

Winter January 1st, 1995

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C. May Marston Lectures
Seattle Pacific University
1993, 1994, 1995

Pytheas of Massalia: Roman Reactions to a Greek Explorer

On the Historical Assessment of Notable Women

Loom Weights, Water Jars and Catastrophes

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The 1995 C. May Marston Lecture

Loom Weights, Water Jars and Catastrophes:
or
The View from the Women's Quarters

Good evening! Welcome to the third annual C. May Marston lecture. I wish to extend an especially warm greeting to those who have indulged me already on two previous occasions. It is my hope that you will find this evening as interesting and thought-provoking as the earlier lectures.

I spoke last year on several famous women from the ancient world, and suggested that the traditional discussions of them as historical persons could be clarified by focussing on them as *women*. I sketched the kind of constraints under which even these elite women lived, and at the conclusion of my reappraisal I indicated that for this 1995 lecture I would comment upon the lives of more ordinary women--the "Jane Does" of the ancient world.

As I worked on the topic during the year, I found myself puzzling over the development of restrictions imposed on women in Greek society by men, and wondering about the very tight limitations we see operating in Classical Greece. As I tried to imagine what daily life under such restrictions might have been like, I considered also the way women are portrayed in literature and added the changes in Greek perception of the Olympian goddesses, especially Demeter and Hera. Tonight, then, I wish to suggest some interrelationships, as well as raise some questions about traumatic events and mythology.

Our sources for the ancient Aegean do not present a clear sequence by which we can see changes in the status of women developing. Instead, as is usually true in ancient history, we have patches of evidence, mostly non-written. The high culture of Minoan Crete influenced early Greece and the islands, and the archaeological evidence indicates that women had great respect in the society of Minoan Crete, if not full equality. Crete was prosperous and traded energetically throughout the Mediterranean until the 17th century BC. This is the same century that marks the rise of Mycenaean culture in Greece itself, and the archaeological evidence allows us to trace the development of Mycenaean society until its destruction in the 13th century. Tablets written just before sites were destroyed demonstrate that here, on the Greek mainland four hundred years after the eclipse of Minoan Crete, large numbers of women in Mycenaean society are unfree, indentured servants if not actually slaves. They are controlled by the palace centers, and engaged in the production of fabric.¹ A major change in the status of women in the Aegean seems, then, to have occurred within that four hundred year period.

True literary material appears in Greek-speaking areas around 800 BC with the poetry of Homer and Hesiod, and becomes more varied as we approach the 5th century BC and the Classical world centered around the Mediterranean. However, I need to stress that very little is actually said about the presence or the activities of women by

those elite and literate men whose work survives. Proper behavior kept females away from the notice of men, and the Classical world did not really approve of educating females, so we have essentially nothing from women writers after 500 BC. Comments in plays, both tragedy and comedy, the occasional tombstone that goes beyond "She lived, she died, she is missed," deductions from the layout of houses, inferences from a very few legal cases, what can be gleaned from vase paintings, and the few precious remarks about real women made by the historians are all we have. We lack even skeletal remains that might shed light on health and life-span, since the Greeks cremated their dead. "Family" as a concept never appears in our texts: citizenship, clan and class dominate Greek attention, and women do not participate except as pawns to be moved by male relatives.

Obviously, all Greek men had a mother as well as a father, so an original parent-child relation can be assumed, but how many men grew up in households that included a sister, a father's concubines and a maid or two for the ranking female (whether she was our young man's mother, his grandmother, a second wife or widowed sister of his father) in addition to his tutor, servants and a brother we simply do not know. Greeks never share this kind of personal data deliberately in the written sources. Frankly, I have no idea--from evidence--what actually became of elderly free-born women if they had no surviving sons to care for them.

What *can* we say about the life of the "average woman" in the Greek-speaking world? All women lived their lives under the legal and practical control of male relatives: fathers, uncles, brothers, husbands, sons. A woman's access to food, shelter, raw materials, education and marital circumstances lay outside her own control and depended upon the decisions of her male guardians throughout life: a Greek woman never became a fully functioning adult in the sense of gaining independence.

The way a woman experienced this varied from place to place. Greek society at large set some traditional limits on the behavior of male relatives. Let me give you some examples. The use of subordinate women as sex partners by household males was tolerated but frowned upon. It was expected that male relatives would control the behavior of women outside the home. It was taken for granted that a male would advance his own status through marriages arranged for the females under his control, as well as in his own marriage. On the other hand, incest and murder were prohibited.

Masculine self-interest also played a part in the way women were treated: certainly if female members of the household felt they were treated acceptably, it made for a more pleasant home!

Here I have become aware of a generational gap. Let me assure any of you who doubt it that most women born before 1950 accepted the dominant role of men in society. Certainly my mother, born in 1899, did, though she considered it regrettable. So did her friends, most of whom also had reasonably happy marriages, college educations, and employment outside the home.

Like ordinary women of very recent generations, whose acceptance of social restraints and expected patterns can be seen in interviews and journals,² women in the ancient Greek world did not question the authority structures under which they lived.

Greek women accepted as reality that they would be removed from their childhood environment and transferred to a stranger's household, there to struggle making a place for themselves among the females of that new household, to bear children to the new husband and see those children totally removed from their care after a few years. The boys would pass from the women's quarters at around seven, the girls be married and disappear at puberty.

The realities of their lives imposed a number of limitations that may not be obvious. For example, a woman learned to limit emotional bonding. The abrupt removal from familiar childhood circumstances, the short period during which her children were present under her care, and the fact that the survival of a newborn was never assured--since the ranking male might decide not to raise it, and infant mortality for those allowed to live was high--all of these factors combined to make the bonding processes we moderns consider normal less strong for a woman in ancient Greek society. Why form emotional attachments, when the people in her life came and went at the whim of others?

One coping strategy, in other words, to handle the control exerted over her by others was for a woman to limit the bonding she allowed herself and to maintain a kind of emotional distance as self protection. Men, unfamiliar with the restraints that evoked this response, saw it as passivity and lack of intellect, and came to expect this non-involvement as the normal emotional state of the women they saw around them. Thus any vigorous display of emotion from women, no matter what caused it, shocked males and drew repression as their response to such "abnormal" behavior.

Out of many illustrations of this in classical literature, let me cite the reactions of Kreon and Jason to Medea in Euripides' play *Medea*. In the case of Medea, this foreign princess who had married for love (against societal norms) and borne two children, is now to be exiled without resources because her husband has decided to advance himself with a new marriage. She is shamed and humiliated, faces starvation for herself and her children through the betrayal of the man for whom she has sacrificed everything, and then she is mocked by both the ex-husband and his new father-in-law for her "excessive emotion" as she reacts to the situation.³

In the dramas that depict captured women, whether as chorus or as main characters, the emotional reactions of women--fear, grief, rage-- usually provoke threats of violence from the men who dominate them; examples can be seen in many of the tragedies by Euripides that deal with the circumstances surrounding the fall of Troy. *The Trojan Women*, *Hecuba*, and *Andromache* all provide clear illustrations of this aspect of the relationship existing between Greek males, with their warrior codes, and the women who are the victims of war.⁴

The plays of Euripides have complicated agenda and were written during a savage war: Euripides did not need to resort to imagination to create such scenes. Thucydides, the historian who details the war, mentions the enslavement of women and children from captured cities with chilling frequency.⁵ Almost a century later Aristotle can seriously ponder the question of whether women have souls. He considers the female only a housing for the embryo--men are the creators--and he does not hesitate to group

women with slaves and domestic animals who need to be controlled by the only humans who think rationally: citizen males.⁶

The ordinary woman then, faced a life which offered few areas in which she was allowed to contribute. Since there were no alternatives available to her, she accepted this. Let me urge that hasty criticism of such acceptance of limitation may blind us to real understanding. Dr. Erickson provided an excellent quote this afternoon from the 19th century author George Eliot. She writes, concerning the marriage of a talented young woman that many regretted her absorption into a wifely role. "But no one stated exactly what else that was in her power she ought to have done..." The Greek woman found ways to function within the parameters of family and state structures. She did what she could to satisfy and please the dominant males around her, enhanced any skills they valued, and concealed those they didn't.

Women tried to train daughters to behave in ways that would maximize their survival. There was certainly instruction on the uniquely feminine aspects of personal hygiene together with some sex education and rudiments of child care. There would be suggestions on how to behave in a new husband's household, based on stories of the mother's and grandmother's experiences. There would be careful instruction on the behaviors permitted on the special occasions when women appeared in public, such as religious festivals. Also, I am certain, there was a large body of information about men (those strange, godlike creatures!) based on personal observation and hearsay, laced with myths and stories from the legendary past.

Thus, a woman took the transmitted legacy of the female line with her, added her own observations and experiences and made what she could out of the reality in which she lived. She did not question it because she knew no other reality. She used it to the extent circumstances and her own abilities allowed.

In other words, within the limitations imposed by a heavily patriarchal system, I think Greek women can not adequately be understood simply as "victims," because I doubt they defined themselves that way. To consider oneself a victim, there needs to be a sense of "wrongness." If, however, one takes limitations for granted, there is no such sense. One may grieve over circumstances that are beyond one's control, rage even. But one expects to do what one can within the limitations accepted as reality. The way things are is set by fate, and Fate (moira) is the foundation for Greek thinking about "the way things are."

The rhythms of a day in the life of an average Greek woman were determined by the various needs of the household. The architecture of the Classical Greek village and city-state never extended to providing water inside the house, nor were cisterns regularly part of private property. Supplying all the water used daily by a household was an essential and time-consuming task for women: thus the water jars of my title.

It was the responsibility of the women to carry the water from the public fountain house. Neither wheeled conveyances nor carrying yokes seem ever to have been used, and so a daily task was at least one trip with the ceramic containers, and the return with a gallon or so of water per container. If the household did not include a slave to assist the wife, the task was hers, lacking daughters or a "poor relation" of her husband's. A

few vase paintings show women gathered in the open portico of a fountain house, filling the heavy jars, and some of the plays include references to this daily task. (I am unable to find *any* evidence that men ever carried water jars!)

The other perennial task of the Greek woman, in addition to food preparation, involved the production of thread and the weaving of textiles: thus the loom weights of my title. In her fascinating new book, *Women's Work: the First 20,000 Years*, Elizabeth Barber has convincingly demonstrated that the primary task for women in all societies and times, beyond the preparation of food and care of children, has been the production of cloth. As Barber points out, spinning and weaving are tasks that are easily adaptable to the early years of child-rearing. One needs to maintain a safe environment for toddlers, one must not be engaged in anything that focuses attention away from the little dears, and one must allow for being interrupted at any moment should there be an emergency. Weaving is an ideal occupation, and produces a useful-even valuable-product.⁷

The importance of spinning and weaving in the lives of Greek women is clear even in the Mycenaean period. Thousands of loom weights, as well as references in the documents to large amounts of raw flax and to lengths of finished goods, and to large numbers of female workers all demonstrate that this was far more than simple production for home use: fabric production in the palace centers of the Mycenaean world was a significant industry. Helen herself was famed for her skill: Homer implies that it was one reason Menelaus wanted her back. The cloth Penelope wove and rewove was an intricate pictorial design, requiring consummate skill. It is almost certain that the wealth of the Mycenaean period depended significantly on the production of textiles for export, which is certainly related-somehow-to the rigorous control of women that is also shown in those documents from the 13th century before Christ.

While references to the activities of women are rare in literature, spinning and working at the loom are attested throughout the Classical period; epitaphs mention industry in spinning and weaving as if a woman existed for little else, and there are a few vase paintings that also show women at this task.⁸ After all, even goddesses like Circe and Aphrodite were described by poets spinning or weaving!

Both weaving and water carrying were not just accepted but expected duties of women. They were also activities which allowed for limited socializing with other women. A trip to the fountain house was hard work, lugging the jars back through hot dusty streets, but it offered a chance to talk to other women from outside the household-to briefly exchange gossip with neighbors, perhaps ask for or give household hints. The men one passed in the streets included those who would be quick to report unseemly behavior to one's own head of house, so modest attention to duty was advisable. But perhaps one reason this surprisingly inefficient way to provide domestic water was not discarded is because the women themselves insisted on retaining it?

Weaving and spinning either flax or wool usually involved more than one woman: it was expected to occupy a significant portion of a woman's time, and therefore provided a regular opportunity for conversation as well as companionship.⁹ While many of the tasks, such as setting up the big wall looms or weaving complex designs, require a certain concentration, even these are rhythmic and allow the mind to pursue other

avenues. In other words, the activity was such that opportunity for the household women to socialize was there. The physical labor involved in cooking for, cleaning up after, and serving the family males kept women busied in rather isolating tasks. Since they did not have more than formal contact even with the men of their own household (men and women never ate together, for example), any opportunity for stimulation from others must have been welcome.

I mentioned earlier that public festivals were important occasions for a woman to escape the confines of the women's quarters. Religious beliefs in ancient Greece were expressed not in matters of moral and ethical behaviors, but in rituals that were often seasonal in character. The present time of year, for example, was roughly the Greek month of the Lenaia when prominent deceased family members and local heroes were remembered with offerings at the tombs. The patron god or goddess of every city had elaborate festivals as well, and the times of planting and of harvesting were marked by ritual celebrations that extended for several days. At such times, in segregated areas and carefully supervised, Greek women appeared in public. The worship of the grain goddess Demeter and her daughter Persephone in the Athenian Thesmophoria, for example, had special importance because these were festivals in which women actually had positions of authority, left home for several days at a time, and did share a common religious experience.¹⁰ However, tonight I would like to focus on the worship of another goddess, who did not have obvious fertility associations in the Classical period: Hera.

Most societies have marked human seasons--times of birth and death, of coming of age and of marriage--with rituals to ensure safety and prosperity. A Greek woman would have felt her life generally under the protection of Hera. Hera was one of the great goddesses, patron of the home and marriage, and in Classical times, identified as the wife of Zeus the sky god and king of the Olympian pantheon.

One might expect that Hera, given this role, would set a splendid example for mortals as an ideal Greek wife, meekly subordinate and obedient to her husband's wishes, and modestly concerned with the Olympic equivalent of those household tasks which we have seen occupied the average Greek woman. However, while she is one of the most widely worshiped and prominent divinities, equal at all times to Athena, any reader of the *Iliad* knows that Hera is portrayed very differently in myth and epic from the way we have seen that Greek wives were allowed to behave.

Homer, in fact, shows her as a shrewish spouse--a formidable goddess chafing at the orders she is given and constantly seeking ways to thwart or manipulate her husband. Consort she may be, but it is obviously a marriage of convenience for Zeus. Homer was the ultimate guide of Greek belief down to the Roman period, but his picture of a mighty goddess of marriage who is not easily controlled by her husband has puzzled modern readers who did not take for granted, as did the Greeks, the subordinate role of women.

Recent scholarship, asking new questions as each generation of scholars must do, now is beginning to illuminate the role of the Bronze Age earth goddesses before the Classical goddesses Hera and Athena, Artemis and Demeter. Worship of some kind of an Earth Mother clearly reaches back at least to 6000 BC, when plants and animals were domesticated during the Neolithic period. The power of earth was certainly worshiped in

Crete and in Mycenaean Greece, and after the end of the Mycenaean palaces, places sacred to a female remain associated with a goddess, although she is sometimes obscured by a lordly male.¹¹

By the time names are recorded in Classical Greek, some of the early sanctuaries belong to Hera, some to Artemis, a few to Athena or Demeter or Aphrodite. But it has always seemed odd that the functions of Greek goddesses frequently overlap and it is hard to imagine, in any particular circumstances, which goddess one should invoke. If we recognize that they are probably all aspects of one or perhaps two original earth goddesses, then the confusing mixture of attribution at various sites is understandable.

Interestingly, the marital association of Zeus with Hera can not be demonstrated earlier than Homer's poetry in the 8th century BC. None of Hera's early sanctuaries have signs of any consort, and the earliest literary references associated with the worship of Hera point to Poseidon as her consort, not Zeus. Poseidon is the god of moving waters and earthquakes, and his name means "husband to Don," an earth and war goddess one encounters both in Celtic myth (the Irish Danu) and in Vedic myth (Aditya). All three languages, Greek, Celtic and Sanskrit, are members of the Indo-European language family, and "dôn" is a verbal root meaning "give"--surely appropriate to an earth goddess. But I digress: back to Hera.

Hera's name is etymologically associated with "hero" and with season ("horos") and youth ("hebe"), with Hestia (the female personification of the hearth fire) and with Hephaistos, the smith-god of volcanoes who is her son. Joan O'Brien, in her new work, *The Transformation of Hera*, cites archaeological evidence from the early Greek period (after 1200 BC and before 800 BC) to show conclusively that the early Hera was an earth goddess who brought seasonal fertility and new life, then "tamed" it as it came to maturity. (Men are tamed into heroic warriors; women, into wives.) She is a protector or "shield" of citadels, nourishes heroes for war, and tames couples in marriage. She is symbolized by nets and knotted ropes, by a tree and column, and the earliest cult rituals associate her with the confluence of strongly moving rivers. She is accompanied by peacocks, lions and bulls: even in Homer she is "Hera with the look of an ox."¹²

This Dark Age goddess was an awesome power, who makes the strangely independent Hera we meet in Homer more understandable. It is even probable that Homer himself played a major role in weakening her power. He is the earliest source to present her as the wife of Zeus; no Hera shrines are known to link Zeus with her as consort until centuries after Homer. So from the uncomfortable wife of Zeus that we find in Classical Greece, we can see back in time to a truly potent goddess worshiped before Homer, and to an even earlier independent goddess worshipped in Mycenaean Greece. And *that* goddess was almost certainly derived from the goddess we see in the art of Minoan Crete.

The powerful Minoan civilization was at its height around 1650 BC, and all indications are that women in that society participated very freely within it. Four hundred years later, around 1200 BC, we have Mycenaean documents which refer to large numbers of women, indentured if not actually slaves, who create the vast quantity of textiles produced in Mycenaean society. And within a few centuries, the powerful female

deities will be submerged in a pantheon openly dominated by Zeus, a male sky god. Is there any evidence, aside from literary, to help us understand this process?

As it happens, a truly staggering event occurred in the Mediterranean in the 17th century BC. The likely year is 1628 BC, dated by analysis of recently taken core samples from Iceland and the annual rings of bristlecone pines. One of the astounding discoveries of the last 25 years has been the archaeological excavation of a city on the desolate Greek island of Thera, and the academic detective work needed to explain what has been found. I give you now a brief summary.

In 1650 BC Minoan Crete was a prosperous state, organized around palace centers. The largest was Knossos. Crete was artistically and technologically advanced. In the south, the pharaohs of New Kingdom Egypt were pleased to exchange courtesies and goods, treating "the Keftiu" as equals. The Aegean Islands shared to varying degrees in the high culture of Crete, but unquestionably the jewel was a circular island directly north of Crete some 70 miles. We know that it was dominated by a central mountain peak and densely populated, with abundant streams, some geothermal, and at least three cities.

Minoan religious worship focused on a goddess who was often worshiped at mountain shrines. All known Minoan palace complexes are oriented toward mountains, usually double-peaked. I think the conclusion that some manifestation of the earth goddess was very important in the Minoan world is inescapable.

The island to the north--Kalliste, or Most Beautiful, seems to have been its name--was a volcano.¹³ Probably it emitted the occasional column of steam, which would have been visible in Crete.

On an autumn day in 1628 BC this island volcano exploded with the force of 150 hydrogen bombs detonated simultaneously.¹⁴ Fifty cubic miles of rock were vaporized, leaving a hole in the floor of the Mediterranean more than a mile deep.

The ground surge, traveling outward in total blackness, rained fire, while the air was hotter than live steam. The cloud was blown south-east, and turned day to night shot with blue lightning. It rained ash, still superheated in pockets, far into Turkey and south to the Nile Delta.

The blast incinerated ships, trees, animal and human life. Tsunamis moved outward and in one channel on the Turkish coast were compressed until they created a wall of 800-foot waves that travelled 30 miles inland.¹⁵

The mind can hardly comprehend it. Today the Mediterranean fills the broken caldera, which stretches more than seven miles across. On the eastern, crescent-shaped side, the cliffs rise a thousand feet almost straight up. Once "the most beautiful" (Kalliste), this island became "the savage" (Thera).

On the very southern edge, protected by the ash that choked it in the first eruption of that outburst in 1628 BC, lies Akrotiri--high Thera, in Greek--where excavation has exposed perhaps a city block and parts of several others. The city was originally a port, on a harbor facing Crete, and survives only because the ash, which is 100 feet deep in some places, protected it from the shock of the blast like styrofoam pellets in a mailing carton.

The catastrophe was widely known, since the explosive concussion was heard throughout the eastern Mediterranean, and even places which escaped the death-cloud saw ashfall and drastically impaired growing seasons. Details may have taken months or even years to circulate, but the effects on a huge geographical area were immediate, dramatic and long-lasting. Mycenaean Greeks from the mainland, less affected than places to the south and east, moved to occupy Crete. They initiated the period of their greatest strength in the aftermath.

How does the mind grapple with such a staggering catastrophe? And what of the *religious* implications? The earth, the mother, the giver, the one who "tames and protects", has done this. The volcanic fires of Hephaistos and the seawaters of earth's husband Poseidon were also involved. The people who were destroyed were unquestionably worshipers of goddess power at a time when the Near East had already begun to emphasize the power of male sky and weather divinities.

Did the event hasten a move away from belief in the nourishing earth? Did the tremendous destruction erode faith in a divine mother figure? Perhaps the catastrophe contributed to a fracturing of the older mother goddess into the weaker figures we see in later Greece.

There are no known references to this stunning event, from Egyptian, Syrian or Hittite sources. No scribe soberly tells us that on such and such a day of so and so's reign the sky turned black or rained fire, or that hot ash fell like snow, or that people in such and such a land died of starvation after the great cloud of fire. I believe that a catastrophe of such magnitude could only be enshrined elliptically, in myth. And centuries later, in Greece, there was the story of Demeter whose daughter, the "most beautiful maiden," was stolen away by the Lord of the Dead. Her mother, grieved and angered, withheld fertility from the soil, so the ground did not bear food. People were dying, they no longer worshiped the gods, and so-as the story tells us-Zeus at last agreed that the maiden could return to her mother's arms for nine months of the year. Some versions of the myth have Demeter, the grain goddess, restoring fertility to the soil; others describe how she taught people how to plant and harvest grain.¹⁶

Zeus' Olympian power rests on his control of the thunderbolt; he imprisoned his opponents underground after a battle, and he once threw Hephaistos out of Olympus for trying to protect his mother, Hera. Memories, again metamorphosed into myth?

Homer's wrathful Hera, that clearly "unbroken" wife, may also veil memories of an earlier goddess of the earth and its seasons who once took a terrible and unprovoked vengeance on her own people; perhaps she needs to be controlled by the firm hand of a husband, if humans are to be safe. There were two places, particularly sacred to Hera (in the ancient citadel of Argos, and on the island of Samos near the Turkish coast), where veneration of Hera as a great goddess continued stubbornly down into the Classical period. At these sites, she was still worshipped as the lady who brought fertility and protection to her people. Most of Greece, however, preferred to see Hera subordinated to Zeus. As for Greek wives, they were to remain silently submissive and obedient to their menfolk..and busy with looms and water jars.

NOTES

1. Barber 1994:215-18.
2. Lewis, J. 1990:63.
3. Euripides, *Medea*: 1. 271-339; 446-464.
4. Euripides' *Hecuba*, named for Priam's queen, shows starkly the circumstances that captured women could expect to experience, although here the plot allows the women of Troy some vengeance.
5. Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, 1.4.98, 5.25.3, 5.26.32, and 5.27.116. The last passage is the famous conclusion to the siege of Melos.
6. Aristotle, *Politics*, 1254b3-1277b25, which is quoted in Lefkowitz and Fant 1982:64; also *On the Generation of Animals*, 716a5-23; 727a2-30:82-84.
7. Barber 1994: 29-31; 71-101.
8. See Lefkowitz and Fant 1982:22(41); 23(42); 28(56); 29(58) for selected inscriptions. Barber 1994:figs. 3.6 and 9.4, show the most famous black figure vase painting of Greek women working wool, attributed to the Amasis painter (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, no. 31.11.10..
9. Barber 1994:17-24 and 39-41 for detailed descriptions.
10. Foley 1994:71-74
11. The female Pytho (or Typhon) was replaced at Delphi by Apollo; the ancient association of Hera with Olympia was overshadowed by Zeus.
12. O'Brien's translation of the more familiar "cow-eyed" Hera, which in Greek is literally "ox-face."
13. Strabo, *Geography*, 8.3.19 in which he is quoting a fragment from the poet Callimachus.
14. While the awesome data on this eruption can be found in numerous articles, the most concise is Pellegrino 1991:13-20.
15. Pellegrino 1991:87.
16. Different versions of the myth place greater emphasis on Demeter's grief, or on the importance of human hospitality to the grieving goddess, or on the founding of the Eleusinian Mysteries, than upon agriculture and a seasonal cycle. Pellegrino 1991:88-89 finds another reference in myth to the eruption, this time to the tsunami which struck Greece (from Euripides, *Hippolytus*, l. 1192-1215).

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