WOMEN ARTISTS IN HISTORY

from Antiquity to the Present

Wendy Slatkin

California State Polytechnic University, Pomona
# Brief Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>xvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>xix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>xxiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART I  FROM PREHISTORY TO THE MIDDLE AGES</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1 Prehistory and the First Civilizations</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2 The Classical World</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3 The Medieval World</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART II  EUROPE: 1400–1800</strong></td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4 Italy: 1400–1600</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5 Italy and Northern Europe: The Seventeenth Century</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 6 The Eighteenth Century</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART III  THE NINETEENTH CENTURY</strong></td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7 The Nineteenth Century: 1800–1870</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 8 The Late Nineteenth Century: 1870–1900</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART IV  1900–1970</strong></td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 9 The Early Twentieth Century: 1900–1920</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 10 Europe and America: 1920–1945</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 11 The United States: 1945–1970</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART V  1970–TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY</strong></td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 12 Contemporary Feminisms</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 13 Contemporary Global Feminisms</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glossary</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endnotes</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Table of Contents

List of Figures ........................................................................................................... xiii
Acknowledgments ....................................................................................................... xvii
Preface ......................................................................................................................... xix
Introduction ................................................................................................................. xxiii

- **Women Artists** xxv
  - Selection Criteria xxv
- **Feminism (Feminist Art History)** xxvi
- **Interpretation and Analysis of Images of Women** xxvi
- **Women as Patrons** xxvii
- **Women as Viewers** xxvii
- **Architecture and the Gendering of Space** xxvii
- **Text/Context: Frame and “Beyond the Frame”** xxviii

Some Definitions xxviii

- **Woman/Women** xxix
- **Sex/Gender** xxix
- **Identity/Identifications** xxx
- **Visual Representations and the Construction of Gender** xxx
- **Patriarchy and Matriarchy** xxxi
- **Artist** xxxi
- **History** xxxii
- **The “Canon”** xxxii

Recommended Readings xxxiii

## PART I  FROM PREHISTORY TO THE MIDDLE AGES ................................................. 1

### Chapter 1  Prehistory and the First Civilizations ................................................. 3

- **Paleolithic Hunting and Gathering Societies: the Mother Goddess Debate** 4
- **Female Sculpture: small statue from Willendorf** 4
- **The Bronze Age: the Cyclades** 6
- **The Ancient Near East** 7
  - **Enheduenna, High Priestess of Akkad** 9

**Egypt** 11

- **Royal Women** 12
  - **Hatshepsut** 13
- **Nefertiti** 14
- **New Kingdom Tomb Paintings** 15

**Conclusion** 17

**Recommended Readings** 17

### Chapter 2  The Classical World .............................................................. 19

**Crete: The Minoan Civilization** 20

- **Was Crete a Matriarchy?** 21
Cyprus 21
Greece 22
Women and Weaving 24
Women and the Panathenaia 25
The “History of Sexuality” and Classical Sculpture in Athens 26
The Female Nude 27
Portrait Sculpture of Women 28
Women Artists in Greece and Rome 29
Rome 30
Images of Women on Historical Reliefs 31
Elite Women Patrons 33
Livia, Wife of Augustus 33
Plancia Magna 34
Relief of a Working-Class Family 35
Domestic Architecture: Aristocratic Roman Villas 36
Conclusion 37
Recommended Readings 37

Chapter 3 The Medieval World ................................................................. 39
The Byzantine Empire 40
Empress Theodora 40
The Midwife 41
Visual Culture of Convents 43
Hildegard of Bingen 45
The Poor Clares of Italy 46
Nuns in Northern Europe 47
Women in Representations: The Compassio of Mary 48
Women as Readers and Patrons of Books 48
Secular Manuscript Illumination 51
Embroidery 53
The Bayeux Tapestry 54
Opus Anglicanum 55
Urban Working Women: 1200–1600 56
Christine de Pizan 59
Conclusion 60
Recommended Readings 60

PART II EUROPE: 1400–1800 ................................................................. 63
Chapter 4 Italy: 1400–1600 ................................................................. 65
Making the Invisible Visible: The Women of Early Modern Italy 65
The Absence of Women Artists in
Women in Visual Representations:
Women in Visual Representations: Ideal Images 69
Architecture, Gender, Space 70
Secular Women Patrons 72
Isabella d’Este (1474–1539) 73
Catherine de’ Medici (1519–1589) 73
The Visual Culture and Patronage of Nuns 74
Plautilla Nelli 74
Women Artists, 1525–1600: The Renaissance “Virtuosa” 76
Properzia De’Rossi 77
Sofonisba Anguissola 77
Lavinia Fontana: Women Artists’ Self-Portraiture 80
Conclusion 82
Recommended Readings 82

Chapter 5  Italy and Northern Europe ......................................................... 85

Italy 86
Artemisia Gentileschi 86
Elisabetta Sirani 88
The Dutch Republic 89
Still and Flower Painting 90
Clara Peeters 90
Rachel Ruysch 92
Portraiture and Genre Painting: Judith Leyster 94
Maria Sibylla Merian 97
Anna Maria Van Schurman and the Dutch Querelle Des Femmes 99
Conclusion 100
Recommended Readings 100

Chapter 6  The Eighteenth Century ............................................................ 103

Rosalba Carriera, Miniature and Pastel Portraiture 104
Angelica Kauffmann and History Painting 107
Pre-Revolutionary Aristocratic Portraiture 110
Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun 110
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard 113
Women Salonnières and the Enlightenment 115
Conclusion 115
Recommended Readings 115

PART III  THE NINETEENTH CENTURY ......................................................... 117

Chapter 7  The Nineteenth Century: 1800–1870 .......................................... 119

France 119
Angelique Mongez 121
The Women’s Class of Abel de Pujol 121
Rosa Bonheur 123
Victorian England 126
Emily Osborn 126
The Royal Academy and Issues of Professionalism: Elizabeth Thompson Butler 127
Women Artists and the Pre-Raphaelite Movement 129
Chapter 8  The Late Nineteenth Century: 1870–1900  .................................................. 141

Paris  141

Women of the Académie Julian  142
    Marie Bashkirtseff  143
    Louise Breslau  145

The Union des Femmes Peintres et Sculpteurs (UFPS) and the Admission of Women to the École des Beaux-Arts  146

Impressionism  147
    Berthe Morisot  147
    Mary Cassatt  149

“Glasgow Girls”: The Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts  151

The United States  152

The Philadelphia Centennial Exposition (1876) and the Decorative Arts Movement  152

Domestic Ideology: The “Cult of True Womanhood” and American Pieced Quilts  155
    Harriet Powers  157

Conclusion  158

Recommended Readings  158

PART IV  1900–1970  ............................................................................................................ 161

Whose Modernism?  161

Chapter 9  The Early Twentieth Century: 1900–1920  .................................................. 163

German Expressionists  164
    Paula Modersohn-Becker  165
    Gabrielle Münter  167
    Käthe Kollwitz  168

The Parisian Avant-Garde  170
    Marie Laurencin  170
    Sonia Delaunay  172

Russian Constructivism  173
    Lyubov Popova  174
    Varvara Stepanova  175

The United States  176
List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Nude Woman (Venus of Willendorf) ca 28,000–25,000 BCE 4
Figure 1.2 Early Bronze Age, statue from the Cyclades, ca 2700–2500 BCE. 5
Figure 1.3 Disk of Enheduanna, ca 2300–2250 BCE. 9
Figure 1.4 Pair statue of Menkaure and Queen Khamerernebty II, ca 2490–2472 BCE. 11
Figure 1.5 Funerary temple of Hatshepsut at Dier el-Bahri, ca 1473–1458 BCE. 12
Figure 1.6 Stele, altar from Amarna Akhenaton, Nefertiti, and three daughters, Eighteenth Dynasty, ca 1353–1335 BCE. 14
Figure 1.7 Scene from tomb of Menna, hunting scene. 15
Figure 1.8 Tomb of Nebamun, banquet scene. 16
Figure 2.1 Snake goddess, ca. 1600 BCE. 20
Figure 2.2 Bird-faced Kourotrophos from Cyprus, 1450–1200 BCE. 21
Figure 2.3 Dipylon vase, Athens geometric period, prothesis scene ca 740 BCE. 23
Figure 2.4 Amasis painter, women working wool, ca 560 BCE. 24
Figure 2.5 Peplos scene from the Parthenon, East Frieze, ca 447–438 BCE. 25
Figure 2.6 Praxiteles, Aphrodite of Knidos ca 350–340 BCE. 27
Figure 2.7 Female portrait statue, Artemisia, from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, ca 350 BCE. 28
Figure 2.8 Family of emperor group on Ara Pacis 13–9 BC. 32
Figure 2.9 Landscape at Primaporta: Villa of Livia, wife of Augustus, 30–25 BCE. 33
Figure 2.10 Funerary relief of Sextus Maelius Stabilio, Vesinia Lucunda, and Sextus Maelius Faustus, ca 10 BCE. 35
Figure 3.1 Mosaic of Empress Theodora, San Vitale, Ravenna ca 547. 40
Figure 3.2 Dormition, Birth of the Virgin, Daphni, ca 1000. 42
Figure 3.3 Illumination from St. Hildegard of Bingen, Scivias, ca 1150–1179 [facsimile of a lost folio]. 44
Figure 3.4 Pacino di Bonaguida, Tree of Life, ca 1310. 46
Figure 3.5 Giovanni Pisano, Pistoia pulpit, ca 1300. 49
Figure 3.6 Marcia, Self-Portrait from a Mirror, ca 1403. 52
Figure 3.7 The Bayeux Tapestry (ca 1070–1080). 53
Figure 3.8 Opus Anglicanum, Syon cope (1310–1320). 55
Figure 3.9 Christine de Pizan presenting her work to Queen Isabel of Bavaria (c. 1414). 57
Figure 4.1 Domenico Ghirlandaio, Giovanna Tornabuoni, née Albizzi, 1488. 69
Figure 4.2  Sandro Botticelli, La Primavera c. 1477–1480.  70
Figure 4.3  The Renaissance palace (archival photo Medici Palace) begun 1445.  71
Figure 4.4  Sister Plautilla Nelli, The Last Supper, before 1568.  74
Figure 4.5  Properzia De’Rossi, The Chastity of Joseph (or The Temptation of Joseph by the Wife of Potiphar), ca 1526.  75
Figure 4.6  Sofonisba Anguissola, Bernardino Campi Painting Sofonisba Anguissola, late 1550s.  77
Figure 4.7  Sofonisba Anguissola, The Chess Game, 1555.  80
Figure 4.8  Lavinia Fontana, Self-Portrait at the Spinet, 1577.  81
Figure 4.9  Sister Plautilla Nelli, The Last Supper, before 1568.  74
Figure 5.1  Artemisia Gentileschi, Judith and Maidservant, ca 1625.  87
Figure 5.2  Elisabetta Sirani, Portia Wounding Her Thigh, 1664.  89
Figure 5.3  Clara Peeters, Still Life, ca. 1630.  91
Figure 5.4  Rachel Ruysch, Flower Still Life, ca 1710.  92
Figure 5.5  Judith Leyster, Self-Portrait ca 1630.  94
Figure 5.6  Judith Leyster, The Proposition or Man Offering Money to a Young Woman, 1631.  95
Figure 5.7  Maria Sibylla Merian, Plate 18, Insects of Surinam, 1705.  97
Figure 5.8  Anna Maria van Schurman, Self-Portrait, 1632.  99
Figure 5.9  Rosalba Carriera, Self-Portrait Holding a Portrait of Her Sister, 1715.  104
Figure 6.1  Rosalba Carriera, Portrait of Louis XV, 1720.  105
Figure 6.2  Rosalba Carriera, Self-Portrait Hesitating Between the Arts of Music and Painting, 1791.  107
Figure 6.3  Angelica Kauffmann, Self-Portrait Hesitating Between the Arts of Music and Painting, 1791.  107
Figure 6.4  Angelica Kauffmann, Cornelia Pointing to Her Children as Her Treasures, 1785.  108
Figure 6.5  Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, Marie Antoinette and Her Children, 1787.  111
Figure 6.6  Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, Self-Portrait, 1790.  111
Figure 6.7  Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, Self-Portrait with Two Pupils.  113
Figure 7.1  Angelique Mongez, Mars and Venus, 1841.  121
Figure 7.2  Adrienne Marie Louise Grandpierre-Deverzy, The Studio of Abel Pujol, 1822.  122
Figure 7.3  Rosa Bonheur, The Horse Fair, 1853.  122
Figure 7.4  Emily Mary Osborn, Nameless and Friendless, 1857.  126
Figure 7.5  Elizabeth Thompson Butler, The Roll Call, 1874.  128
Figure 7.6  Julia Margaret Cameron, The Whisper of the Muse, 1865.  129
Figure 7.7  Sarah Miriam Peale, Painting of Henry A. Wise, 1842.  131
Figure 7.8  Lilly Martin Spencer, Domestic Happiness, 1849.  132
Figure 7.9  Harriet Hosmer, Zenobia in Chains, 1859.  134
Figure 7.10  Edmonia Lewis, Old Indian Arrowmaker and His Daughter, 1872.  136
Figure 8.1  Marie Bashkirtseff, In the Studio, 1881  142
Figure 8.2  Louise Breslau, Conversation at the Table (Les Amies), 1881.  145
Figure 8.3  Berthe Morisot, Woman at Her Toilet c. 1875.  147
Figure 8.4  Mary Cassatt, A Cup of Tea, 1880.  150
Figure 8.5  Women’s Pavilion, Philadelphia Centennial, 1876.  152
Figure 8.6  The Woman’s Building, World’s Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893.  154
Figure 8.7  Harriet Powers, Pictorial Quilt, 1895–1898.  155
Figure 9.1  Paula Modersohn-Becker, Nude Self-Portrait, 1906.  164
Figure 9.2  Gabriele Münter, Boating, 1910.  167
Figure 9.3  Käthe Kollwitz, Self-Portrait, 1933.  168
Figure 9.4  Marie Laurencin, Les Invités, Apollinaire and his Friends, A Reunion in the Country, 1909.  171
Figure 9.5  Sonia Delaunay, Electric Prisms, 1914.  172
Figure 9.6  Lyubov Popova, Architectonic Painting, 1917.  174
Figure 9.7  Varvara Stepanova, Designs for sports clothing, 1923.  176
Figure 9.8  Anna Hyatt, Joan of Arc, 1915–1918.  177
Figure 9.9  Women artists and the suffrage movement: Procession of suffragettes.  179
Figure 10.1  Romaine Brooks, Self-Portrait, 1923.  184
Figure 10.2  Hannah Höch, Cut with the Kitchen Knife Dada Through the Last Weimar Beer-Belly Cultural Epoch of Germany, 1919.  186
Figure 10.3  Charlotte Salomon, Leben? Oder Theater? (Life? Or Theater?), 1940–42.  188
Figure 10.4  Dame Laura Knight, Ruby Loftus Screwing a Breech Ring, 1943.  191
Figure 10.5  Barbara Hepworth, Single Form, monument to Dag Hammarskjöld, 1964.  192
Figure 10.6  Florine Stettheimer, Cathedrals of Fifth Avenue, 1931.  194
Figure 10.7  Georgia O’Keeffe, Red Canna, 1919.  195
Figure 10.8  Dorothea Lange, Migrant Mother, 1936.  198
Figure 10.9  Margaret Bourke-White, At the Time of the Louisville Flood, 1937.  200
Figure 10.10  Julia Morgan, San Simeon, 1922–26.  201
Figure 10.11  Emily Carr, Kitwancool, 1928.  202
Figure 10.12  Meret Oppenheim, Object (Fur Lined Teacup), 1936.  204
Figure 10.13  Frida Kahlo, The Two Fridas, 1939.  205
Figure 11.1  Lee Krasner, Gaia, 1966.  216
Figure 11.2  Helen Frankenthaler, Mountains and Sea, 1952.  218
Figure 11.3  Elizabeth Catlett, *Sculpture*, ca 1960. 220
Figure 11.4  Louise Nevelson, *Atmosphere and Environment X*, 1969–70. 222
Figure 11.5  Eva Hesse, Untitled, *Rope Piece*, 1969–70. 224
Figure 11.6  Alice Neel, *Pregnant Maria*, 1964. 226
Figure 12.1  Judy Chicago, *The Dinner Party*, 1979. 235
Figure 12.2  Miriam Schapiro, *Barcelona Fan*, 1979. 238
Figure 12.3  Cindy Sherman, *Untitled Film Still #2*, 1977. 239
Figure 12.4  Barbara Kruger, *Untitled (Your body is a battleground)*, 1989. 240
Figure 12.5  Louise Bourgeois, *Maman*, 1999. 242
Figure 12.6  Carolee Schneemann, *Interior Scroll*, 1975. 245
Figure 12.7  Ana Mendieta, *The Silhueta Series*, 1973–1980. 246
Figure 12.8  Leslie Labowitz and Suzanne Lacy, *In Mourning and In Rage*, 1977. 248
Figure 12.9  Faith Ringgold, *Tar Beach*, 1988. 249
Figure 12.10  Kara Walker, *The End of Uncle Tom and the Grand Allegorical Tableau of Eva in Heaven*, 1995. 251
Figure 13.1  Cecilia Vicuña, Sydney Biennale, *Quipu Austral*, 2012. 259
Figure 13.2  Lygia Pape, *Tteia I, C*, 1976–2004. 261
Figure 13.3  Mary Kelly, *Post-Partum Document*, 1973–79. 262
Figure 13.4  Marina Abramović, *The Artist is Present*, 2010. 263
Figure 13.5  Pipilotti Rist, *Pour Your Body Out*, 2008. 265
Figure 13.6  Shirin Neshat, *The Women of Allah*, 1993–97. 266
Figure 13.7  Mona Hatoum, *Over My Dead Body*, 1988. 267
Figure 13.8  Wangechi Mutu, *The Noble Savage*, 2006. 269
Figure 13.9  Yayoi Kusama, *Infinity Mirrors, Room–the souls of Millions of Light Years Away*, 2013. 271
Figure 13.10  Therese Ritchie, *Pamela*, 2011. 273
The first edition of Women Artists in History was written in the early 1980s, in the first decade after the Feminist Art Movement and the energetic feminism of the 1970s. I revised the book three times at roughly five-year intervals with Prentice Hall (now Pearson). I have been waiting since then, nearly two decades, to create a new edition that could incorporate the exponentially expanding literature of this material. I sincerely believe it has been worth the time gap because we have seen remarkable changes in the past two decades in the technology of book publishing, in the scholarship on which this type of text is based, and on the needs of students to learn about this material. It is exciting to be bringing a fully illustrated and updated text to a new generation of students.

The creativity of the women artists whose works are included in this book and the efforts of all women artists who could not be acknowledged individually form the core of this text. Without them a book like this cannot exist. I would also like to acknowledge my debt to the sustained efforts of the scholars whose work is summarized in these pages. We are now benefiting from several generations of their expertise. The expansion of knowledge and increasingly complex levels of interpretations permits this text to become a very different book from the first edition, written in the early 1980s.

No book is created without a committed team. The editors at Cognella have been terrific. Michelle Piehl, David Miano and Sean Adams have contributed to the smoothly flowing progress of the book into print. Jennifer Coker’s copyediting has made this a much better text. Everyone’s enthusiasm and commitment to the project was essential as I worked on the manuscript. Their advice and recommendations have been gratefully accepted. Gina Strumwasser’s input provided good council and crucial moral support. I am also appreciative of the input from the readers who provided valuable suggestions in the earliest stages of this revision, most of which have been incorporated into the final version.

The students in my classes have constantly been an inspiration to me. Realizing that many were not even in kindergarten when the fourth edition of this text was published is a sobering reminder of the need for “reiteration” and remembering that each individual cohort of students needs to be educated with a fresh perspective.

Back in the 1960s, my professors at Barnard College, especially Barbara Novak, taught me that art history can be empowering and fascinating and that women can...
be scholars who can write a different history. I wish to thank my family, Randy, my son Josh and daughter Sara, who lived with the second through the fifth editions with patience, tolerance, and (mostly) good humor. Finally, I would like to recognize the support of my mother, Helen Slatkin, my cousin Kitty Bateman and the memory of my father, Robert Slatkin, who valued education and the power of ideas above all else.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the charged political climate in which I wrote this text, in the summer and fall of 2018. The conservative backlash since the Obama era, and a newly unleashed feminist energy, have created an environment in which the examples of women artists can be inspirational. The courage, dignity, and force of resistance against patriarchal dogmas of these creators remain a powerful model for today’s younger generations who will mold the future—hopefully in a progressively more egalitarian and gender tolerant manner.
Women Artists in History is primarily intended to be a textbook targeted at college students in courses focused on women artists and the contributions of women to visual culture. It is appropriate for use in women's studies/gender courses, and art history surveys. It is also appropriate for a wider audience of adults with an interest in the topic. It is written in a style that is crafted to communicate complex ideas clearly and effectively. Most undergraduates will bring little preexisting intellectual framework for comprehending this material. Therefore, whenever possible, I do not discuss a work of art without providing an accompanying illustration. Also included are brief excerpts from primary sources which will add a varied set of “voices” to the text. I try to write clearly and succinctly in a manner that is similar to the way I taught my courses, based on more than thirty years of teaching experience. The topics discussed in each chapter have been selected to provide a foundation. I hope that instructors will utilize this fifth edition of Women Artists in History as a strategy for engaging their students and encouraging them to explore the fully published field, which is rich and varied in methodologies. To assist in this process of exploring the literature, each chapter has a list of “Recommended Readings” broken down into appropriate categories. This list relies primarily on book-length material, published in English, that is readily accessible through university library networks. Priority is given to more recent scholarship that includes detailed bibliographies for each topic. When students pursue the recommended readings, they will encounter the highest standards of peer-reviewed scholarship and a rigorous intellectual discourse. They should be encouraged to view this book as the beginning of their progress to comprehend this discursive field.

The topics addressed in each chapter reflect the course of the current state of published research. The issues vary because the material evidence of different times and places is so diverse, the methodologies of scholarship differ, and the research interests of art historians mutate from epoch to epoch. Feminists have suffered from the tyranny of metatheories. We should not then seek to impose new methodological priorities for texts, course syllabi, or the research interests of our colleagues. I argue here for a flexible approach to the field of visual culture and art history from a feminist perspective. In this book I have tried to make selections from the broadest range of the outstanding scholarship in the field, which necessarily reflects a variety of methodological approaches.
The topics in this book are not strictly limited to works securely created by women. However, self-evidently, *Women Artists in History*, does prioritize the works of women creators. The concrete material existence of these works of art by women artists with names attached, whenever possible, is the most direct didactic method to ensure that the contributions of women to visual culture will not be marginalized, minimized, or summarily dismissed. It is unthinkable to permit the art made by women to retreat into the pervasive invisibility and anonymity that existed prior to the 1970s. There is a responsibility to educate each new generation of college students about the outstanding creations of women artists. Given the limited number of illustrations that can be included in this text, I have chosen to include as many works created by women as is possible and practical. To shift the focus of the text to discussion of images of women or works of art commissioned by women patrons but created by male artists would inevitably result in many fewer works by women creators appearing as illustrations in this book.

However, interpretations of visual representations of women is also an important area of investigation for scholars studying the construction of gender distinctions in specific historical epochs, especially in the pre-Renaissance periods when works by women artists are virtually nonexistent. This scholarship is extremely valuable and important work. In this text, discussions of the roles of images of women are included in nearly every chapter prior to the eighteenth century. Feminist scholars have also explored the roles of women as patrons and viewers. Since the 1990s they have examined gender as it is related to architectural spaces. All of this research is important, and I have made every effort to include examples of the variety of scholarship now available to us.

It is undeniable that the text has an American/Eurocentric emphasis. This resulted necessarily from two factors: the current state of the literature and the practical limitations of space. There is simply much more scholarship currently in print on the women artists of Europe and the United States than for the creators on other continents. However, in the last chapter, Chapter 13, I do provide a brief global survey of contemporary women artists with additional bibliography addressing women creators. The extraordinarily rich creativity of women on a global scale, in the past decades, is truly inspiring and, since 2000, is being more fully documented.

For any readers who might think that learning about women artists lacks any contemporary relevance, I would like to draw attention to Connie Butler’s closing remarks in *Radical Women: Latin American Art, 1960–1985*. She invokes the dramatic political shift which moved from the near election of the first women president of the United States to the political environment in which we now live. She draws attention to the impact of this change on the peoples living south of our borders. Writing in the summer of 2018, this had been forcefully brought into the public eye by the administration’s policies of separating children from parents in detention centers. The justifiable public outcry does not make this any less devastating for those involved. Butler encourages us to become inspired by the artists outside our country: “We may look to the inventive and resourceful strategies crafted by the artists whose work is featured in *Radical Women* over decades of political turmoil.
and transformation. The individual gestures of these artists ... might serve as models of resistance, both for their time and for our own.”

Virtually every book in this field begins with a tribute to Linda Nochlin’s 1971 essay “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?” Nochlin’s genius was the source, the first stream in what would soon turn into a river of works by feminist art historians. However, as I write this, in 2018, we have gone from a river of work to “pools and splashes and waterfalls. ... a fully-functional, interrelated ever-growing network of pipes delivering the water right where it’s needed.” The diversity and quantity of peer-reviewed material on so many previously underexplored issues is impressive. When the first edition of *Women Artists in History* was written in the early 1980s, it was possible to read virtually everything written on women and art history, and one had to work hard to unearth obscure sources on many topics. Today several generations of scholars and museum professionals have expanded the field exponentially, and this research shows no signs of diminishing. However, it is as important today as it was forty years ago to educate each cohort of college students to the centrality of this material for an acceptable level of art historical knowledge. By bringing together more than 110 images, in color, combined with about 20 brief excerpts from primary sources, an updated and easily accessible reading list, and a glossary of key terms, it is my hope that the fifth edition of *Women Artists in History* will play a part in this educational process.
Introduction

**KEY TERMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cannon</th>
<th>feminism</th>
<th>matriarchy</th>
<th>representations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>context</td>
<td>fine arts</td>
<td>metanarrative</td>
<td>sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discourse</td>
<td>gender</td>
<td>patriarchy</td>
<td>text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eurocentric</td>
<td>identity</td>
<td>patron</td>
<td>visual culture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Women Artists in History, Fifth Edition*, is an art history text, so the ways in which women were present and/or participated in the visual cultures of their societies is foregrounded. The thirteen chapters span the full range of historical epochs from prehistory into the twenty-first century. When adequate evidence is available, the text is focused on women artists and issues that directly impacted women’s opportunities to become artists. This provides a balance to most art historical texts, which tend to insert a few outstanding women artists into the art historical record, defined and dominated by male artists. Women also are discussed as participants in their societies when evidence exists. Specific historical women will appear in various roles, such as rulers, patrons, or priestesses. Women will also make their appearance as visual representations created by men. By adjusting our focus toward the roles of women in their societies, we will discover new concepts, issues, insights, and works of art that differ from the cannon of well-known “masterpieces” found in most standard survey texts of art history. A group of
key words and/or phrases have been listed at the beginning of each chapter. These terms appear in **bold type** when used for the first time and are defined in the glossary.

Understanding the roles of women in art history is a complex and varied undertaking. In 1971 Linda Nochlin published an essay “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?” Nochlin was responding to the attitude of the vast majority of art historians who believed, then, that the study of women artists was not worthy of attention because there had been no “great” women artists whose works were of the “quality” for inclusion in the canon of the discipline and that would merit scholarly attention. Since then, an enormous outpouring of convincing and compelling scholarship has been published. Every time period, nearly every creator, and absolutely every underlying principle on which the previous editions of this text were based have been thoughtfully and brilliantly argued by an international community of scholars. This, the fifth edition of *Women Artists in History*, has, like all previous editions, been revised to reflect the most recently published scholarly work, which supplies a wealth of new insights both in terms of factual data and interpretive strategies. Each time I have the opportunity to rework the book I can do so on a much broader and more solid foundation of scholarship. Taken collectively, these texts constitute a “discourse,” published mainly in English. This extensive discourse has greatly expanded our knowledge and understanding about women artists of the past and the conditions in which they worked. To assist in the accessing of this body of knowledge, a detailed list of “Recommended Readings” is provided at the end of each chapter. The list appended to this introduction includes the most important books on key issues of general interest. Readers are strongly encouraged to pursue these topics with the more complete scholarly literature now readily available.

This book is designed mainly as an introductory-level text for college students with little or no background in the material. Space limitations meant that much information, scholarship, and works of art could not be incorporated into the book. I have made selections in an effort to provide some insight into the processes of feminist art historical interpretations and the range of methodologies that can be effectively used to illuminate the contributions and concerns of one-half of the population of any given culture. Whenever there were active professional artists whose works have survived, I have tried to include a representative selection of such work. If the emphasis were shifted away from the woman creator, the book would necessarily include more illustrations of works created by male artists. Since one of my goals is to introduce readers to the creativity of women, I have chosen to include and reproduce works made by women, whenever possible. Like all art history texts, the material presented is not a seamlessly interwoven narrative of a continuous record of civilization. Rather it is episodic and discontinuous. Furthermore, scholars who have addressed feminist issues have employed a range of methods to study the roles of women, so there are diverse methodologies employed in this text. The brief discussions of these topics reflect this variety of approaches in this very extensive discourse. In general, feminist scholars have viewed with suspicion efforts to impose a uniform met-anarrative onto all eras, so it is fitting that topics of interest in the various chapters do not fit together in one homogenized approach to the visual record. Griselda Pollock, one
of the major feminist scholars and theorists, has termed this type of approach “feminist interventions in the histories of art.”

The topics addressed in each chapter reflect the course of the current state of published research for each historical epoch. The issues vary because the material evidence of different times and places is so diverse. Thinking about the research as a series of focused readings keyed to specific visual evidence directly relevant to women and gender issues is useful. These “interventions” can be summarized in the following subtopics.

Women Artists

Scholarship over the past five decades has expanded our knowledge of specific women artists active in most art historical periods since the Renaissance. Knowing about other women artists active in any period positions the more famous “great artists” in a clearer context with other lesser-known women creators of their times. However, many publications are focused on individual artists, presented in the form of the “monograph.” Therefore, it is appropriate, in an introductory text such as this one, to utilize criteria for the inclusion of individual creators. Whenever possible, attention will be given to the fuller context of that career to acknowledge the broader record of women in their visual cultures.

Selection Criteria

The criteria employed in this book to select works by women for consideration may be grouped under the following categories:

1. **Stylistic or technical innovation.** A number of artists have developed methods of painting and sculpture that are different from any previous style. These artists usually are members of an avant-garde group. This category applies most frequently to artists living in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, when stylistic innovation has been most valued. However, Rosalba Carriera, for example, was a technical innovator in the lower-status categories of miniature painting and pastel portraiture during the eighteenth century.

2. **Compositional or iconographic originality.** Some artists have been singled out because they invented a new format, compositional arrangement, or structure for painting or sculpture. For example, the originality of Clara Peeters lies more in her compositions and the selected viewpoint of her still lives than in her method of paint application. A number of artists have invented new subjects, sometimes based specifically on their experiences as women. Other artists have developed new variations or layers of meaning for subjects regularly depicted by their male colleagues. Artemisia Gentileschi, Judith Leyster, Harriet Hosmer, and Käthe Kollwitz are examples of artists who have created new iconographies based on their personal identities as women.

3. **Iconography that resists gender stereotypes.** Works that question, challenge, and/or redefine the social and cultural construction of the category “women” are very important for feminist art history. At certain times, women artists created images which “resist” the more widespread cultural categories of gender. Whenever
possible, priority has been given to images created by women whose interpretations can illuminate and provide alternatives to some aspect of the construction of gender issues for the culture. Judith Leyster and Harriet Hosmer are examples of artists who achieved this goal.

4. **Influence on other artists.** One standard regularly applied by art historians to evaluate the contribution of an artist to the history of art is the extent to which that artist’s imagery or technique influenced the works of other artists. Certain artists, such as Angelica Kauffmann, exerted a decisive and widespread influence on the art of their contemporaries.

5. **Recognition within the culture.** Many of the artists to be discussed were widely appreciated during their lifetimes. They received official and critical recognition and occupied positions of prominence in the contemporary culture. Rachel Ruysch, Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, Rosa Bonheur, and Louise Bourgeois are examples of artists whose careers belong in this category.

**Feminism (Feminist Art History)**

The term **feminism** refers to the diverse movements of political action aimed at issues of central concern to women. The actual word “feminism” was first used in the late nineteenth century. Deborah Cherry provides a succinct history of feminist discourses emphasizing the diversity of interests in persons who could be called “feminists.”

As already discussed, feminist art history is usually dated to Nochlin’s important first essay “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?” (1971), which initiated the complex multivocal flood of literature since, a discourse that has embraced a plethora of methodologies, such as Marxism, psychoanalysis, and postcolonial studies. What feminist art historians do that is different from the broader field is to focus and foreground issues of concern to women. Feminist art historians may not study women artists, but they do use their expertise to restore women to any analysis of visual culture, as one half of any given population. Because of the variety of methodologies, it is not productive to define feminist art history in a narrower manner.

**Interpretation and Analysis of Images of Women**

Prior to the nineteenth century, women artists remained a small percentage of practicing artists. Furthermore, many works by women have not survived or may not be identified as the work of a woman creator. Painting, sculpture, and architecture—collectively known as the **fine arts**—were male-dominated professions. Feminist scholars have recognized this reality and, therefore, they have not confined their investigations exclusively to works created by women artists. We now can take a much more varied approach to the range of available evidence in different periods than was possible when Nochlin first posed her famous question. Feminist scholars have examined images of women created by men in great detail to achieve a more complete understanding of the ways in which gender was constructed in a given historical period. In addition to research on works made by women, issues related to
interpretations of images of women, created by men, is another major concern of feminist scholars. Some scholars have used imagery to find evidence of the “real” women who lived in these periods. For example, Mati Meyer has provided a useful definition of what realia or “realism” means when it comes to the interpretation of imagery in Byzantine art. Finding evidence for actual women through the study of imagery involves “a ‘cross cultural study’ which combines cultural, social and economic aspects.”

Women as Patrons

In certain times and places, women, usually from the elite classes of their society, made a strong impact on their visual culture by acting as patrons. Women commissioned works in all media, including architecture. In this text, we discuss the activity of women patrons in a few circumstances. However, our small sampling of women patrons is just the tip of the iceberg in terms of assessing the impact of women on their visual cultures as commissioners or patrons of the visual arts. Exciting research is being done in this expanding field of inquiry and readers will be directed to these studies in the reading lists.

Women as Viewers

All works of art were created with some group of viewers in mind. The intended audience for a work could be as private as the bedroom of the patron, or as public as the relief on the façade of a church. Not all works are seen in all places. Until quite recently, in historical terms, there were no public museums. Therefore, the viewers of a given painting would have been a narrower segment of the society than the “public.” Some scholars have analyzed images for the impact they might have exerted on the audience. Feminist scholars are interested in gender roles in terms of a viewer’s position in “reading” works of art. It does matter whether men or women are doing the looking. Michael Ann Holly has described the “power of the gaze” quite succinctly: “The person who does the looking is the person with the power. No doubt about it: looking is power, but so, too, is the ability to make someone look.” Whether it is the artist who made the viewer “look” or the role of an audience in helping to produce certain types of art, it is important to include the role of the viewer in any discussion of the visual arts. Women as viewers and consumers play an important role in their visual culture, but it is a role that is often quite difficult to define precisely. Therefore, while this scholarship is included in the bibliographical entries, it is not emphasized with any regularity in this text. I encourage all readers to pursue the issues of the gendered nature of the audience in their further reading.

Architecture and the Gendering of Space

The ways in which architecture has impacted women and played a role in defining gender relations is an important topic that has been addressed by scholars studying various historical eras. A related topic is the role of women as patrons for architectural projects, which has also been useful in locating “real” women in their economic and social roles. Helen Hill’s introduction to a group of specialized studies has defined the issues in a clear, succinct matter. Going beyond the discovery of women architects, scholars have worked on defining
the ways that works of architecture or “spatial representations” participate in the cultural constructions of gender.” This field of inquiry is very promising and when possible, given our limitations of space, will be discussed in successive chapters.

**Text/Context: Frame and “Beyond the Frame”**

Many scholars have avoided the term “art” in favor of “visual text” or “visual representation.” This more neutral term is useful because it avoids the sticky issues of what is art, craft, or neither. There is an increasing freedom for feminist scholars to expand the frameworks of interpretation and to go into areas of interest outside of the limited confines of the individual work, or even the individual creator which can be termed **context**. Deborah Cherry calls this process going “Beyond the Frame.” Derrida was an influential theoretician who focused attention of the arbitrary nature of the limits of interpretation and the difficulties of separating what “belongs” to the work and what should be considered its appropriate frame. The sense of looking at all aspects of a society and bringing that broader understanding to the analysis of visual representations has been liberating for scholars and provides the motivating energy of much recent scholarship. When appropriate, the discussion in this book will move beyond the narrow parameters of traditional art history, which is our “frame,” and into the wider pursuit of understanding the full participation of women in every historical society of which they formed half of the population.

**SOME DEFINITIONS**

*Women Artists in History* is an introduction to this discourse, a starting point for a journey of discovery for the reader. Part of the history of this discourse has been the problematizing of terms that we take for granted and the invention of new terminology that recognizes gender issues. It is appropriate, in this introduction, to define some of these terms and the issues that have been raised in their use. However, I intend to make every effort to avoid specialized language or technical jargon in the subsequent chapters whenever possible.

This book is like a road map for the more detailed and specialized research, indicated in the endnotes and bibliographies of each chapter. Maps are useful guides: They help you navigate through unfamiliar territory. But a map is never a substitute for a visit to the real place. The published scholarship, which can be only summarized here in a very concise manner, is like the actual town indicated by a small dot on the map. Furthermore, all maps use a set of symbols to guide the reader through the terrain. An understanding of the meaning of the map’s code is essential if the map is to be of any use at all. If you cannot decipher the symbols used on the map, you may find yourself lost. The following terms appear frequently in this text and require some definitions so that the reader does not set off on this journey without a set of basic theoretical tools for understanding this map of the discourse.
**Woman/Women**

Feminist philosophers have written influential texts that call into question anyone’s ability to speak confidently about what it means to be a “woman” or to rely with assurance on an understanding of the collective noun “women.” Denise Riley was one of the first philosophers to question whether one can truly define what it means to be a “woman” in any given time or place. She believes that the term “women” is not a singular unified entity, but rather “a volatile collectivity in which female persons can be very differently positioned, so that the apparent continuity of the subject of ‘women’ isn’t to be relied on.” Judith Butler in a widely read book, *Gender Trouble*, also questioned the ways in which the term “women” can be used. By reducing all women living in any specific culture to a unified group, there is a tendency to overlook important differences among women: “the insistence upon the coherence and unity of the category of women has effectively refused the multiplicity of cultural, social and political intersections in which the concrete array of ‘women’ are constructed.” The term “intersections” has also gained widespread use to indicate the various components of identity formation.

It is quite evident that women can be very different depending on factors such as age, race, and class. Women of different generations, economic levels, and racial/ethnic backgrounds certainly have different perceptions of their identities as “women” in every cultural matrix. Similarly, most scholars also resist the term “woman” as a generalized noun, defining some archetypal figure. Many feminists view the use of the term “woman” with great suspicion because it has most often been employed by a patriarchal discourse that is perceived as “essentialist,” denying individual subjectivity to the actual female humans living in that culture.

The message these philosophers are communicating is that caution should be exercised when speaking in general terms about “the women” of any specific culture. Each individual internalizes a gender identity, male or female, in unique ways that resist such generalizations. For example, how can we discuss with any confidence “the women of the Renaissance”? Can we really know what any given female living in Florence in the 1400s, for example, might have comprehended about herself as a woman?

**Sex/Gender**

It is a biological fact that humans are born with sexual anatomy that divides us into two different groups. *Sex*, then, refers in most texts to this biological difference of anatomy. In a counterargument to the discourse that problematizes the identity of “women,” Stephanie Budin and Jean Turfa, the editors of a recently published collection of essays, *Women in Antiquity*, dismiss these concerns as counterproductive. They confidently state “women are human beings with two X chromosomes, X/O chromosomes, or occasionally a human with a Y chromosome but resistant to testosterone.” This is a clear, precise definition of biological sex.
However, much scholarship is focused on gender rather than sex when dealing with issues of relevance to women and the woman artist. When we begin to think about what it means “to be a woman” or “to be a man,” it is clear that these categories are not biologically given, but rather are constructed or put together from many stimuli in an individual’s cultural environment. Scholars use the term “gender” to define the nature of sexual identities grounded in the society in which an individual exists. As Natalie Kampen has succinctly defined the term: “Gender is the social transformation of biological sex into cultural category.” Many feminists quote a famous phrase by Simone de Beauvoir in her pathbreaking study, *The Second Sex*, “One is not born a woman, but, rather, becomes one.” Human identity is not fully developed outside of one’s cultural institutions, of which language is, perhaps, the most significant, but in response to the stimuli present in any given environment. Judith Butler’s influential concept of gender as “performative,” that is, developed through repeated actions, has been very influential in thinking on this topic.

The discourse on gender is quite extensive and has led to the use of the term “engendering” as a verb, signifying an active process by which an object or intellectual concept is redefined in ways that foreground issues of gender formation and identity. A thorough discussion of the process of engendering the field of archeology is found in the Introduction to a collection of essays edited by Joan Gero and Margaret Conkey. They emphasize that gender roles are not fixed and unchanging, but mutate and change meanings in different historical epochs and cultural environments. A very useful introduction to the issue, specifically in relationship to visual art, is found in Gillian Perry’s text, *Gender and Art*.

**Identity/Identifications**

Over the past few decades scholars have further problematized the issues of identity and identity formations, especially in regard to the simple binary categories of male and female. Amelia Jones has persuasively argued for a broader more complex understating of gender identity arguing for the term “identifications” to indicate the limits of “binary models of identity in favor of multiple, intersectional, and relational processes of identification.” This idea and her other arguments seem most useful as an evolution in thinking of gender formation.

**Visual Representations and the Construction of Gender**

If we understand that what subjects come to identify in themselves as “masculine” and “feminine” is governed to a great extent by the input from their society, then language and images play important roles in determining what it actually means “to be a woman” or “to be a man.” All societies have an ideal set of expectations of behaviors, values, emotional responses, ideal physical appearances, etc. that define the ideal “Man” or “Woman.” This set of beliefs may be termed “gender ideology.”

In this book, because we are focused on the visual arts, we are most interested in the role of art, that is, “visual representations,” for the process by which gendered identities are constructed from multiple stimuli, in any culture. Many scholars have addressed the problems of the interpretation of works of art to deconstruct the ways in which these images
relate to attitudes toward gender roles, and concepts of femininity or masculinity, in any given culture. Images both reflect and perpetuate such gender stereotypes and also serve to construct these roles in new ways. Some images also resist or provide different images from the prevailing gender ideology of their cultural matrix. It is tempting to look to the works of art by women to find “spaces” in representation where alternatives to the dominant gender ideology of the society are visualized. However, because women artists were professionals who worked for male patrons, predominantly, one must be cautious when asserting such alternative readings.

**Patriarchy and Matriarchy**

Gender relations are always implicated in practical terms of power. This means that in most societies, for which we have evidence, men exercised power over women, and elite men exercised power over everyone else. The term **patriarchy** refers, then, to societies in which men occupy the highest positions of political and economic power. All women and men of a lower class have less power. Although “power” never operates easily or simply, it does exist. Power relations can be asserted through economic, legal, or simply customary behaviors. Power relationships are embedded in issues of age, economic status, and ethnicity as well. Power relationships are not absolutes, but rather exist in a matrix with other social categories. Patriarchy, then, refers to a complex system in which men and women are positioned differently from each other in a number of different ways related to access to wealth, knowledge, and personal autonomy. A **matriarchy**, then, would be a society in which women occupied the higher power relationship over men. However, no such society has yet been securely identified that has left identifiable artifacts.

**Artist**

Just as it is difficult to specify what it might mean to a given person to be a “woman,” the concept of the “artist” has also been “deconstructed” or analyzed carefully by theorists. Philosophers such as Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault have questioned what it actually meant to be an “author” or, for our purposes, an “artist.” This is known as “The Death of the Author” theory. Is there a unified identity of “the artist” that is separate from all the other aspects of an individual’s life? What parts of a biography help us understand the “artist” and what other facts belong outside that boundary? Can the “artist” as a coherent identity exist in a fully self-contained package? Nearly all of art history, however, is organized around the category “artist” as if this were a clearly defined entity. One of the ways in which “the artist” is constructed is through the “monograph,” a type of book that focuses on a single creator. A monograph tends to isolate the individual from his or her environment and creative matrix. To a certain extent, one could argue that “the artist” as a knowable entity is only found in the monograph. This is the issue that led Griselda Pollock to critique the discipline of art history itself as “a masculinist discourse party to the social construction of sexual difference” and further defining the discipline as “archaic individualism [which is] at the heart of art historical discourse.”
History

The third element in the title *Women Artists in History* presents us with yet another complex and difficult concept to define with precision. What did it mean for any human subject to be positioned “in history”? Even the concept of “history” itself is susceptible to deconstruction. Amy Richlin, has written: “History is what groups write as they come to power.”

There is no way that we can rely with assurance on certain factors in any time or place to be significant as “historical context.” Context is flexible and can be extended so that it is not a simple matter to decide what properly “belongs” to the interpretation of a work of art. Therefore, we cannot firmly define exactly which ideas and issues in the society might prove to be relevant to the situation of the specific woman artist under consideration. It is not clearly determined which historical “facts” will lead to an informed interpretation of the situation of the “woman artist in history.”

The “Canon”

The “canon” of art history refers to a highly selective group of works that are well known and regularly included in art historical texts. This canon is predominantly white, male, and Eurocentric. Even today, while there are a few “Great Women Artists,” who are incorporated into the canon, they are not part of the even smaller, elite group of artists who define “greatness.” Pollock has been one influential feminist theorist who has warned against the inclusion of a few women into an otherwise unchanged art historical canon. Instead she called for a “paradigm shift,” a wholly new way of thinking about art which is termed “visual culture.” Such a paradigm shift will necessarily involve a “differencing of the canon.” Those women artists now regularly included in survey texts are “notorious, sensational, commodifiable or token.”

Perhaps, as Mary Sheriff has defined the term, the women artists included in most art history texts remain “exceptional,” proving the rule that the majority of women artists are not worthy of consideration. To counter this situation, whenever possible, discussions of individual women artists will be integrated with the existing knowledge about the broader population of artists active in each period.

Armed with this set of working definitions, the reader is invited to use the “Recommended Readings” list at the end of this chapter to grasp an overview of the topic. The following thirteen chapters divide the vast range of history into segments which correspond to our knowledge base. Many years ago, as I struggled with the first edition of this book, a very wise art historian, Professor Ruth Butler advised me to “let the material organize itself.” I have attempted to do that in the overall structure of the book. Welcome to the world of feminist art history, as it is most broadly defined. You are encouraged to use this book as a guide to the vast literature written by generations of brilliant scholars.
Recommended Readings

**General Studies of Women Artists**


**Women Photographers**


**Feminist Theory**


**Primary Sources**


Reference Books

