impact archaeological paradigms with the gradual inclusion of additional female professionals in the field, questions gender power dynamics and critiques the patriarchal framework that the field has long operated within.³ This method theorizes "gender and sexuality as fluid multiple identities, practices, and performances at the intersections of gender, class, race, ethnicity, religion, and other social variables."⁴

¹ Lewis Binford, "Archaeology as Anthropology," *American Antiquity*, 28, no. 2 (1962), 217-225.

² Chelsea Blackmore, "How to Queer the Past Without Sex: Queer Theory, Feminisms and the Archaeology of Identity," *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress* 7, no. 1 (April 2011): 75-90.

³ Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, "Introduction: Feminist Theories and Archaeology," *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress*, 7, no. 1 (2011), 1-24.

⁴ Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, "Feminist Gender Research in Classical Archaeology," in *Women in Antiquity: Theoretical Approaches to Gender and Archaeology*, ed. Sarah E. Nellson (United Kingdom: Uta Mira Press), 281.

Feminist theory draws support from philosophical schools of thought, including the Socratic school, which believed women could be intellectual equals, and the Cynic and Pythagorean schools, which believed that women held the same virtues as men, and could thus govern society. This theory allowed for the role of all women within society to be reexamined. It encourages the questioning of the currently established understanding of the past that has an androcentric and heterosexual bias. Feminist theory is what I intend to ground my research in, as it provides space for women to be acknowledged and for questions about their sexuality, relationships, and roles to be answered.

In order to deconstruct the notion that there were only heterosexual relationships between women in ancient Greece, I employ queer theory, to explore the other types of relationships that existed between women. Queer theory in archaeology “is actively engaged in moving away from the normative character of archaeological discourse.”⁵ The term ‘queer theory’ was originally used by Teresa de Lauretis at a 1990 conference in order to unsettle the complacency of lesbian and gay studies and draw more attention to these ideas.⁶ She had intended it as a placeholder for a practice that would challenge the sexual aspects of existing archaeological theory. Once de Lauretis coined the term, the theory itself “had to be invented after the fact, to supply the demand it had evoked,”⁷ particularly among gay and lesbian scholars whose ideas it reflected and who previously had no known or identifiable theory of their own. Thomas A. Dowson explains queer theory as one that “actively and explicitly challenges the heteronormativity of scientific

⁵ Dowson, “Why Queer Archaeology?,” 163-164.

⁶ David M. Halperin, “The Normalization of Queer Theory,” *Journal of Homosexuality*, (2003), 339-343.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 341.

practices.”⁸ He also makes it clear that “queer” refers to anything that is different from the normative, or dominant position. In the past, archaeologists have typically ignored sexuality because of the heterosexual norm, but queer theory challenges this approach. Queer theory allows us to question the established binaries, such as male/female, rich/poor, black/white, etc., and gives a voice to marginalized groups and practices.

Although the two theories may appear to clash at times due to queer theory’s goal to deconstruct gender and sexuality and feminist theory’s goal to legitimize gender studies, a focus on intersectionality helps bridge the two theories.⁹ The disconnect between the two theories results from feminist theory’s focus on women’s role in society and its goal to challenge the prevailing patriarchal understanding, while also examining intersecting identities such as class, race, and sexuality. Queer theory on the other hand, challenges a binary approach to gender and the dominant positions in the scholarship. Because of queer theory’s goal to deconstruct gender norms and explore less fixed gender identities, it may appear to reenact the marginalization of women that feminist theory has fought against.¹⁰ However, I think that they can be used in conjunction with one another, to create a more holistic interpretation of an object. Due to my focus on gender and sexuality, I felt it appropriate to utilize both theories so that I could not only look at the intersection of gender, class and sexuality through a feminist lens but also challenge the binary understanding of sexuality through a queer lens. Both theories provide a space for

⁸ Thomas A. Dowson, “Why Queer Archaeology? An Introduction,” *World Archaeology*, 32, no. 2 (2000), 163.

⁹ Chelsea Blackmore, “How to Queer the Past Without Sex: Queer Theory, Feminisms and the Archaeology of Identity,” *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress* 7, no. 1 (April 2011): 75-90.

¹⁰ Warren J. Blumenfeld and Margaret Sönsen Breen, *Butler Matters : Judith Butler's Impact on Feminist and Queer Studies*, (London: Francis and Taylor Group, 2005).

the lives of underrepresented groups such as women, lesbians, people of color, and the lower class to be examined.

In the discussion of race in Classical archaeology, we must focus on the influence that the scholars themselves have on the field. Since the majority of archaeologists are white males¹¹, the field has become racialized with often uncritical assumptions that derive from Western influences. This can perpetuate stereotypes otherwise unquestioned regarding the research. For example, “archaeologists excavate living spaces, huts and houses, among other things, and impose on those units families,”¹² and apply a Western, heteronormative description of the family, despite any evidence for this. The lack of consideration of different races and ethnicities has limited the scope of the research that has been done in the field. Because my main focus in this research paper is the issue of gender and sexuality in Classical archaeology, I do not have the time and space to further discuss the issues of race in the field, but it is still an important issue that warrants mentioning and further examination.

Feminist and queer theory both deeply inform my argument for revisiting existing biased narratives which significantly limit queer interpretations of many of the images. To demonstrate how I will be using feminist and queer theory in my exhibit, I provide the following example of analysis:

¹¹ Kenneth Aitchison and Doug Rocks-Macqueen, *Archaeology Labour Market Intelligence: Profiling the Profession 2012-2013* (United Kingdom: Lawland Research, 2013).

¹² Dowson, “Why Queer Archaeology?”(2000), 162.



Figure 0.1 Inside of kylix with two nude women handling their clothes, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 23.160.54.



Figure 0.2 Outside of kylix in fig. 2.1 with girls and youths in conversation, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 23.160.54.

The inside of this kylix (fig. 2.1) shows two nude women handling their clothes at a laver (a large basin). The outside (fig. 2.2) shows a group of women and youth engaging in conversation. It is unclear who the audience for this object would have been and who would have interacted with it, but as a wine-drinking cup, it was likely used by

males at symposiums. While the images themselves do not seem overtly sexual, I use feminist and queer theory to suggest that a homoerotic relationship exists between the women pictured. Rabinowitz is one scholar who supports this interpretation, saying that “the erotic potential seems clear, given the combination of couples, nudity, and gaze.”¹³ In my interpretation, I flesh out these ideas and explore how the space that the women occupy helps create a homoerotic environment. Through feminist theory I examine the role of the women in the image, and why they would have been washing clothes together, along with what the depiction of the groups of women on the outside of the kylix suggests. I turn to Rabinowitz to help answer these questions as she suggests that women were often interacting with one another rather than being isolated from other women.¹⁴ In Greek society, women were mourners at funerals, took part in religious activities such as the Adonia, and were responsible for the majority of the housework.¹⁵ In these activities they were often depicted together, as they required women to interact and work with one another.

I also look to the outside of the kylix to gain a better understanding of the image and gain context for the image on the inside. The outside depicts women engaging in conversation with one another. While there are a few males present, it still appears to be a setting where females are predominantly interacting with each other. To help understand the meaning behind this social setting, I look to Smith-Rosenberg who explains that deep

¹³Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz, “Excavating Women’s Homoeroticism in Ancient Greece: The Evidence from Attic Vase Painting,” in *Among Women: From the Homoerotic to the Homosocial in the Ancient World*, ed. Nancy S. Rabinowitz and Lisa Auanger (Texas: University of Texas Press, 2002), 138.

¹⁴ Mary R. Lefkowitz and Maureen B. Fant, *Women’s Life in Greece and Rome* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 116.

¹⁵ Sian Lewis, *The Athenian Woman*, (New York: Routledge, 2002).

romantic and erotic connections between women can form when isolated together.¹⁶ In some instances women were left alone with only their slaves or in the company of other women, due to “the frequent absence of her husband on military or diplomatic missions,”¹⁷ thus providing a space for homoerotic relationships to form between them. The gathering of women on the outside of the kylix suggests a social space that existed for women to interact with each other and that would allow these homoerotic relationships to form. In my use of feminist theory, I analyzed how the action of washing clothes, along with predominately female social setting impacts the creation of a homoerotic relationship. Through the use of queer theory, I further examine the relationship between the women to understand if the image displays a homoerotic or homosocial relationship.

One of the things that is important to analyze is the role of the gaze in the image, which Rabinowitz also does in order to explain how the image is homoerotic. Margaret M. Toscano describes the gaze as the place where desire is generated and then perpetuated.¹⁸ Eye contact and staring is depicted in images that involve sexual intimacy, indicating its importance in representing desire. Toscano also discusses how the space between the figures in an image creates a place of desire. The space that is left in between the figures before an actual act of intimacy allows the desire to remain as the viewer waits and imagines what would happen next in the scene. Toscano also explains that touch expresses desire and furthers the erotic imagery, while creating the aforementioned

¹⁶ Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, “The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America,” *The University of Chicago Press Journals* 1, no. 1 (Autumn 1975): 1-29

¹⁷ Elaine Fantham, Helene Peet Foley, et. al, *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 33.

¹⁸ Margaret M. Toscano, “The Eyes Have It: Female Desire on Attic Greek Vases,” *Arethusa* 46, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 1-40.

space in the art. On the inside of the kylix we see that the gaze of the woman on the right is directed towards the women on the left. This suggests an erotic desire towards that woman, thus developing a homoerotic relationship rather than a homosocial one. Their close proximity relates to Toscano's idea of space as a place of desire. Because there is limited space between the two, I argue that the women have an intimate physical relationship with one another. In Rabinowitz's interpretation of this image, she does not address how the close proximity of the two women creates a homoerotic space, but I believe it is worth addressing in order to make sense of their relationship. The nudity of the woman also makes the image more erotic in nature and strengthens the argument that the two women were engaging in a homoerotic relationship.

Using queer theory, we can understand that this nudity challenges the binary structure of classifying women as either 'respectable' or as hetaira. Women who are portrayed nude have typically been identified as hetaira, mostly because "literature draws a clear contrast between wives, who were expected to cover and veil themselves, and prostitutes, whose profession called for the display of their bodies."¹⁹ However, these women appear to be doing housework, and not engaging in sexual activities with men, despite the erotic nature. This means that women could be portrayed nude, while not being hetaira. Thus, I argue that the nudity is representative of the homoerotic relationship between the two, rather than as a means to classify them as either 'respectable' women or as hetaira.

Feminist theory emphasizes an exclusive focus on women, encouraging integration of additional social variables, such as class, while moving away from a male-

¹⁹ Lewis, *Athenian Woman*, 101-102.

centered understanding of the archaeological data. Queer theory, used in tandem with feminist approaches, similarly encourages reexamination of some of the art that has been defined and perhaps uncritically accepted as depicting homosocial relationships between women. Reinterpreting the selection of pieces for my exhibit through a queer lens, challenges the dominant heteronormative narrative and provides a space to consider same-sex relationships between women.

One of the difficulties of feminist and queer theory is that it calls for a reflection on our already established notion of the data, and also critiques our practices and inherent biases. This reflection can be challenging as it forces us to think that our current understanding and knowledge may be incorrect or lacking in information. The field of Classical archaeology is presently dominated by white males. I argue the overwhelming lack of diversity in this field has encouraged an androcentric bias and has prevented the advancement of queer theory, which would directly challenge the established norms that they have created. While new scholarship increasingly challenges ideas about women, it typically utilizes feminist theory to focus on the lives of women and how they participated in society, specifically in a way that deconstructs the patriarchal framework, while also examining how class, race, and sexuality influenced their role in society. The scholarship relying solely on feminist theory, however, does not combat binary structures that are so widely accepted. In order to fully understand past cultures, we must not think of events and people in a black and white sense. We must understand that there were many different circumstances and ideals that shaped the way people lived and were perceived.

Methods

When constructing my digital exhibit, I turned to a variety of resources and scholars to locate pieces that I would be able to analyze and display. As I discussed in my historiography (Chapter 1), no one source addressed in depth the same-sex relationships between women, but many sources focused on different aspects of women's lives and their heterosexual relationships. When studying material culture, one must "study the object itself, as well as interrogate a wide variety of other sources."²⁰ In order to gain a more holistic understanding of female relationships, I drew on sources that related to women and sexuality individually and combined the information that I had gathered. I began with sources that discussed women in Ancient, Classical, and Hellenistic Greece. Pierre Brule's *Women of Ancient Greece* and Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon's *Women in the Classical World* are a few of the books that I was able to study.²¹ These bodies of work discussed the lives of women and their activities and included examples of artwork whose imagery I examined and then decided if I wanted to use based on its content. I also looked for books and articles that specifically talked about sexuality in ancient Greece. These include Paul Chrystal's *In Bed With the Ancient Greeks*, Amy Richlin's *Pornography and Representation in Ancient Greece*, and Sarah B. Pomeroy's *Goddesses, Whores, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity*.²² Again, some of these texts included images of women, but had a more sexual focus that helped me select the

²⁰ "Material Culture," The Inclusive Historians Handbook, accessed October 31st, 2020, <https://inclusivehistorian.com/material-culture/>

²¹ Pierre Brule, *Women of Ancient Greece*, trans. Antonia Nevill (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003); Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon, *Women in the Classical World*, Vol IV (London: Routledge, 2017).

²² Paul Chrystal, *In Bed with the Ancient Greeks* (Gloucestershire: Amberley Publish, 2016); Amy Richlin, *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Sarah Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975).

pieces that I could use. Finally, I looked at books that were specifically discussing artwork regarding women in ancient Greece. These works include Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz's *Excavating Women's Homoeroticism in Ancient Greece: The Evidence from Attic Vase Painting*, Elaine Fantham's *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text*, and Averil Cameron and Amelie Kuhrt's *Images of Women in Antiquity*.²³ Throughout this research, the images of women are reflective of their roles in society, but typically provide a binary understanding, showing women as 'respectable' wives who completed everyday tasks, or as hetaira, who were engaged in sexual activities or depicted at symposiums. All of the works that I looked at provided me with a variety of images that fit into my research in different ways and allowed me to have a larger body of material to choose from.

To select my art pieces, I chose pieces that other scholars had examined and included in their work, but which I felt deserved a reinterpretation. I also turned to museum collections to help locate other pieces that I believed could be reanalyzed. I prioritized the visual representations of women in the art. When I was looking at different materials, I chose those that included multiple women which allowed me to focus on the relationships that existed between them. I then narrowed my selection based on the women's dress, the activities they were engaging in, and how they were interacting with one another.

After finalizing my art pieces, I began constructing my digital exhibit. I chose the platform ArtSteps to display my material because it allows for the creation of an

²³ Rabinowitz, *Excavating Women's Homoeroticism*; Elaine Fantham, *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Averil Cameron and Amelie Kuhrt, *Images of Women in Antiquity* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1983).

interactive exhibit in which I can place images of my art pieces along with my analysis of each piece. It also allowed me to include sound in my exhibit, which enabled me to promote a more inclusive and accessible display. I organized the exhibit by having the pieces that display the least homoerotic behavior first, and then moving towards those that are more overtly sexual. In this way, I am able to ease the viewer into how homoerotic relationships can be interpreted, before showing them how explicit sexual relationships were shown. Viewers will be able to see the main art piece that I am evaluating, which may consist of multiple images, so that they can have a holistic view of the object and engage with it. I created a guided tour that will automatically move the viewer from piece to piece, and is also be narrated. By clicking on the image, the viewers will then be able to read and hear a description of the image and gain additional information on the piece, such as the title, time period, and artist. As they navigate the museum in ArtSteps, they will slowly be encouraged to think more in depth about the meaning of each art piece

Digital exhibits “serve as a grandiose tool for not only preserving the cultural heritage, but also providing a variety of ways of installing the heritage displays into the internet with the help of information and communication technologies.”²⁴ They serve as important educational tools, especially for those who “cannot visit traditional museums for a variety of reasons (physical disabilities, pupils from regional and rural schools), [and] a second chance for obtaining aesthetic education and access to world’s historical and cultural heritage.”²⁵ I have therefore chosen to use a digital platform to display the

²⁴ Rasuljon Kadirjonovich Atamuratov, “The Importance of the Virtual Museums in the Educational Process,” *European Journal of Research and Reflection in Educational Sciences*, 8, no. 2 (2020), 90.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 91.

materials and provide my analysis because of the kind of access this platform affords. According to the *Inclusive Historians' Handbook*, creating “digital narratives offer historians the ability to create non-linear paths to explore themes and paths of argumentation and invite conversations with community audiences.”²⁶ Digital exhibitions provide a space to tell a story in a way that does not have to follow a timeline but is instead laid out in themes or other groupings. These non-linear presentations push back against the established method of display and binary structures, in favor of a less structured model, and encourages us to think less about the development of objects through time, but rather their existence throughout history.

The methods and theories that I explored in this chapter will be applied in the accompanying exhibit. Each art piece that I display will have an analysis that will use feminist and queer theory to reevaluate the relationships that exist between the women, while also considering their role and status. These methods and theories help challenge the existing narrative that is promoted by a white male scholarship. The use of a digital exhibit promotes the spread of this information to those who may otherwise not have access to the material and allows for more engagement with the pieces. Having this virtual experience is especially important during the global pandemic of COVID-19, as many museums are closed or have limited access. Additionally, American society is going through an immense social revolution, ranging from the activism demonstrated in the Black Lives Matter movement in response to the murder of George Floyd, to issues of gender and diversity, which faced challenges under the Trump administration. Thus, it is important to consider how these racial and gender issues also played out in the past.

²⁶ “Digital History,” *The Inclusive Historians Handbook*, accessed October 31st, 2020, <https://inclusivehistorian.com/digital-history/>

Gender, sexuality, class, and race have always played a part in society, and feminist and queer theory allows us to examine their historical role and connect them to the societal issues of today. Experiencing these pieces and questioning their meaning is vital to how we are to understand and expand our knowledge of the past and present.

CHAPTER THREE: DIGITAL EXHIBIT

In conjunction with this written portion of my Independent Study, I have curated a [digital exhibit](#).¹ The exhibit is guided, narrated, and interactive so that viewers can click on the images and texts to gain additional information. Below, I have attached the images and analyses that are included in the exhibit.

Demeter and Persephone



Figure 0.1 Unknown, Demeter and Persephone, 100 BC, Terracotta, 21cm x 27.40cm x 9.70cm, The British Museum, London, 1885,0316.1 © The Trustees of the British Museum.

¹ <https://www.artsteps.com/view/5fb1878d5e179b4232411843?currentUser>



Figure 0.2 Unknown, *Demeter and Persephone*. Other side of terracotta shown in figure 3.1, The British Museum, London 1885,0316.1 © The Trustees of the British Museum.

This terracotta figure shows two women sitting together on a bench in close proximity. The woman on the spectators right has her left hand resting on her right breast. The woman on the spectators left has her right arm raised to her breast. The two are leaning into one another, creating an intimate space between them.

The interpretation of these two women as Demeter and Persephone suggests that this intimacy is indicative of a mother and daughter relationship. Typically, each is portrayed holding a torch and adorned with grain.²³ Based on the absence of these iconographic elements, the partial nudity, the intimate gaze, the implication of a kiss, and the touches that the women share, I suggest that this scene conveys homoeroticism. Using Toscano's interpretation of the gaze and space as an indicator of desire,⁴ I provide an alternate reading of this figure that challenges the mother daughter relationship of

² "Demeter," Ancient History Encyclopedia, accessed January 28, 2021, <https://www.ancient.eu/demeter/>.

³ "Persephone," Ancient History Encyclopedia, accessed January 28, 2021, <https://www.ancient.eu/persephone/>.

⁴ Margaret M. Toscano, "The Eyes Have It: Female Desire on Attic Greek Vases," *Arethusa* 46, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 1-40.

Persephone and Demeter, and propose that it demonstrates a female homoerotic relationship.

Female Athletes Bathing



Figure 0.3 Unknown. Jar (stamnos) with female athletes bathing. 440-430 BC. Ceramic. 41 x 31.5 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 95.21.

In this image three women are standing nude, with a clothed slave. While the nudity is expected within a bathhouse, there may be homoerotic undertones to the image. The two women on the left are maintaining eye contact with one another, which suggests an erotic gaze.

Toscano suggests that direct eye-contact may be indicative of a homoerotic relationship as it develops a sense of desire between the women.⁵ The nudity of the women, although most likely depicted because they are bathing, also adds to the erotic

⁵ Toscano, "The Eyes Have It," 1-40.

nature of the scene. This is a stamnos, which was used to store liquids and for mixing water and wine. These vessels would have been found in a domestic setting meaning that women would have been able to see them and understand the erotic nature of the image. The setting of the bathhouse is also a key factor in why this image is an example of homoerotic behavior. In ancient Greece, it was said that young men were “chattering in public baths instead of going to the gymnasium.”⁶ They were using the baths as a social environment and place to gather. This same idea could be applied to women in Ancient Greece in that they used the bathhouses as a place to meet and engage in sexual acts with one another in the absence of men.

Four Hetaerae



Figure 0.4 Unknown. Red-figured Psykter: Four Hetaerae. Side 1, 505-500 BC. Clay. 35.5 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg GP-4584.

⁶ Fikret Yegul, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, (New York: The MIT Press, 1992), 21.



Figure 0.5 Unknown. Four Hetaerae. Side 2 of Psykter shown in figure 3.4. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg GP-4584.



Figure 0.6 Unknown. Four Hetaerae. Side 3 of Psykter shown in figure 3.4. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg GP-4584.



Figure 0.7 Unknown. Four Hetaerae. Side 4 of Psykter shown in figure 3.4. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg GP-4584.

On this psykter four nude women are seen lounging together and sharing drinks. One woman is playing a double pipe, another stares down toward the legs and genitalia of another woman. A third woman holds a kylix in one hand and is drinking from another. A fourth woman holds a vessel in one hand and is reaching out with another vessel in her hand.

The setting or context of the gathering is similar to that of a male symposia. The scene “elevates the woman from being part of the ‘furniture’ of a symposium to the central role.”⁷ Rather than being conveyed as the sexual objects of men, as hetaira were at male symposia, the women are having a symposium for themselves. This affords them agency and a space for interaction with each other outside of a domestic setting. Scenes such as this have been interpreted as a fantasy for male viewers or as images of women

⁷ Sian Lewis, *The Athenian Woman*, (New York: Routledge, 2002), 114.

toasting to their chosen male partners,⁸ however, I argue that a homoerotic relationship can be discerned. Symposia were a space for elite men to gather and drink wine, discuss politics or philosophy, and engage in sexual activity with hetaria and in some cases, young boys. By showing the women in a symposia setting, it not only suggests a higher status of the women but provides them with a social space for engaging in similar discussions and suggests that they “might well have been erotic partners for one another, as men and boys were”⁹ at their own symposia. The nudity of the women in the image, along with the contextual setting of a symposia, suggests an erotic relationship between the women.

Cup From Tarquinia

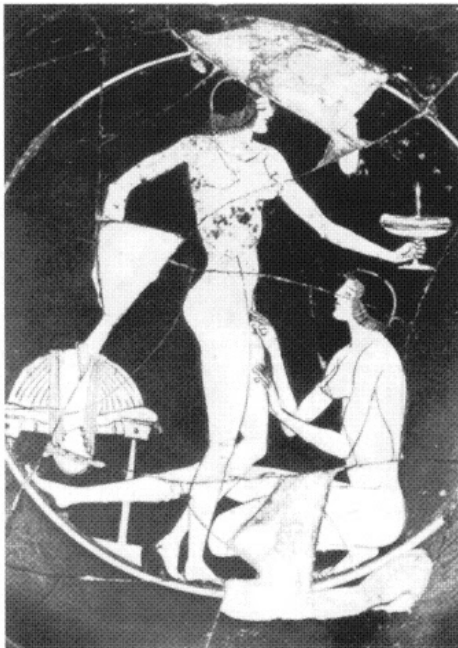


Figure 0.8 Apollodorus, *Cup from Tarquinia*. 500 BCE. From: Pierre Brule, trans. Antoina Nevill, *Women of Ancient Greece*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003.

⁸ Sian Lewis, *The Athenian Woman*, 114.

⁹ Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz, “Excavating Women’s Homoeroticism in Ancient Greece: The Evidence from Attic Vase Painting,” in *Among Women: From the Homoerotic to the Homosocial in the Ancient World*, ed. Nancy S. Rabinowitz and Lisa Auanger (Texas: University of Texas Press, 2002), 135.

This cup shows two nude women together engaged in a sexual act. The woman on the left stands in front of the woman on the right. The woman squatting on the right touches the other woman's thigh and genitals, demonstrating a homoerotic relationship.

This image shows an erotic relationship between two women. The eroticism is reinforced by the penetrating nature of their shared gaze, along with the intimacy of the space. Their intimacy stems from the close proximity that the women are in with one another. Though some scholars have interpreted this image as two women engaging in a sexual act others understand it as two hetairai preparing for the symposia.¹⁰ I suggest that interpreting them as hetairai dismisses the possibility that women had sexual relationships with one another. The explicit nature of this scene warrants challenging a heteronormative interpretation. It highlights the unequivocal reality of physical intimacy between women during this time.

¹⁰ Rabinowitz, "Excavating," 135; John Boardman and Eugenio La Rocca, *Eros in Greece* (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1975), 110.

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Primary Sources

Brule, Pierre. *Women of Ancient Greece*, translated by Antoina Nevill. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003.

Brule's book contains the image of the Cup from Tarquinia, which I used in my analysis and my exhibit. His book also contains information about the lives of women in ancient Greece which provided me with a better understanding of the past and the way that women lived and acted. This helped me form a better analysis of each piece.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Accessed December 14, 2020.
<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/153881>.

The Museum of Fine Arts Boston, houses the stamnos with female athletes that I examined in my analysis and is in my exhibit. The website also provided me with contextual information, such as its age, the location it was found in, and its dimensions.

The British Museum of Art, London. Accessed December 14, 2020.
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1885-0316-1.

The British Museum houses the *Demeter and Persephone* terracotta figure that I included in my exhibit. It also provided me with information on the piece, such as where it was found, its dimensions, and the current description of it, which I argued against in my analysis.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Accessed December 14, 2020.
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/251398>.

The Metropolitan houses the kylix that I examine in my theory section. I was able to gather background information on the object from the website, including dimensions, the date attributed to it, the location it comes from and the associated artist. This piece is important to my thesis, as I use it to explain how I will be applying feminist and queer theory on the objects in my exhibit.

The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Accessed December 14, 2020.
<https://www.heritagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/25.+Archaeological+Artifacts/289697/?lng=>.

The State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg houses the psykter with a female symposia. I have included this piece in my analysis and exhibit. The website also contains additional information about the piece, such as its age and its dimensions. I was also able to contact the museum to obtain images of each side of the vessel, providing me with a more holistic understanding of the scene.

Secondary Sources

Ancient History Encyclopedia. "Demeter." Accessed January 28, 2021.

<https://www.ancient.eu/demeter/>.

This website provided me with a description of how Demeter is typically depicted in art. It described the typical iconographic elements that are present in images of Demeter. Based on the information from this site, I was able to understand Demeter's expected representations and conclude whether or not the figure was representing Demeter.

Ancient History Encyclopedia. "Persephone." Accessed January 28, 2021.

<https://www.ancient.eu/persephone/>.

This website provided me with a description of how Persephone is typically depicted in art. The typical iconography that Persephone is depicted with is explained on this site. Knowing what markers to look for allowed me to compare *Demeter and Persephone* to Persephone's expected representations and to be able to conclude if the figure was Persephone or not.

Atarmuratov, Rasuljon K., "The Importance of the Virtual Museums in the Educational Process." *European Journal of Research and Reflection in Educational Sciences*. 8, no. 2 (2020), 89-93. Research Gate.

This article looks at the impact that virtual museums have in education. It shows their advantages and how they can be implemented in the learning process. The importance of digital museums is highlighted in this article, along with how they can be used in an educational format. I used this article to explain the importance of making a digital exhibit and how it is beneficial to viewers. As I created my exhibit, it was important to have information that showed why this was something important and necessary to do.

Aitchison, Kenneth and Doug Rocks-Macqueen, *Archaeology Labour Market Intelligence: Profiling the Profession 2012-2013* (United Kingdom: Lawland Research, 2013).

This paper provides a study of the archaeology labor market. It profiles who is working in the field, in categories such as age, race, and gender. It also looks at different aspects of the jobs, such as pay, benefits, and training. I focused specifically on the gender and race of the workers to gain a profile of the workers in the archaeological job market. This provided me with information on how different genders and races are represented in the field of archaeology and how that can be influential to the research that is being done.

Berard, Claude, et. al. *A City of Images: Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989.

Berard's writing discusses how women were portrayed on vases in Ancient Greece. He talks about how they demonstrate the role of women in society and how that is reflected in the art. I use his research to understand some of the images that were created and what they may have meant to the people of Ancient Greece, as he helps provide some of the cultural context that is used to understand the images.

Binford, Lewis. "Archaeology as Anthropology." *American Antiquity* 28, no. 2 (1962), 217-225.

Binford explains how archaeology should be viewed as anthropology and how it can advance the field. He introduces and discusses the processual model of archaeology, and discusses different theoretical approaches to the field. I used this article to help me explain the theory that I used throughout my thesis, specifically feminist theory. His article provides the groundwork for which my theoretical analysis in feminist theory is based on.

Blackmore, Chelsea. "How to Queer the Past Without Sex: Queer Theory, Feminisms and the Archaeology of Identity." *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress* 7, no. 1 (April 2011): 75-90.

Blackmore explores the use of queer theory in archaeology. She discusses how queer theory relates to feminist theory and how it serves as a framework for all aspects of identity formation. Rather than just focusing on sexuality, she argues that class status also needs to be looked at when queering archaeology, providing an intersectional interpretation. Blackmore applies this approach to ancient Maya commoners to show the theory in practice. This article helps me understand not only the definition of queer theory, but also how it can be used with feminism and the intersectionality that must be considered when applying it to your research. As I applied queer theory in my analysis, I was able to look at Blackmore for help in understanding how to employ the theory.

Boardman, John and Eugenio La Rocca. *Eros in Ancient Greece*. Milan: Arnoldo M, 1975.

Boardman and La Rocca look at images of sexuality in ancient Greece, and discuss what meaning they may have had. This book provides me with different art pieces to examine and choose from. It also provided me with examples of how scholars are interpreting the artworks. I can then start to question these interpretations and propose new ideas in my analysis and exhibit.

Blumenfeld, Warren J., and Margaret Sönsen Breen. *Butler Matters: Judith Butler's Impact on Feminist and Queer Studies*. London: Francis and Taylor Group, 2005.

This book discusses feminist and queer theory, specifically the impact that Judith Butler had on the fields. It also addresses how the theories have been applied to archaeology and its importance. I used this source to inform me on the history of feminist and queer theory and how they have been applied to archaeology, which allowed me to understand how to best implement them throughout my Independent Study.

Cameron, Averil, ed. *Images of Women in Antiquity*. Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1983.

Cameron discusses the portrayal of women in ancient societies. Her writing is crucial to understanding the attitudes towards women and their role in society, which provides me with information to ground my historical research in. As Cameron evaluates the Athenian vases and the images that are portrayed, she addresses the issue of interpretation and also provides some archaeological context for certain types of vases. This context allows me to understand where and by whom some of these pieces would have been used. Most of the images that she discusses are of prostitutes, but the background information that she gives on images of women and their role in society helps me form a more complete understanding of the images that I will be examining.

Chrystal, Paul. *In Bed with the Ancient Greeks*. Gloucestershire: Amberley Publish, 2016.

Chrystal discusses how the ancient Greeks viewed sex. Using images on potter, poetry, and other records, he explains the way that sex and sexuality was understood and the attitudes towards it. I used this source to help me understand how the Greeks may have felt towards homosexuality, and how they would have been exposed to it in literature and art. To them, male homosexuality was a common theme in literature and art, due to the nature of pederasty. Female homosexuality was less discussed, but was still acknowledged as existing and mentioned in several plays and poems.

Dover, K.J. "Classical Greek Attitudes to Sexual Behavior." In *Women in the Ancient World: The Arethusa Papers*, edited by John Peradotto and J.P Sullivan, 143-155. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984.

Dover's chapter discusses the way that the Greeks viewed sex. He looks towards the historical record rather than art, to show how people addressed sex and the role it played in society. He explains the meaning of sex, pederasty, commercial sex, its different role in various class and status, and how they viewed homosexuality. The Greeks accepted male homosexuality as normal, but had little to say about female homosexuality, other than acknowledging its existence. His writing helps me better understand how the Greeks treated sex and how the role it played by looking at sources outside of art. It also provides me with a more holistic understanding of how sex was understood throughout Greek society.

Dowson, Thomas A. "Why Queer Archaeology? An Introduction." *World Archaeology* 32, no. 2 (2000):161-165.

Dowson discusses the importance of queering archaeology. Queering simply means challenging the current understanding of something. They explain how queer theory needs to be applied to archaeology in order to push back against the current white, heteronormative and androcentric understanding of the past. This writing helps me understand the meaning of queer theory and how it is important in reinterpreting the past.

Fantham, Elaine, Helene Peet Foley, Natalie Boymel Kampen, Sarah B. Pomeroy, H. A. Shapiro. *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

The purpose of this writing is to gather the most important primary sources, both written and visual, that display the lives of ancient women, and provide a historical and cultural context for them. The different chapters look at women's creativity, sexuality, and experience in marriage. The authors look at vases that depict women engaging in social activities, some of which can be interpreted as homoerotic, thus providing me art pieces to examine. There is also some discussion of female sexuality, comparing it to other societies and traditions among men. Writings from authors such as Plutarch allow me to understand how people, especially men, would have viewed women's sexuality at the time. Through this understanding I can explain why images would have been depicted the way that they were.

Halperin, David M. "The Normalization of Queer Theory." *Journal of Homosexuality* 45, no. 2 (2003): 339-343.

In this article, Halperin explains the creation of queer theory and how it was introduced into the academic field. He discusses what this theory means and how it has been used in past scholarship. I used this article to help me define and explain queer theory as I implemented it through my Independent Study.

Hodder, Ian. "Postprocessual Archaeology." *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 2 (1985): 1-26.

In this article Hodder discusses the meaning of postprocessual archaeology. This theory exists in contrast to Processual archaeology. It is important to note the differences in this two approaches in order to better understand the use of feminist theory and how it is a postprocessual archaeological approach. I use Hodder's article to help explain this distinction in an attempt to place feminist theory in the broader landscape of the archaeological field of thought.

James, Sharon L. and Sheila Dillon, *Women in the Classical World*, Vol IV, London: Routledge, 2017.

James and Dillon include articles about the lives of women in the classical world. They discuss the different roles that women played and draw on different sources, such as ancient texts or artwork. The authors of each chapter use different methodological approaches, with some taking a historical approach, others taking an archaeological

approach and still others taking an art historical approach, to their analysis of women's lives. I used this book to further my understanding of how women lived and were viewed during this time. The variety of sources and approaches that the authors took to analyzing the evidence provided me with a broader understanding of their lives.

Lefkowitz, Mary R. and Maureen B. Fant. *Women's Life in Greece and Rome*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.

The authors present primary sources that describe the lives of women throughout Greece and Rome. They provide examples of women's voices, which include female poets. They then look at examples of men's opinions on women, using inscriptions and literary sources as examples. Next they move onto the view of philosophers on the role of women. The authors then discuss the legal status of women in both Greece and Rome. Next they address women's public life and their private life. They also discuss the different occupations that women held in society. Throughout the entire book they rely on letters, inscriptions, poems, tragedies, and images to piece together the lives of women and to understand their roles in society. This writing provided me with a more detailed understanding of the lives of women, along with primary sources that can strengthen my claims.

Lewis, Sian. *The Athenian Woman: An Iconographic Handbook*. New York: Routledge, 2002.

This book explores the roles and lives of the Athenian Woman. Lewis uses images to support and further explain the lives of the women, looking mostly at images on vases and pottery. I used this source to find potential images to include in my exhibit and to analyze. I was also able to consider Lewis' analysis of each image in an attempt to better understand how scholars have previously interpreted them and how I can challenge these assumptions.

Pomeroy, Sarah B. *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity*. New York: Schocken Books, 1975.

In this book, Pomeroy looks at the different roles that women played throughout history in Greece. She draws upon art and literature, although noting that all of these pieces of evidence about the lives of women are tainted by the views of men, since they are the primary authors. Pomeroy discusses the portrayal of women as goddesses and how their sexuality was portrayed in a different manner in these images. She also cites Hesiod's *Theogony* along with the works of Sappho to provide historical context. Her writing provides me with a multitude of information on how women were perceived and depicted in art and literature in Greece and provides background information that explains the views of people at the time and thus influences their view on women and sexuality. I can especially draw on the works of Sappho, as her writing is most notably about same-sex relationships between women. Overall, Pomeroy's writing provides me with interpretations of primary sources and the historical and archaeological context that I need to understand my art pieces better.

Rabinowitz, Nancy Sorkin. "Excavating Women's Homoeroticism in Ancient Greece: The Evidence from Attic Vase Painting." In *Among Women: From the Homosocial to the Homoerotic in the Ancient World*, edited by Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz and Lisa Auanger, pp. 106 – 166. Texas: University of Texas Press, 2002.

In this chapter, Rabinowitz looks at the relationships between women that are established on ancient Greek vases. She uses a multitude of evidence and interpretations to explain the images that she looks at and what they may suggest. She also provides historical and archaeological background for the time period and each of the pieces. She explains that her intention is to apply queer theory in an attempt to question the accepted view that women's homoerotic relationships were not displayed in art. Rabinowitz first explains the different means of representation, such as what vessels they were on, who was making them, and who the intended audience was. These factors influence how they can be interpreted and what the image on them may mean. She then uses the location of women and how the activities they would have been engaging in to provide context for some of the images that depict women together in a homosocial setting. Rabinowitz also points out the fact that marriage is a homosocial relationship among women, and many pieces that show women preparing for marriage demonstrate the intimate bond between women. I used the information in this article to better understand how homoeroticism can be seen in Greek art. Her article helped support my argument, as we were looking at the same topic.

Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America." *The University of Chicago Press Journals* 1, no. 1 (Autumn 1975): 1-29.

In this article, Smith-Rosenberg discusses the relationships that women had in the 19th century. She looks at the friendships that developed, arguing that some of them were romantic relationships, and some were even physical. By using letters sent between women, she shows how these relationships developed, especially between women who were segregated from men in places such as boarding schools. Her text helps me prove that romantic and physical relationships can develop between women if they are spending extensive amounts of time together, especially without men.

Spencer-Wood, Suzanne M. "Introduction: Feminist Theories and Archaeology." *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress* 7, no. 1 (2011): 1-24.

In this journal article Spencer-Wood discusses feminist theory in archaeology. She explains the different waves and types of feminist theory and how the theory has developed over time, and the importance that it has in the academic field. I used this article to help elaborate on feminist theory and define it in Independent Study.

Spencer-Wood, Suzanne M. "Feminist Gender Research in Classical Archaeology." In

Women in Antiquity: Theoretical Approaches to Gender and Archaeology, edited by Sarah E. Nelson, 265-299. United Kingdom: AltaMira Press, 2007.

In this chapter, Spencer-Wood explores the development of feminist approaches to gender researches specifically in classical archaeology. She discusses in-depth, the development of feminist classical archaeology, which began in the late 1970s and early 80s. By focusing on feminist classical archaeology, she is able to isolate how it is used in one field and the problems and success that it has had. I used this to understand how these theories are applied to classical archaeology and to gain a better understanding of what feminist theory is. Since I am working in the field of classical archaeology it is important for me to understand the impact that this theory has on the field and the way that it is used by scholars.

Sutton, Robert F. Jr. "Pornography and Persuasion on Attic Pottery." In *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*, edited by Amy Richlin, 3-35, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

In this book Richlin and other authors come together to examine the representation of pornography in Greece and Rome. They examine texts and images to understand how porn was portrayed during these time periods and regions. Sutton's chapter specifically focuses on attic pottery, providing me with potential images for me to examine. It also showed me how images are currently being interpreted. The chapter also provided information on women's role in porn, their role as hetaira, and their representation in art, which helped further inform my analysis.

Toscano, Margaret M. "The Eyes Have It: Female Desire on Attic Greek Vases." *Arethusa* 46, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 1-40.

In this article, Toscano looks at the way that female desire is depicted on greek vases. She looks at the gaze, touch, and space between the women to understand the desire that may be shared between them. Toscano draws on analogous images of male and females to better understand what the images may represent. Her article is important in supporting the way that homoerotic relationships between women can be depicted and identified on Greek vases. I use her analysis and methods to help me analyze different images and support the idea that some images of women represent female desire.

William, Dyfri. "Women on Athenian Vases: Problems of Interpretation." In *Images of Women in Antiquity*, edited by Averil Cameron and Amelie Kuhrt, 92-105. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1983.

In this chapter, Williams examines images of women on Athenian vases in an attempt to understand their lives, but also addresses the problems that surround these interpretations. He begins by looking at more domestic scenes of women to demonstrate that aspect of a woman's life. He notes however that respectable women were not the only ones performing some of these actions, and explains that hetairai were also pictured performing some of the same actions. Williams then moves on to talk about images of

hetairai and the way that they were perceived. He explains the typical images that are seen depicting prostitution, but then goes on to address images that are more ambiguous, and where it is difficult to identify if the women are respectable women or hetairai. This is how he explains and acknowledges the problems of interpretation of the images of women on vases. His work provides me with information on how some images have been interpreted, and also allows me to take note on how some works can be difficult to fully understand.

Yegul, Fikret. *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*. New York: The MIT Press, 1992.

This book explores the role of baths and bathing in classical and ancient Greece. It explained how baths were made, what their function was, and who was using them. The information provided helped me understand how baths were used and the social impact that they had. It allowed me to connect them to 20th century bathhouses and how women may have had similar experiences in baths. It also helped further my analysis of an image of females bathing and provided me with context to the image.

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