

# Excavating Women

*A history of women in European archaeology*



Edited by Margarita Díaz-Andreu and  
Marie Louise Stig Sørensen

**Also available as a printed book  
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LONDON AND NEWYORK



First published 1998  
by Routledge  
11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE

This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005.

“To purchase your own copy of this or any of Taylor & Francis or Routledge’s collection of thousands of eBooks please go to [www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk](http://www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk).”

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada  
by Routledge  
29 West 35th Street, New York, NY 10001

© 1998 Selection and editorial matter:  
Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Marie Louise Stig Sørensen;  
individual chapters: the contributors

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*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*  
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

*Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data*  
A catalogue record for this book has been requested

ISBN 0-203-98151-0 Master e-book ISBN

ISBN 0-415-15760-9 (Print Edition)

# THE COVER PICTURE: The Kungsåra Bench

*Elisabeth Arwill-Nordbladh*

Pictures, like other material objects, have great potential for evoking meaning. Thanks to the polysemical qualities of an image, different aspects of its meaning can be focused upon by the photographer or the director. A slight shift in focus can emphasize a detail of the subject or the background, making possible a specific intended or unintended interpretation. However, it is also in the nature of an image that it allows the observer to interpret and reinterpret from different perspectives.

This particular picture shows us four women sitting on a bench, which is decorated with elaborate wood-carving. The picture is an artistic composition with oblique light falling from the right, the vivid pattern of the wood-carving contrasting the calm position of the women, a position which is saved from monotony by the rhythm of the repetitive light and dark colouring of the dresses. The straight backs and thin necks of the women, and the surrounding darkness, might even be said to give the picture a poetic character. A sense of humour is displayed in the juxtaposition of different worlds: that of the bench, an ancient piece of art probably from a museum; and that of four bourgeois women in the early twentieth century.

The picture was taken at the National Historical Museum in Stockholm in 1908. The four women are sitting on the 'Bench from Kungsåra'. This bench had reached the attention of the antiquarians a few years earlier. It had been standing in the small parish church of Kungsåra, in the county of Västmanland, in central Sweden. From its construction and decoration it was dated to the eleventh century, the time when the old Norse pagan religion was giving way to the Christian faith. The decoration of the bench has many similarities with other Viking Age objects. The remaining animal head at the extreme right of the back-rest resembles the head on the wooden chair from the Norwegian ship-burial from Gokstad dated to the early tenth century. The wooden carvings are in Viking Age style, with the body of the animal twining into itself. Other typical Viking Age traits occur, like the legs and feet of the animals. However, there are also other features, like the acanthus elements, which associate the bench with the continent. This bench was therefore for good reasons considered an extraordinary piece of furniture from a transitional era (Eckhoff 1907).

However, the picture might also be said to express other things. It shows us something about the place of women: seated within a restricted area with clear boundaries that should not be exceeded. It also perhaps indicates that the women were posed here, not as individuals to be depicted, but as objects to show us the function of the bench. They are turning their backs towards the observer. In contrast

to the back of the bench, which is full of significant features and detail, the four women have similar dresses and similar hairstyles. We do not see their faces. They were presented as an anonymous collective.

Their names, however, are recorded. They are four of the seven women who were employed at the National Historical Museum in 1908. One of them was Miss Sigrid Leijonhufvud. She had a university degree, comparable to a B.A. In the official record of the museum, she was titled ‘caretaker’ of the library of the National Office of Antiquities (for example in Montelius 1908: III). She had held that post since 1901, but not until 1910 was she called ‘librarian’ in the records. The other women in the photo are Mrs Rosa Norström, assistant in the department of numismatics, Miss Märta Leijonhufvud, assistant in the antiquarian-topographical archive and Miss Fanny von Hartman, assistant in the department of documentation and conservation of archaeological objects.

It may also be of interest to note that the remaining three female employees at the museum were called assistants. This can be compared with the fact that the eight men employed in 1908 had six different titles—an indication that the development of the antiquarian profession in those formative years was gendered and biased (Montelius 1908: II—III).

Despite being termed ‘assistants’ these women participated fully in scientific work and discussion. Between the years 1906 and 1910 three of the women in the photo wrote six different articles in the journal *Fornvännen*, published by the National Board of Antiquity and the Royal Academy. These dealt with various topics, including presentations of hoards of coins, discussions of stone inscriptions, and ethnological and biographical essays (Leijonhufvud 1906, 1907, 1910, Norström 1906, 1907). One article can serve as an example (Leijonhufvud 1908). Here Märta Leijonhufvud presented a newly discovered rock-carving. She described how, at the request of Dr Emil Eckhoff, she was recording a rock-carving in the county of Västergötland. The article included all the elements of a good report: a description of the setting, a record of how the rock was cleaned and prepared, an account of the scientifically well-known method of casting, a description of the images, a consideration of the possible motive for the carving and a chronological discussion. This was undertaken in 1907 by a woman who never could be considered an archaeologist.

With this in mind, *The Kungsåra Bench* can also be read as a representation of women who worked within the early field of antiquarian research, but who were marginalized as people and as professionals and made invisible within the history of our profession.

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# CONTENTS

<i>List of Figures</i>	xi
<i>List of Tables</i>	xiii
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xiv
1 EXCAVATING WOMEN Towards an engendered history of archaeology <i>Margarita Díaz-AndreuMarie Louise Stig Sørensen</i>	1
<b>Part I General perspectives on the history of women in European archaeology</b>	
2 RESCUE AND RECOVERY On historiographies of female archaeologists <i>Marie Louise Stig Sørensen</i>	31
3 ARCHAEOLOGY OF FRENCH WOMEN AND FRENCH WOMEN IN ARCHAEOLOGY <i>Anick Coudart</i>	59
4 GENDER POLITICS IN POLISH ARCHAEOLOGY <i>Liliana JanikHanna Zawadzka</i>	85
5 WOMEN ARCHAEOLOGISTS IN RETROSPECT The Norwegian case <i>Liv Helga Dommasnes,Else Johansen Kleppe,Gro MandtJenny-Rita Næss</i>	103
6 SPANISH WOMEN IN A CHANGING WORLD Strategies in the search for self-fulfilment through antiquities <i>Margarita Díaz-Andreu</i>	123
7 WHEN THE WALL CAME DOWN East German women employed in archaeology before and after 1989 <i>Ruth Struwe</i>	143

## Part II History through the individual

- |    |   |     |
|----|---|-----|
| 8  | ARCHAEOLOGY, GENDER AND EMANCIPATION The paradox of Hanna Rydh<br><i>Elisabeth Arwill-Nordbladh</i>   | 151 |
| 9  | WOMEN IN BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGY Visible and invisible<br><i>Sara Champion</i>  | 171 |
| 10 | FIELDWORK IS NOT THE PROPER PRESERVE OF A LADY The first women archaeologists in Crete<br><i>Marina Picazo</i>  | 193 |
| 11 | THE STATE OF DENMARK Lis Jacobsen and other women in and around archaeology<br><i>Lise Bender Jørgensen</i>   | 209 |
| 12 | GREEK WOMEN IN ARCHAEOLOGY An untold story<br><i>Marianna NikolaidouDimitra Kokkinidou</i>  | 229 |
| 13 | FROM PICTURES TO STORIES Traces of female PhD graduates from the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology, University of Tübingen, Germany<br><i>Sibylle Kästner, Viola MaierAlmut Schülke</i> | 259 |
| 14 | THE IMPACT OF MODERN INVASIONS AND MIGRATIONS ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLANATION A biographical sketch of Marija Gimbutas<br><i>John Chapman</i>   | 287 |
|    | <i>Index</i>  | 305 |

# LIST OF FIGURES

1.1	Johanna Mestorf	11
1.2	Conference participants at the first meeting of the International Congress of Prehistoric Sciences in 1932	16
2.1	The Duchess of Mecklenburg excavating an Iron Age grave at Stična in 1913	49
2.2	Hilda Petrie in Egypt, 1897–8	51
4.1	The ratio of archaeology graduates in Poland according to employment between 1945 and 1980	93
4.2	The ratio of degrees awarded to women and men working in various Polish institutions between 1945 and 1980	94
4.3	The ratio of women to men holding different degrees employed in archaeology in Poland between 1945 and 1980	95
4.4	The ratio of women to men holding different degrees within the various Polish institutions between 1945 and 1980	95
4.5	The ratio of contributions from women and men in the various sections of <i>Archaeology of Poland</i>	97
4.6	The ratio of contributions from women and men in the various sections of <i>Archaeological News</i>	98
4.7	The ratio of contributions from women and men to the <i>Archaeological Reports</i>	99
5.1	Eva Nissen Fett recording rock art in southwestern Norway in the summer of 1940	108
5.2	Wencke Slomann excavating at Kaupang in 1956	110
5.3	Women and children at the Kaupang excavation in the 1950s; Charlotte Blindheim to the left	111
6.1	Participants in the Mediterranean study cruise in Alexandria in 1933	128
6.2	Percentage of male and female contributors to the journals <i>Ampurias</i> and <i>Archivo Español de Arqueología</i>	137
7.1	Number of students matriculated at Humboldt-Universität from 1953 to 1988 and their degrees	145
7.2	Number of graduates from Humboldt-Universität in terms of year of matriculation and professional positions in 1988 and 1993 respectively	147
9.1	Margaret Murray	178
9.2	Dorothy Garrod and the Woodburys at Shukba Cave, 1928	183
10.1	Harriet Boyd's party on the road from Canea	198
10.2	Harriet Boyd with her excavation team	198
11.1	Lis Jacobsen working at her desk in 1936	211



11.2 Lis Jacobsen with her daughters Grete and Karen, around 1915	213
11.3 Male and female mag. arts in prehistoric archaeology from the University of Copenhagen	219
11.4 Male and female mag. arts in prehistoric archaeology from the University of Århus	219
12.1 Anna Apostolaki	234
12.2 Semni Karouzou early in her career	238
12.3 Semni Karouzou in later years	239
12.4 Ioanna Constantinou	242
13.1 'Ancestors' row' in the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology, University of Tübingen	260
13.2 Senta Rafalski after finishing her dissertation	263
13.3 Senta Rafalski-Giering in the 1980s	264
13.4 Marija Gimbutas after getting her PhD	265
13.5 Marija Gimbutas in 1993	265
13.6 Eva-Maria Bossert after obtaining her PhD	265
14.1 Marija Gimbutas	289
14.2 The opposition between Old European civilization and the Kurgan invaders	297
14.3 Parallel invasion routes into south-east Europe: (A) the Kurgan invasions, 4th-3rd millennia CAL BC 308 (B) the Red Army invasion of 1944	298

# TABLES

5.1	The percentage of women in permanent academic positions in the various faculties of the University of Bergen in 1994	104
5.2	The first ten women archaeologists in Norway	104
5.3	The number of professional archaeologists in Norway, with the number of women given as a percentage of the total	106
11.1	University of Copenhagen: Mag. art. degrees, PhD degrees and Gold Medals in prehistoric archaeology	217
11.2	University of Århus: Mag. art. degrees, PhD degrees and Gold Medals in prehistoric archaeology	218
11.3	Dr. phil. degrees in prehistoric archaeology in Denmark	221
11.4	Tenured positions in prehistoric archaeology in Denmark	222
11.5	Fellowships (recruitment positions) in Denmark	223
12.1	Students at Athens University (1890–1920)	231
12.2	Students at Greek universities (1960–92)	231
12.3	Representation of women in academic teaching positions (1986)	232
12.4	The first women in the Athens Archaeological Society	233
12.5	The first women in the Greek Archaeological Service by date of appointment	234
12.6	Numbers of male and female professionals in the Greek Archaeological Service (1829–1960)	244
12.7	Staffing of the Greek Archaeological Service (1994)	245
12.8	Academic staff in archaeology departments, Greece	246
13.1	Outline chronology of women who received their PhD or wrote their dissertation at the ‘Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte’ in Tübingen from 1921 to 1971	276
14.1	Chronology of Marija Gimbutas	290
14.2	States in Marija Gimbutas’ life and their transformation in her writings	300

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# EXCAVATING WOMEN

## Towards an engendered history of archaeology

*Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Marie Louise Stig Sørensen*

Gender archaeology has by now become a relatively well-established research topic within archaeology. Recent years have seen the publication of a number of edited volumes, a rapidly expanding number of papers and even a few journals and newsletters dedicated to this subject. It is, therefore, very surprising that in this literature historiographic analysis of women archaeologists has played only a minor part. Likewise they are hardly acknowledged in the 'folk' histories of the discipline (Lucy and Hill 1994:2). The need to understand the disciplinary integration of women, to appreciate the varying socio-political contexts of their work, to reveal the unique tension between their roles as women and their academic lives, has become obvious and is strongly felt in many areas of the discipline. The insights yielded by such analysis will have significance at many levels and will be of paramount importance for the intellectual history of archaeology. In particular, they will force a much needed revision of the disciplinary history by revealing its mechanisms of selecting and forgetting, and will play an important role in the analysis of archaeology's knowledge claims.

The histories of archaeology have broadly accepted and spread a perception of archaeology as being male-centred, both intellectually and in practice. These accounts, written by male archaeologists such as Glyn Daniel (1975), Alain Schnapp (1993) and Bruce Trigger (1989), are inevitably androcentric in their conceptualization and reconstruction of the disciplinary past. Their versions have, however, recently begun to be contested, as concern with critical historiography has grown, and a few explicit historiographical accounts of women archaeologists have appeared. So far, as regards the role of women, the most extensive contributions are the edited volumes by Claassen (1994) and du Cros and Smith (1993). While providing an important beginning, these publications show that there is still a long way to go. In particular they demonstrate a gap in research coverage, as no investigation of the contribution of women outside the USA and Australia exists. This means that, in such a diverse continent as Europe, where, moreover, archaeology has from its beginning had an important social and political role, we know little about the women who participated in the initial stages and subsequent developments. Indeed, the various histories of European archaeology practically ignore women, as if they had contributed not at all, and as if their presence had not played a role in the social context and the institutional milieu in which archaeology was practised. But is this true? What about the seven pictures of women hanging on

the wall of the Department of Prehistory in Tübingen, Germany? And the excavations conducted by women such as Kathleen Kenyon? Or the women working in the Archaeological Services, such as Semni Karouzou in the 1920s, or the various generations of women who have worked in museums throughout Europe? The responses to such obvious questions direct us towards the parameters used in the writing of history, suggesting that they are the central problem—that they have made it possible to exclude women from the narrative.

These issues were tackled at the session ‘Women in European Archaeology’ held in Durham at the Theoretical Archaeology Group Annual Meeting (TAG) in December 1993, of which this book is partly the result. The debate created after each paper and the success of the session as a whole made the need for publication obvious, as this would contribute towards a more comprehensive history of archaeology. We also saw the need to look for contributions from countries that were initially not covered. What is presented here is a broader panorama than in the original session, although it is not an exhaustive account of women archaeologists’ history in Europe. Such a task would at present be impossible to accomplish, for the general historiography of the discipline is still poorly researched in many countries. This does not imply that women were not involved from early on in the countries not covered in the volume. A brief browse in Jan Filip’s archaeological encyclopedia (1966/69), for example, quickly provides names of women archaeologists, especially from Eastern Europe, who would be worth further investigation.

The histories of women archaeologists presented in this volume are in various ways influenced by a gender-critical perspective. This means that they are historiographies which see women as embedded in their specific cultural and socio-political contexts. Despite its many internal differences, Europe provides a coherent framework for such a study. Throughout Europe women archaeologists grew up with and were affected by a similar political history, and their perception of the discipline of archaeology at any one time would have been influenced by the same academic discourse. The network of archaeologists in Europe was small and intimate until the expansion of the discipline after the Second World War, and the academic discourse and practices were inter-European as well as nationalistic. The histories of archaeology, furthermore, have mainly been concerned with reconstructing these networks within a homogenized disciplinary past, and it is thus within this historiographic perspective that the neglect of women can most easily be detected. As a consequence, we have to acknowledge that despite our concern about the selection criteria employed by standard histories we have none the less been compelled to use them as our own starting-point. Thus, even in our attempt to conduct critical historiography we are perpetuating a particular traditional view of what constitutes importance. This means that women (or men) who did not publish, did not have important positions, and did not have permanent employment remain invisible. This, at present, puts regrettable but unavoidable limitations upon the project of excavating the disciplinary past self-critically and reflexively. As regards the women who are thus recognized, it is, however, possible to trace shared patterns in their interaction with the discipline despite their individual personalities and circumstances. At the same time comparison between the data allows us to detect cultural variation in

the perception of gender relations, and how this influenced the integration of women in the profession in Europe. It also makes it possible to reveal the underlying reasons for counter-intuitive observations about our own contemporary situations, such as the high number of women in archaeology in both Norway and Spain in contrast to Germany.

### THEMATIC COMPARISON

The women referred to through the book are each, of course, individual and unique. Out of their histories we can, however, draw points of significance for the social history of archaeology. The main points that will be discussed below provide essential insight into factors that conditioned women's participation in archaeological practice and their recognition in histories of the discipline. This cannot be an exhaustive account. Our intention is rather to point to some of the most significant and influential factors involved and to outline potential areas for future research. Within the integration process of women in archaeology in Europe there are several clear similarities. The first to be highlighted is that this process was critically related to changes within traditional social structures. Such ruptures were caused in particular by the growing importance given to education, especially in the context of the formation of the nation-state and due to the impact of industrialization. Of special importance also were the social and political changes provoked by both world wars, which saw a dramatic increase in the integration of women in ever wider parts of Europe. Gender ideology, however, involves many aspects of society and the person, and obviously such aspects did not all change at the same time within each area. A good example of this is that as women gained access to professional life this led to a conflict with their status as mothers and wives. Professional women who were married and had children followed significantly different career patterns from their male colleagues and had a significantly different image from non-professional women. Contrary to what may be expected, however, this did not result in these women sharing either political attitudes (particularly with regard to the women's movement), or a similar perception of themselves as archaeologists.

Access to education not only gave women appropriate qualifications but also, and at least as importantly, different attitudes and ambitions. It is, therefore, significant that the role of education changed during the nineteenth century, and that this was a period during which women gradually gained access to higher levels of education. Initially, the basic educational aim for girls was to prepare them for motherhood and marriage, since cultural knowledge was beginning to be considered essential to a good upbringing. Some of the main components of this knowledge would be familiarity with Latin and Greek languages and literature. In addition, it was increasingly expected that the cultured person would be familiar with topics such as Egyptology. It is also relevant to note that the nineteenth century was the period when the Romantic movement developed, with its empathetic attitude to the landscape and the national past. This affected attitudes, including women's, towards the past and its physical manifestations in monuments, and thus furthered the general interest in archaeology.



The best education included travel as well. Following the trends developed since the Renaissance and particularly during the Enlightenment, travelling was considered to play an essential role in education. The destination of these journeys was usually Italy, in order to familiarize oneself with the ancient scenarios of the Classical past. The nineteenth century brought two major changes to the journeys: the broadening of the scope of countries to be visited, as the Orient was included, and the greater participation of women. Often these women got involved with archaeology peripherally, such as Mrs Belzoni, who wrote an ethnographic appendix to her husband's volume on Egyptian archaeology in 1821 (McBryde 1993: xi). Others participated more fully, as appears from Sara Champion's account (Chapter 9 in this volume) of Amelia Edwards, who made a voyage to Egypt in 1873–4, becoming an expert in Egyptian archaeology and even conducting excavation. Another example, mentioned by Anick Coudart in Chapter 3, is Jane Dielaufoy. Together with her husband, she began a voyage to Perse in 1881 which resulted in several books on the archaeology of the area (Gran-Aymerich and Gran-Aymerich 1991). Marie Louise Stig Sørensen argues (in Chapter 2) that another major influence was the experience women gained as partners to men in the colonial service and missionary activities. This often brought women in contact with the ethnography and archaeology of colonized countries and gave them access to active and meaningful roles in their own right.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the institutionalization of academia increasingly meant that an appropriate qualification was needed in order to gain access to particular professions. Women were initially denied access to such qualifications and had to fight to obtain the right to formal higher education. Thus, the first studies available to women—not without previous debate on their suitability—were those considered feminine, i.e. mostly nursing and education. These were not included among university qualifications, but they contributed to the acceptability of the idea of women gaining access to further education. Anick Coudart and Margarita Díaz-Andreu both emphasise this point in their chapters as part of the background for understanding when and how women gained access to archaeological education. As archaeology became increasingly professionalized it was even more important for women to obtain formal degrees in order to work as archaeologists and these were given only by universities or similar institutions.<sup>1</sup> The dates of women gaining access to university training (at various levels) mark important stages in the history of women in the discipline, not only because it provided them with qualifications, but also because it gave them access to a different 'mental' culture. This is, of course, differently dated from country to country, but the following survey gives an idea about when it happened. In Denmark women could attend lectures from 1875, in Norway they were admitted from 1883, while in both Greece and Poland access was gained during the 1890s. The history of women's access to education is, however, more complex than a list of dates suggests. It involved several alternative systems and progressed through different stages in different countries. In Britain, for example, the first female student attended university lectures in 1871 and women were admitted for some university exams from 1881. They gained full membership of the University of London in 1878, of Oxford

in 1918 and of Cambridge only in 1948. However, in addition a women-only system existed parallel to and usually increasingly modelled upon the male system. Thus, Bedford College, as a women's college, was founded in 1849, and in Cambridge the first female college, Girton, was established in 1873, while the old male colleges in Cambridge did not begin to go 'mixed' until the 1970s (Sutherland 1995). This sketchy outline of just some of the components of women's education in Britain points to some of the fundamental issues involved: access to education became a question of parity, degree and hierarchy, and for a long time access did not necessarily mean that women gained the same degrees as men or that their education was accorded similar value.

Another main cause of the rupture of traditional social relations was industrialization. Social structures and hierarchies were rapidly transformed as soon as women entered the labour market. Working-class women were the first to be affected by industrialization as they were forced into paid labour and thus became visible in the economy. The first women working in archaeology belonged to a very different social stratum, but they were affected by and benefited from the general social changes and transformed expectations. This partly explains why it was precisely in the early industrialized countries, such as England, France and Germany, that women were first involved with archaeology as professionals.<sup>2</sup> Women also profited from other consequences of industrialization. The improvement of means of transport gave them greater freedom to move (Hudson 1981), and thus independence. In addition, the greatly increased demands for resources such as coal and timber drastically affected and eroded the natural landscape. In response, the first forms of landscape legislation, scheduling and rescue activities arose, and in this process new jobs and services were created. Archaeology was expanding both as a profession and in the public eye—it became less of a rarity and more of a possible employment for both men and women.

The First World War brought rapid industrialization to the less developed states, and from 1914 all countries in Europe were affected by this process. The impoverishment of the middle classes after the war compelled even more women to work. It is, therefore, in the inter-war period that a significant number of women entered the profession, a trend seen again and significantly increased after the Second World War.

Industrialization was important for the early appearance of women in archaeology in particular countries; but it does not explain the current situation. Surprisingly, it seems that countries in which women became integrated at a later stage, such as Norway, Spain and, in part, Greece, have now achieved the greatest equality in numbers, although Lise Bender Jørgensen (Chapter 11) shows that they are still under-represented in Denmark. A similar pattern is seen in Mexico, where Gero (1988) observed that, unexpectedly, women's position in archaeology seemed to be better than in the USA. This pattern is not attributable to one single cause, but varies according to the particular disciplinary integration procedures of the country in question. In Norway a system of positive discrimination has undoubtedly helped women to obtain posts, while in Spain, Portugal and Greece (as in Mexico) the

traditional system of patronage and a distinct conceptualization of gender seems to give priority to group affiliation rather than gender.

Feminist studies often assume that the first women in academia had a sense of solidarity, and that they self-consciously saw themselves as pioneering women's acceptance in new fields. It is, however, important to come to terms with the fact that the reality is far from this idealized picture—only then can a critical social historiography emerge. Women in the profession never constituted a unified political group. We can roughly divide these early women into two groups: those who clearly perceived themselves as unique and did not consider their personal experience as relevant for other women, and those who were actively involved with contemporary women's movements. Comparison between Lis Jacobsen in Denmark and Hanna Rydh in Sweden is enlightening in this regard. Lise Bender Jørgensen shows the former as a very clear example of the first position, whereas Elisabeth Arwill-Nordbladh (Chapter 8) reveals how Hanna Rydh saw her work as relevant to other women and actively promoted the idea of women and women's contributions in her writing. The two women were contemporaries, they grew up in neighbouring and socio-culturally rather similar countries, they were both married to husbands who appear to have supported them academically, and they both had children. Yet their views on women's positions in general and their own specifically seem at first sight to be totally opposed. If, however, one looks at the central premises in their views of women's role in society they are surprisingly similar despite their apparent contrasts, as both emphasized the mother-role and both seemed to accept and strongly believe this to be an unquestionable part of being a women.

This suggests that the concept of the mother constituted a social norm so firmly established that it was unaffected by political and social movements. Views so deeply embedded would have affected all and were not subject to personal choice and preference. In the first few generations of women archaeologists, behaviour that challenged the mother-role would quite simply be considered unnatural, as discussed by Marie Louise Stig Sørensen. It would have taken much determination, courage and ability to withstand social censure and deliberately to flout the norms. The similarities between the women archaeologists resulting from such deeply seated social norms and values, and their influential, almost inescapable nature, is clearly shown by their being shared by different personalities.

The importance given to the mother-role leads us to consider another factor that may have strongly influenced the integration of women in the profession: marriage. Drawing on the general social attitudes of the time, it is reasonable to suggest that the tension between career and marriage was more strongly felt by women involved in the early stages of archaeology than later, and that they were often pressurized to choose between them. Kathleen Kenyon (1906–78) explicitly saw marriage as a problem for academic women, as she feared that it was 'very difficult to combine marriage with getting to the top in academic life' (1970:115), although there were exceptions, which she considered super-women. Her 'feeling [was] that many married women who [were] excellent scholars [did] not rise to the eminence they might have [had], had being a wife and a mother not occupied an appreciable part of their time' (ibid.). Kenyon referred to the inter-war period, and it has taken about half a century for this

tension to be eased, although it has not necessarily disappeared (Nixon 1994:13–18). It is only now that statements such as ‘the long-held perception that marriage inhibits productivity among women is false’ (Ford 1994:161) are heard. And it is certainly only now, towards the end of the twentieth century, that in some countries married women in academia are becoming equal in numbers to married men.

The fact that we see women in the different spheres of archaeological practice, and that some of them were even accepted into the discipline as professionals, does not mean that they were necessarily considered as equals. We see this in the various restrictions placed upon women regarding participation in the running of excavations, as well as in censure of their conduct. They were also frequently and until very recently excluded from certain types of membership of archaeological societies or they were not given full membership, thus excluding them from the decision-making processes. Lise Bender Jørgensen potently uses the fact that women were not accepted as members of the prestigious Royal Nordic Society before 1951 as a framing device for the entire question of women’s inclusion into academic networks, and Sara Champion (Chapter 9) emphasizes the striking difference between Scotland and England, which meant that Margaret Murray could be a lady member of the Scottish Antiquaries in 1900 but not of the Antiquaries based in London despite her appointment in the latter city as a Junior Lecturer in Egyptology from 1899. This exclusion should, of course, be seen in the context of the lively male-based club culture which existed at the time, as both Champion and Sørensen point out. These types of restrictions excluded women from important networking, which during the earlier days of archaeology was a crucial medium for information and discourse.

A serious obstacle to women’s full integration was their acceptance in field-work. This was an essential part of archaeology and access to it was a crucial step in training for a career, particularly when there were no formal degrees. It was none the less strongly felt to be a male endeavour although some women, such as Hanna Rydh in Sweden, were in charge of field projects as early as 1916, as discussed by Arwill-Nordbladh. There was often firm opposition to women’s participation in excavations. One clear example is the reluctance of the director of the American School in Athens to allow Harriet Boyd Hawkes (1871–1945) to undertake fieldwork. Marina Picazo (Chapter 10) gives an account of how she finally (and later Blanche E. Wheeler and Edith Hall) managed to carry out excavations in Crete at the beginning of the century. Champion mentions that Eugenie Sellers Strong (1860–1943) was similarly restricted, and Díaz-Andreu outlines a similar situation in Spain, where the first female students came to the university in the 1920s and 1930s. The reasons for such exclusion are rarely documented, but they are likely to have been couched in terms of women’s abilities to conduct the work. This was the case for the Danish antiquities service, where the director of the Second Department of the National Museum in 1904 asserted that ‘the work with the monuments of our fatherland is according to its nature men’s work, it demands the exercise of physical strength and stamina which cannot be expected to be found amongst women’ (after Høgsbro 1994:97). He could therefore not recommend that women were used in the services of the department. Similarly in 1915 Droop wrote:

I say that before and after the excavation I thought [women] charming; during it however because they, or we, were in the wrong place their charm was not seen...the further strain of politeness and self-restraint in moments of stress, moments that will occur on the best regulated dig, when you want to say just what you think without translation, which before ladies, whatever their feelings about it, cannot be done.

(Droop 1915:64)

It is important to recognize that, while for the earliest archaeologists this attitude cohered with the values held in their societies, it seems that this male association with archaeological fieldwork has stubbornly persisted despite the general social changes that have taken place since the earliest days of archaeology. In many cases this continues to produce a distinctly chilly climate for women in the discipline (Wylie 1993). Throughout the period of professional archaeology explicit examples of exclusion can be found. They are sometimes openly acknowledged and sometimes not; they may appear personal or take the form of normal conventions rather than an explicit policy; but they all have the effect of making women's integration difficult.

An even more obvious 'division of labour' relates to the different employment of men and women within archaeology, with women having easier access to museum posts and sometimes to managerial jobs, such as the Archaeological Service in Greece, than to the highly prestigious academic positions. Given this climate, it does not come as a surprise that women's engagement with archaeology is different from men's. This point has been highlighted by various of the contributors, like Marina Picazo and John Chapman, and it emerges from the reminiscences from older generations presented by Liv Helga Dommasnes, Else Johansen Kleppe, Gro Mandt and Jenny-Rita Næss as well as by Sibylle Kästner, Viola Maier and Almut Schülke. It is certainly true that a general pattern emerges of male and female archaeologists engaging with the discipline in different manners. The question, however, remains whether this is due to the socialization of the individual into gendered behaviour or a nature-driven difference between the sexes.

In some countries we see from early on a tendency for women to focus their research on particular periods (the same phenomenon is seen in the USA, e.g. Victor and Beaudry 1992:12). Dommasnes, Kleppe, Mandt and Næss point to the concentration of women in Iron Age and Medieval studies in Norway. In Sweden the earliest women also worked on these periods (Gustafsson 1993:63), and women such as Nora Chadwick were early involved with Anglo-Saxon studies in Britain. Alternatively, they focused their research on Egypt and the Near East or, as shown by Picazo, on Crete. In addition, it seems clear that women's research was also often shaped by their own personal experiences. Obviously, this is not exclusive to women; but women often make this influence particularly explicit. Arwill-Nordbladh shows how Hanna Rydh repeatedly used the mother-role as a device for telling stories about the past, and Chapman demonstrates how closely Marija Gimbutas' academic development and interpretative approaches related to her own traumatic story of leaving her homeland. Picazo argues that, in the case of Harriet Boyd, a connection between her archaeological thinking and her gender can be demonstrated.

She suggests that the importance given by Boyd to the function of objects (household objects, domestic utensils and stone and clay implements) was an emphasis not used by any male archaeologist, and it could be considered as typically female. In addition, it is clear that throughout women's integration in the discipline they were more easily associated with certain of its practices and concerns than others. From an early stage, for example, women were carrying out pioneering research in subjects traditionally rejected by men and possibly considered feminine, such as textiles, jewellery, pottery studies and art. A large number of cases are given in this volume: Margrethe Hald and Elisabeth Munksgård in Denmark, Agnes Geiger and Hanna Rydh in Sweden, Felipa Niño in Spain, Anna Apostolaki in Greece, and Charlotte Undset Thomas in Norway. In the last example it is interesting to note that the decision to undertake research on this subject was explicitly disapproved by her professor, who lost interest in her work, as recorded by Dommasnes, Kleppe, Mandt and Næss. This association between women archaeologists and particular artefact studies has been interpreted as women being restricted or restricting themselves to domestic-like tasks in the discipline—'doing archaeology at the kitchen table' as Dommasnes, Kleppe, Mandt and Næss refer to it—or the invisible services mentioned by Marianna Nikolaidou and Dimitra Kokkinidou and by Díaz-Andreu (see also Gero 1985). Other activities, such as the popularization of the past, and in particular accounts of women's life in prehistory, have also especially been undertaken by women archaeologists such as Hanna Rydh and Jacquetta Hawkes, including the latter's semi-biographical novel, *A Quest of Love* (1980). This asymmetrical attention to male- and female-associated aspects of the past is subtle but very pervasive. For instance, despite the popular interest in Egyptian archaeology, it seems that the investigation of tombs of female pharaohs and princesses has largely depended on female scholars.

Looking at the differences, and taking into account that neither all men nor all women correspond in their personal choices and skills to these stereo-types, we observe in women a tendency to refrain from generalizing. In its place we see a commitment to detailed work on particular periods and subjects. The almost complete absence of general overviews, syntheses and theoretical discourses written by women is, however, to some extent predictable if we consider that men were the ones in the higher positions with the prestige, time, and networks that these offer.

Distinct focuses, perspectives and specialities may, thus, systematically be associated with men and women. It is hardly surprising that this was often the case in earlier periods, when gender roles were conceived as so markedly separate and men and women were brought up and educated in radically diverse ways; but again it should be stressed that the reasons for these different choices are not yet properly understood. As regards our contemporary situation it seems difficult to trace such an obvious gender division in terms of how archaeology is thought. There are some particular subjects, such as gender archaeology itself and some of the archaeology inspired by post-structuralism which uses the male body as a central metaphor for experience, that are clearly gendered (see also Engelstad 1991); otherwise, the apparent labour division within the discipline is difficult to document. This could of course partly be explained by the 'education' to which students of archaeology are subjected, i.e. a long process of socialization of knowledge which may unconsciously

aim to delete feminine elements from academic discourse. However, this is also a topic that has not been systematically analysed and certain myths about the differences between male and female archaeologists may be circulating in the discipline.

The general factors highlighted above should of course be contextualized within particular historical situations and sequences. This is our intention in the next part, which broadly divides the period of professional archaeology into four major phases, reflecting the different conditions of women's integration in archaeology through time, and provides an initial sketch of the history of women in archaeology. In this context we would like to highlight the inclusion of Ruth Struwe's chapter ([Chapter 7](#)) on the recent history of women in the former East Germany. This may strictly speaking appear not to be a historiographic analysis. The point of her chapter is, however, to remind us that our immediate past becomes our history.

### THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR: THE PIONEERS—THE UNPROFESSIONAL PROFESSIONALS

The historiography of women archaeologists is necessarily different for the period of professional archaeology than for earlier periods, in terms of both the availability of appropriate data and pre-existing knowledge of the intellectual and socio-political context. It is the professional period that is analysed in this volume. Archaeology only became a professional discipline in the nineteenth century, when the first European universities began to teach archaeology, the first specialized museums of archaeology (some of them organized from old collections of antiquities) were opened to the public, and in some countries antiquities services run by the state were created. The pioneers were people who had not received a specialized education for the jobs they accomplished, and they built the discipline from its foundations, being the first curators, the first lecturers and professors in archaeology.

Among these pioneers was the German, Johanna Mestorf, who during the last decades of the nineteenth century played a significant role in the assimilation within Germany of the developments in Scandinavian archaeology. This early incidence of a female professional archaeologist and later professor, although acknowledged in histories of German archaeology (see also Filip 1969:811), is never mentioned in what are considered the main texts on the histories of archaeology (Daniel 1975, Schnapp 1993, Trigger 1989).

Johanna Mestorf (1829–1909), a doctor's daughter, worked as a young woman as a governess in Sweden, where she presumably came into contact with Swedish archaeology. From 1863 she began to translate the most important Scandinavian archaeological publications, such as works by Nilsson, Müller, and Montelius, into German, thus playing an essential role in the acceptance of the Three Age system and the typological method in German archaeology. She is also known to have had personal contacts with leading figures, such as the Dane, Sophus Müller (Høgsbro 1994:10), and she must have played a significant mediating role between archaeologists in the countries affected by the war of 1864. Her association with the museum in Kiel, north Germany, supports this proposition. Important archaeological



Figure 1.1 Johanna Mestorf (source: Archäologisches Landesmuseum der Christian-Albrechts Universität)

remains were claimed by the Germans in the 1864 peace treaty (e.g. Wiell 1996) and the archaeological posts in the Kiel museum had become sensitive political seats. Johanna Mestorf was attached to the Museum of National Antiquities (*Museum Vaterländischer Altertümer*) in Kiel from 1868 on a voluntary basis (*freie Mitarbeiterin*). In 1873 she got a job as curator (*Kustodin*), and she became the director in 1891. She was appointed Professor at the University of Kiel in 1899, when she was 70 years old. She wrote more than 15 publications on the prehistory of the area, including discussions of the gender association of grave goods in Bronze Age barrows (Hjørungsdal 1994, Mertens 1992). Johanna Mestorf is a striking example of a remarkable figure within the field. Her contributions were and are significant in many different areas, she greatly influenced the intellectual development of German archaeology by introducing the Scandinavian methodologies, and she had an



important position in the social and intellectual network. How can it be that we had to 'dig' to find her, and that in recent years only a brief biography has been published (Mertens 1992)? How could critical historiographic analysis of the development and reception of the Three Age system and the typological method ignore her contribution?

During most of the nineteenth century, archaeology was still in the process of institutionalization, and the study of antiquities was, therefore, often still carried out by non-professionals, people who either earned their living from other sources or had private fortunes. Champion and Coudart show how women such as Amelia Edwards (1831–92) in Britain and Jean Dieulafoy (1851–1916) in France can be considered in these terms. Both these women, and others like them, contributed through their writings to the spread of knowledge about new developments in archaeology. Despite their popularity at the time, none of them is considered worth mentioning in current histories of archaeology. This invisibility can be extended to men who carried out similar tasks, and it demonstrates how the histories of archaeology have been written with total disregard for the various structures through which archaeological knowledge is disseminated: they show no interest in how certain popular attitudes and images of the discipline were created, and they ignore the fact that there are degrees of formality and institutionalized acceptance of knowledge communication. This discrimination against the popularization of archaeology affects the acknowledgement of women's contribution particularly, but it does also erase some men from our discipline's past.

Such pioneer women, who were the first in their fields, were followed by a group of women, born in the 1860s and 1870s, who came into archaeology in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth. As explained earlier, women's access to the professional world was in most cases intrinsically linked to radical changes in family structure, strongly related to the development of an industrial society. It is in those countries where industrialization developed early that we can expect to find the first women trying to be accepted into the profession. So far, women have been found to be involved at this early stage in England, France and Germany, but the list of countries may possibly be expanded. It is, however, also clear that in some industrialized countries women were not involved at this stage. This is, for example, the case for Holland.

As the field of archaeology expanded women were found in a greater variety of roles. These included women employed in universities and museums, women involved in excavation projects including overseas ones, husband and wife teams, women in voluntary positions and as popularizers. The importance of this range is to recognize that women were not integrated in archaeology through one type of job only; on the contrary, they were frequently found in established archaeological positions as well as in types of jobs not usually covered by traditional historiographies of archaeology.

It is particularly interesting that some women at this time got jobs in universities, such as Eugenie Sellers Strong (1860–1943) and Margaret Murray (1863–1963). The former was the first woman to be the Charles Eliot Norton lecturer at the Archaeological Institute of America, and she was the assistant director of the British

School at Rome for 16 years. Margaret Murray, whom Champion discusses in her chapter, taught as a paid lecturer in Egyptology at University College London from 1899 to 1935. Women were, however, also often explicitly discriminated against in appointments to university positions. Bender Jørgensen outlines this phenomenon in terms of Lis Jacobsen and proposes that silence and ridicule are some of the weapons by means of which invisibility is created. The apparently low frequency of women in the museums and antiquity services at this time is surprising. We fear that historiographic research has tended to ignore these institutions for the earlier periods, and that the women who might have worked in more or less formal capacities within them are presently excluded from analysis. Our concern arises from the striking disparity in the numbers of women working in museums during this period in comparison to the next. Future research will hopefully illuminate this point, so that the integration of women into different branches of the discipline can be properly compared and analysed.

Overseas archaeology continued to attract women. This is a very interesting phenomenon which would clearly benefit from further analysis. We wonder whether working abroad provided easier and more accessible opportunities for women. Did it provide them with greater freedom and access to fieldwork or were they being forced out of local and national involvement? Amongst such women Champion mentions Gertrude Bell (1868–1926), who is usually remembered not as an archaeologist but as an active participant in Middle Eastern politics, who accumulated an important photographic record of archaeological monuments from the Middle East. Coudart discusses Madelaine Colani (1866–1943) and her work in Indochina, and Picazo introduces us to Harriet Boyd and other women working on Crete.

Another group of women of this generation, who have remained hidden in histories of archaeology, is formed by wives of (sometimes well-known) male archaeologists, as discussed in several of the chapters here. Their influence on their husbands' careers was rarely recognized, and is often preserved only anecdotally. Hilda Petrie (1871–1957), Flinders Petrie's wife, is an example. She ran excavations in Egypt, did the drawings and edited her husband's texts (Drower 1985), but most of this work appeared in her husband's name. Tessa Wheeler (1883–1936), Sir Mortimer Wheeler's wife, is another example mentioned by Champion. She participated in and planned excavations, wrote excavation reports, gave lectures and played an important role in fund-raising, yet she is hardly acknowledged as an archaeologist (Hawkes 1982, Hudson 1981). The small number of married women (and especially women not married to an archaeologist) in professional archaeology in comparison with married men is likely to reflect the fact that women might have decided to remain single in order to be able to have their own careers. This is certainly a type of decision known to have been made by women in the following period.

#### THE INTER-WAR YEARS: THE FOLLOWERS

The First World War acted as a watershed and in its aftermath the path-breaking role played by a few was replaced by more easy access to the discipline. Henceforth, an increasing number of women from a wider set of classes and nations, which included

for the first time countries such as Sweden, Norway, Greece and Spain, became involved with the profession.

In this period a new kind of woman is found in the archaeological profession, since in many countries it was just before or after the First World War that women were allowed full access to university studies and degrees. Moreover, they encountered a different academic milieu from that existing in the previous period, insofar as during these years archaeology in most European countries was becoming profoundly institutionalized.

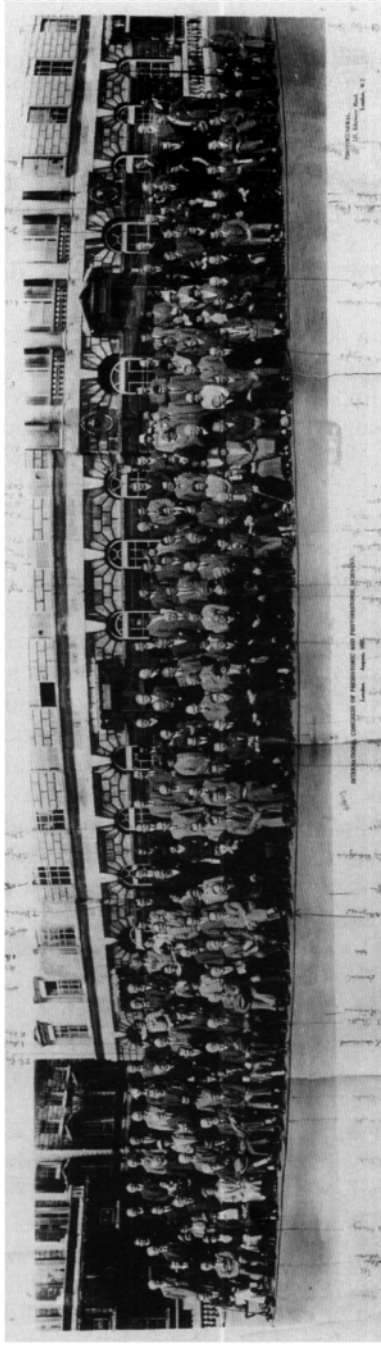
The jobs in which we find women are very similar to those in the previous period. What changed was the number of women involved and the range of countries from which they came. Furthermore, in many countries (and especially in the south European ones) women's employment was now clearly dominated by museums. The reason for this seems to be that women archaeologists were professionally more easily accepted in roles that were considered feminine, thus being what Gero (1985) has called the woman-at-home archaeologists. Museum work was seemingly acceptable for women as the handling of objects was considered something appropriately feminine (in fact handling objects, cleaning and ordering them had been the traditional role of women at home). Women were considered to be 'especially suited to museum work by their love of the beautiful, their adaptability and their patience in detailed work' (Thomas 1933, quoted in Levine 1994:17). In addition museum work did not entail much interaction with the public sphere. Women were secluded in museums, doing what the Greek archaeologist Semni Karouzou herself described as 'invisible services', as mentioned by Nikoladou and Kokkinidou. This work was often fundamental to the practice of archaeology, but it gained little recognition. One should, however, be cautious about the negative perception of women's roles in museums that Gero (1985) and others give us. Within their museums some women achieved for the first time top positions as curators, such as Maria Mogensen in 1910 in Denmark (Høgsbro 1994:91), or directors, such as Ursicina Martínez Gallego and Concepción Blanco Mínguez in Spain and Anna Apostolaki in Greece; all of them already had jobs in the 1930s. Others gained important managerial posts, such as Semni Karouzou, head of the Greek National Museum's Pottery Collection from 1930.

University teaching seems to have been more closed to women than any other aspect of the discipline, with a few outstanding well-known exceptions such as Dorothy Garrod in Britain, who was the first female professor in an Oxbridge university. There are, however, possibly more women even in these jobs than has been recognized. Liliana Janik and Hanna Zawadzka ([Chapter 4](#)) write about Zofia Podkowinska, who in 1922 was employed as a 'demonstrator' at the Institute of Prehistory at Warsaw University, where she introduced new and revolutionary teaching methods. The small number of women in the universities should also be assessed against the background of the relatively few full-time lectureships and chairs that existed overall in archaeology prior to the Second World War.

Women were also engaged in basic research, especially as partners in some of the big field projects which took place during this period. Among these Champion mentions the work of Gertrude Caton Thompson (1893–1985) and Winifred Lamb

(1894–1963) from Britain, who worked in Africa, Egypt and Greece, sponsored by various academic institutions, such as the Royal Antiquaries Society. Coudart gives us the examples of Denyse Le Lasseur (1889–1945) and Judith Marquet Krause (1907–36) who worked at Tyre, Lebanon, and in Palestine respectively. Women from other disciplines also began to play a role in archaeology during this period, and they often became the specialist member of women’s field teams, as discussed by Sørensen. There are, for example, two prominent British women to be included in this group: a palaeozoologist, Dorothea Bate (1879–1951), associated with the British Museum for more than 50 years (we include her in this period because most of her work and the people she worked with belong to it), and Elinor Gardner, a geology lecturer at Bedford College. Both of these women participated regularly in excavations and contributed in cross-disciplinary research. Bate, for example, studied the animal refuse from Dorothy Garrod’s sites at Mount Carmel, Palestine, and helped Garrod develop an awareness of the importance of ecological-economic activities, which laid the foundation for the ecological-economic approach later expressed in Grahame Clark’s work on the Mesolithic in Britain (Clark 1989:44, 53–4). They also presented their research at national and international conferences. For instance, at the British Association for the Advancement of Science meeting in 1931 women contributed in all sections (including Gertrude Caton Thompson, Elinor Gardner, Mrs Hoernle, Winifred Lamb and Dorothy Garrod), a fact commented upon by the daily press (Caton Thompson 1983:152). Women were also well represented at the meeting of the newly founded International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences (ICPPS) in 1932 (Figure 1.2), where they gave papers and participated in debates. It is important to recognize the latter involvement, since this may often show women as far more active in the discipline than publication alone suggests. This is demonstrated, for instance, in Evans’s discussion of the 1943 *Conference of the Future of Archaeology* held at the Institute of Archaeology, London. While only three out of 29 papers were given by women, in the discussion 42 per cent of the contributions were by women (Evans 1995:322, note 2). They were also now becoming integrated in the infrastructure of various societies and associations: for example, Caton Thompson was on the organizing committee of the ICPPS in 1932 and was the president of the Prehistoric Society 1940–6.

As was the case for the earlier period, women (and men) involved with so-called marginal or amateurish activities are absent from histories of archaeology. It is, however, important to appreciate that many women were involved with archaeology through alternative activities, including literature and journalism, or that such initiatives were added to their traditional archaeological work. The same trend is found in the USA (Levine 1994:37). An example is Hanna Rydh in Sweden, discussed by Arwill-Nordbladh. She wrote books and tales about or based on archaeology for children as well as adults. During this period there were, however, also women who certainly made central and original contributions to archaeology, and they have also tended to disappear from its history. Champion and Sørensen both comment upon Caton Thompson and Garrod in Britain, who contributed to the



*Figure 1.2* Conference participants at the first meeting of the International Congress of Prehistoric Sciences in 1932 (source: The Antiquaries Society, London)

shaping of new interpretative frameworks. Nikoladou and Kokkinidou point to Semni Karouzou in Greece, who applied her very original understanding of archaeology to her pottery studies. She certainly deserves attention, but, as they point out, she is not even mentioned in a recent volume about Greek museums which includes several references to outstanding men.

The First World War took women outside their homes. Men were away; therefore, women went out to work in factories and offices, most of them for the first time and often in jobs that had previously excluded them. After the war some of them occupied the place of dead men and others remained in work due to the impoverishment of the middle class in the post-war period. All this fostered changing attitudes to women and work, and the idea of young women working outside their home, at least until they got married, became increasingly acceptable. The tension between their roles as housewives and academics might still have been weighted in favour of the former, and there are possibly many women who started in archaeology who never became part of the discipline or became known only as partners of their husbands. This is clearly illustrated in the collective references to academic couples, such as the Clarks, the Piggotts or the Wheelers, that are found in many biographies (e.g. Webster 1991, Phillips 1987), which so effectively erase the independent presence of the women. It is difficult without recourse to personal information or university records to establish who amongst these women were actually archaeologists in their own right and who became archaeological helpmates through marriage. The latter situation also occurred, with Agatha Christie being one of the best-known examples (Christie 1977). That women were often involved in this manner is suggested by the frequent acknowledgements to wives for their drawings, their photographs, their typing and proof-reading. The number of women who chose to raise their family first and maintain their professional career at a secondary level is not known, and although these are important aspects of the socio-politics of the discipline such matters are usually considered to belong to the intimate world of marriage and are rarely commented upon.

There are, however, some data available about the consequences marriage had for many women's academic life. As in the previous period, in the interwar phase a high proportion of women working professionally in archaeology remained single (see Nixon 1994:16–17 for the case of women associated with the Archaeological Institutes in Greece). This is extremely unlikely to have been the case for men to the same extent, and it must be accepted that career choice had a significant effect on these women. The dichotomy between marriage and profession could be so decisive that a woman might explicitly decide to remain single as a way of continuing her academic life. The socio-demographic situation after the war, when so many young men had died, did of course also profoundly affect both marriage prospects and the willingness to make new commitments. This might, for example, have been the case for Gertrude Caton Thompson, who lost the man she loved during the war (Caton Thompson 1983:69 ff.). In some cases it might have delayed the normal age of marriage (Kenyon 1970:114–15) which meant that some women were actually firmly established—mentally and professionally—in a career before they married. This often meant, further-more, that they did not have children and that they married other

academics, who were familiar with the kind of demands and commitments involved in the job.

Thus, it is likely that family and professional life were often felt to be incompatible. There were various reasons for this feeling of conflict. The most important ones were ideological as gender norms assigned certain characteristics and abilities to women which did not overlap with either the image of archaeology or its real demands. We must also bear in mind that many of these women came from upper- or middle-class backgrounds, and thus they did not perceive work as a necessity or even a reality. There were also, however, practical constraints. For example, the entry of women into academic life did not correspond to a movement of men into the domestic sphere, which in practice meant a double working day for women.

Women who were married to colleagues, which is a common phenomenon, often found themselves in particularly difficult situations, such as being potential competitors for the same jobs or not having access to jobs in the same cities. The case studies suggest that these conflicts, almost without exception, affected women adversely. Examples of partnerships are provided by Arwill-Nordbladh, who gives us Hanna Rydh in Sweden, by Nikoladou and Kokkinidou, who write about Semni Karouzou from Greece, and in particular Coudart, who shows how common both academic partnerships and families are in France. Dommasnes, Kleppe, Mandt and Næss give an account of how, in Norway, Eva Nissen Fett had the opportunity to apply for the same job as her future husband, but decided not to compete against him, leaving him an open path. She stated, however, that ‘had we not been engaged, then I would probably have applied’. This tells us not only about women’s self-perception, their capacities to accept secondary roles and their willingness to sacrifice, but also about men’s ability to accept that their (future) wives should give them priority. These conflicts, however, were not always present. Nikoladou and Kokkinidou describe how Semni Karouzou managed to have a working life very similar to that of her husband and how, when necessary, they lived apart to enable her to continue her work in Athens while he worked in the Cyclades. Sørensen also argues that there could be certain benefits to such partnerships.

The way in which this tension between professional and family lives was experienced and expressed was not, it seems, determined by political viewpoint. Harriet Boyd Hawkes, at first sympathetic to women’s suffrage, later changed her mind. She doubted ‘whether unlimited suffrage would be good for the nation’, and on the contrary she felt that a woman’s main concern should be the arts of living and homemaking (quoted in Bolger 1994:48). Bender Jørgensen writes how, in Denmark, Lis Jacobsen also felt that ‘a woman’s proper place was in her home’, despite her own considerable involvement with academia. In fact in the previous period we observe similar attitudes. Jean Dieulafoy in France, who had dressed as a man, was active against divorce, making her position explicit in her novel *Déchéanche* published in 1897, and she maintained that women had to be responsible for the moral well-being of society (Gran-Aymerich and Gran-Aymerich 1991:199–211). On the other hand, Arwill-Nordbladh’s chapter shows that even an actively feminist archaeologist such as Hanna Rydh in Sweden did not see it as a priority to obtain a

permanent position, as her husband had. Arwill-Nordbladh also introduces us to some of the contemporary feminist ideas, and it is important to recognize the divergence within these and in particular the strong views on motherhood. Coudart's discussion of gender politics in France (or the apparent absence of the same) adds an important awareness of how different socio-political systems affect gender ideologies. This does not mean that women's gender did not everywhere affect who they were—socially and personally—but it certainly shows how this identity was differently constructed and acted upon within the various European cultures.

Can these women and their work now be recovered from invisibility, and what can we learn from the strategies they employed to survive academically under such conditions? Many of the women who gave priority to marriage and raising children continued their involvement with and interest in archaeology, and thus they remain part of our past. In particular, a number of the women who renounced work when they got married went back to archaeology at a much later stage of their lives, when family commitments allowed them to do so. Kästner, Maier and Schülke write about the case of Senta Rafalski-Giering in Germany, who after her husband's death in 1972, when she was 61 years old, worked with and published the results of a team project in Africa in which she had been involved in the late 1930s. Díaz-Andreu found that the same strategy was chosen by several women in Spain, such as Encarnación Cabré, who began to publish again when she was 64 years old, and María Luz Navarro, who went back to work when her children had grown up.

#### FROM 1945 TO THE 1970s: CONSOLIDATION AND EXPANSION

The third period extends from the end of the Second World War until the 1970s. The number of women gaining access to the profession during this period was even higher than before and they came from an ever broader range of countries including, for instance, Portugal (Carlos Fabião, pers. comm.<sup>3</sup>). The increased number of women in the profession is sometimes explained in terms of a decrease in salary and prestige, which made these posts less attractive to men. This has been argued as the case for countries such as Norway, Greece and Spain, while in countries like Denmark, where it continued to be a highly valued profession, women are much less numerous. This explanation, while certainly of importance, should, however, not be used to deny credit to the women who obtained positions within the discipline. Such explanations should therefore be used with care until the effect of other factors involved has been analysed in greater detail. Díaz-Andreu's example of Spain (as well as personal communication from her informants from that area), does, however, give support to the interpretation, since as a result of the increased salaries for museum curators from the 1940s to the 1960s there was a decrease in the entry of women into the service, from 70 per cent to 20 per cent of the total entries.

Women continued to work mainly in museums, with fewer in the universities. We see a greater number, but generally still a small percentage, of women achieving top positions in more and more countries, such as museum directors, like Slomann in Norway in 1966, and professors, such as Arwildson in 1954 and Stjernquist in 1974



in Sweden. Alternative paths in archaeology still existed, however, and one of the best examples is the case of Jacquetta Hawkes in Britain, who moved from traditional academic work to public archaeology using both television and writing as her media.

This period saw the beginning of the collapse of the dichotomy between professional and married life, allowing a larger group of women to become professional archaeologists. The importance that should be given to this factor is well illustrated by Kästner, Maier and Schülke's discussion of the department in Tübingen. The private lives of the female archaeologists seemed to be well known by all and thus considered a relevant factor in assessments of them as professionals, while in contrast that of male archaeologists was not mentioned. For this period Dommasnes, Kleppe, Mandt and Næss write about how, in Norway, Charlotte Blindheim continued to work after marrying a colleague in 1945, and Chapman as well as Kästner, Maier and Schülke emphasize that Marija Gimbutas, married and with children, obtained a job at Harvard University in 1950. Coudart shows how, in France, there are several examples of married women in the profession, such as Annette Laming-Emperaire (1917–77), Arlette Leroi-Gourhan (1913–) and Denise Sonnevile-Bordes (1919–). These women represent only the beginning of a more substantial shift since it seems it was only from the 1960s that the combination of marriage and profession began to be the norm rather than an unusual and difficult personal choice. In reality difficulties for married women continued to exist and, according to Kathleen Kenyon, the situation had got worse in comparison with the previous period. She outlined the situation in Oxford after the Second World War as follows:

The very good ones [who married], the Firsts and top Seconds, very often want to go on with their work even though married. Since, nowadays, a research degree is the almost inevitable preliminary to academic life, this means that they combine writing a thesis with looking after a home and probably starting a family. This is not too tough a proposition, but even here there are difficulties. The lucky ones are those whose husbands are also academically directed, perhaps themselves doing a research degree. But the timing of this is a tricky matter. The husband may move elsewhere, and the wife therefore be deprived of the libraries, laboratories or supervision, upon which her research depends. And, of course, when the research stage is past and the woman, if unmarried, would be in the market for academic posts, she is tied by the occupation of her husband. Even if he, too, is an academic, it limits the choice of posts available to her. I have known of more than one case in which we should like to have got a woman back to Oxford, but it was clear that her husband was not of the calibre to get an Oxford post.

(Kenyon 1970:115–16)

Despite women entering the establishment of professional archaeology, academic visibility continued to be low. A survey of publications in Norway showed that whereas men published in international and well-known journals, women tended to

do so in less prestigious, local ones. Dommasnes, Kleppe, Mandt and Næss emphasize that this meant that although more women were publishing than men, men's publications survive better and become more influential. Díaz-Andreu's results of a survey in Spain, based on two of the main archaeological journals, show that until the 1970s women's participation there was very low (see also Díaz-Andreu and Sanz Gallego 1994:124). Research on women's publications on Cypriot archaeology (including women not only from Cyprus, but also from Britain, France, Sweden, USA and Germany) points to a similar low participation (Webb and Frankel 1995: 35). It is obvious that women did not make the right choices. There are various possible reasons for this and further research is needed. We can point out, however, that women often lacked the backing of someone who would encourage them to publish in the most prestigious journals.

One of the most striking revelations is that, when asked about discrimination, active women archaeologists, such as Charlotte Blindheim, quoted in Dommasnes, Kleppe, Mandt and Næss, and both Senta Rafalski-Giering and Eva-Maria Bossert, interviewed by Kästner, Maier and Schülke, answered that they did not experience it. Yet it seems clear that they were perceived as secondary by their male colleagues. For example, Norwegian students in the 1950s heard their male lecturers call their women colleagues 'the girls'. They were also given the chores that received no subsequent recognition. The fact, mentioned by Coudart, that Arlette Leroi-Gourhan worked without being paid can be seen as another example of such subtle discrimination. She and her husband felt that they did not need money, so, in order to do what she loved, palaeobotany, she worked for free. Discrimination was even present in countries in which it was not politically acceptable, as Struwe shows for the German Democratic Republic. There, although more than two thirds of applicants to archaeology were women, they constituted less than half of total student numbers. The proportion of women was even lower at higher levels of education, and senior posts were, therefore, mainly occupied by men. Struwe's chapter also very importantly reveals how apparently unrelated structures of the state, in this case the period spent as a soldier, may be used to create favourable conditions for male candidates. The importance of this is that it does not take the form of explicit discrimination and is not even directly concerned with university applications; it is in its practical effects that it favours men and discriminates against women. When the conditions affecting people's access to the professions are deeply embedded in the structures of society they are extremely difficult to trace and change. They also have the effect of taking discrimination out of the independent sphere of the discipline, rendering it unavoidable for its practitioners.

Discrimination is a wide concept. In the field of archaeology in the post-war period we can distinguish different levels. The more subtle was the passive attitude of those who in theory were helping women, such as their husbands. They allowed their wives always to give them precedence; men were the breadwinners, their wives were merely working for their own interest! A more obvious discrimination was often that of male teachers towards their female pupils, either passively, by not encouraging them to excavate or to publish in reputable scientific journals, as they did with their male students, or actively by not allowing women access to the same support and

resources as were available to men, as shown in Díaz-Andreu's discussion of the situation in Spain. Recognizing these subtleties should increasingly help us to understand discrimination in its different forms (see, for example, Eleanor Morris's distinction between implicit and explicit discrimination (1992:19)).

#### FROM THE 1970s TO THE PRESENT: THE SEARCH FOR EQUALITY

The current situation is a clear continuation of the preceding one. Equality has not yet been achieved, but it is obvious that women are now for the first time becoming aware of the limitations that have hampered their access to the professional arena. This recognition has encouraged analyses of the present situation. It does not come as a surprise that this kind of analysis first came to the fore in Norway (Dommasnes and Johansen Kleppe 1988), where the political environment is clearly more favourable to women than in any other European country. It is the only country where the ratio of men to women in archaeology seems to be balanced. Some other countries are now close to this point, such as Spain, where more than 40 per cent of professional archaeologists are women. This might also be the case for Greece, where Nikolaidou and Kokkinidou show how in 1994 more than 75 per cent of the staff in the Greek Archaeological Service were women. It is also interesting that according to Janik and Zawadzka more than 50 per cent of archaeologists in Poland are women. At the other extreme, there are still countries, such as Germany and Denmark, as discussed by Kästner, Maier and Schülke and by Bender Jørgensen respectively, where women's representation in academia is very low. This contrast seems to relate to a different perception of gender in the various countries. In some cultures gender, although still of importance, weighs less in social consideration than class provenance or patronage, as discussed by Díaz-Andreu among others, or it plays different roles in socio-politics and the construction of identities, as outlined by Coudart.

Policies for equal opportunities can enforce a more egalitarian formal representation. This is very clear in Norway, where a policy of positive discrimination has balanced gender representation in the profession. Other countries, such as Great Britain, the United States and Australia, lack positive discrimination, but the general concern about equity in gender representation has caused the situation to change slowly. Countries without either a system of patronage, such as the Spanish or Portuguese systems (Jorge and Jorge 1996), policies of positive discrimination or concern with inequality of gender representation show the worst ratio: Germany and Denmark are clear examples. Despite the continuing problem of equality, women are in general slowly achieving a better position in academia as well as in other fields of archaeology. For the first time it is not so unusual to have them in high positions. In all countries some—but still a minority of—women now hold top positions, as demonstrated by many of the chapters in this volume.

It is only now, when we women are becoming half of the profession and are beginning to occupy top positions, that we are wondering who came before us. There is a widely acknowledged ignorance of pioneer women. The common perception is that we have to make an effort to discover the women who preceded us, since they

seem to have disappeared. This volume has begun to recover the data about these women. An important means of achieving this has been the interview, as used by both Díaz-Andreu and Kästner, Maier and Schülke, with the latter's chapter adding a powerful *exposé* of the problems associated with the method. Another approach is using literary methods to assess women's writing, as employed by Arwill-Nordbladh and Picazo.

There are clearly many and complicated reasons for the previous invisibility of these women and their disappearance from the record, and many more to be discovered. One factor, however, is the way in which our disciplinary history and genealogy have been constructed. Many of the chapters here argue that because men have written the history of archaeology women have been forgotten. Moreover, the male-biased dominant discourse has been so subliminally powerful that even women today writing about archaeology tend to forget the earlier women. It is, therefore, significant that the until now few accounts of women archaeologists have been exclusively written by women (for example Kenyon 1970) and, perhaps because of it, subsequently not incorporated in the major books. Narration of the history of archaeology has centred on what males have considered to be important in the discipline: results. We have pointed out above that the work done by women was somewhat hidden by the fact that either they did not publish at all, or they wrote the basic reports from which others—male colleagues—extracted their data and constructed more widely known interpretations published in key books, or they published in secondary periodicals with a limited distribution. In the chapter by Dommasnes, Kleppe, Mandt and Næss a Norwegian archaeologist expresses this by saying that women 'did the dishes', carrying out tasks that were considered secondary by historians of our discipline and have since remained invisible. This situation meant that, whether or not their work was acknowledged at the time, subsequent generations completely forgot them. In addition, women were given low-paid jobs, and therefore they did not enjoy the necessary prestige to form a group of pupils and followers.

The chapters in this volume, individually and collectively, outline to us a new and important field for future research. We need to know and come to terms with the broad social history of our discipline and how it was shaped rather than just having an outline of 'big' ideas and leading men. The inclusion and exclusion of women is an essential element that is currently lacking, and without it our disciplinary self-identity is weak and false. Visibility is, however, not as easy to grant as we might initially have assumed. The reasons for assigning any archaeologists or archaeological work prominence are so profoundly influenced by the authoritative nature of disciplinary culture, that it is exceedingly difficult to challenge them and to go beyond the accepted notions of knowledge and value. These challenges, we feel, are largely still in front of us and will affect reassessment of archaeology in more terms than merely its gender politics. On a pragmatic level the problem of power and control also means that those deemed unimportant to some extent simply do not exist any more or are so deeply buried that a straightforward archival study is not sufficient to unearth them. The chapters in this volume begin the process of restoring these buried women to our disciplinary past.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Sara Champion gave the volume its name, *Excavating Women*, a title that seems to fit perfectly with what has been the task of the contributors, to search out and excavate the lives of those whose memory had almost been consigned to oblivion. We would like to thank Christopher Evans, Angel Smith and Susan Thomas for their constructive comments on this introduction and we are grateful to Susan Thomas and Jane Woods for correcting the English and commenting upon the style of several of the following chapters.

## NOTES

- 1 Such as the Escuela Superior de Diplomática in Spain or Écoles Supérieures in France.
- 2 It does not explain, however, why women appear to have come to the discipline very late in the Netherlands. To understand the situation there a more detailed review of the early development of archaeology in the Low Countries is needed. The role of archaeology in the formation of the state and the influence of Calvinism on the academic ambitions of women are issues that may be considered.
- 3 In Portugal at least seven women were working in museums from the 1940s. They were Virgínia Rau, Maria de Lourdes Costa Arthur, Maria de Lourdes Bártholo, Irisalva Moita, Maria Helena de Rocha Pereira, Margarida Ribeiro and Maria Cristina Moreira de Sá (Fabião pers. comm.).

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Part I

GENERAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE  
HISTORY OF WOMEN IN EUROPEAN  
ARCHAEOLOGY



## 2

# RESCUE AND RECOVERY

## On historiographies of female archaeologists

*Marie Louise Stig Sørensen*

When I learnt, however, that in 1911 there had been twenty-one regular feminist periodicals in Britain, that there was a feminist book shop, a woman's press, and a woman's bank run by and for women, I could no longer accept that the reason I knew almost nothing about women of the past was because there were so few of them, and they had done so little.

(Spender 1982:4)

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers various reasons for writing the history of women's participation in archaeology. Taking as its challenge the many different and often contradictory statements about women's contributions embedded in existing accounts, it also aims to reveal how authoritarian disciplinary identities and histories are created using mechanisms of selection, emphasis and 'forgetting'. Certain processes are involved in the making of particular dominant views and their progression to the status of authoritarian truths. Disregarding how these accounts have been produced in the first place, both traditional and feminist scholars have reproduced the existing disciplinary histories as their origin stories and genealogies. The focus here is the hitherto neglected question of women's role in archaeology, and the different levels at which gender ideology at any one time affects the discipline and becomes part of its history and identity.

### THE PURPOSE OF HISTORIOGRAPHY

It must be emphasized that the inclusion of women in the disciplinary history is not just a matter of complementing the traditional histories by adding a sheet of *rectificile*, a common procedure that Hirdman (1993) has labelled 'the history of the and'; rather it is a question of thorough revision. A critical contextual understanding of the presence/absence of women in the discipline that aims to unravel the relationship between social-sector interests and the institutionalized (re-)production of

knowledge is needed. Knowledge is always produced within social contexts, but existing histories of the discipline have ignored substantial aspects of these contexts. While these histories (for example, Daniel 1978; Trigger 1980) apparently do not deny women in the sense of actively denigrating their contributions, through their silence on gender issues they have in practice almost erased both women and gender politics from the discipline. Meaning is produced not only in what is said but in what is *not* said (Lind 1993:6), and the silence on this matter has created significance. Out of it has risen a tacitly agreed history, which indirectly but effectively excludes female participants (see also Spender 1982: 4–5). The issues to be confronted, therefore, have the shape of hidden messages about (in)significance.

The impact of research in this area depends, however, on clarification of both intention and subject matter. Despite continuing problems of marginalization, gender archaeology has to some extent become a fashionable topic. Being trendy, this research could easily be swept along a projected path without any clear appraisal. In an indirect way, this, like the earliest phase of feminist archaeology with its so-called ‘add-women-and-stir’ approach, risks reducing gender analysis and engendered historiographies to rather mechanical procedures.

The reasons for directing attention to women in the history of the discipline must be intellectually and possibly politically established rather than merely being led by trends in the social sciences. What do we want from women’s historiographies, what are their purposes, their ramifications? Such questions are particularly germane when separating something out as a ‘Historiography of Women in Archaeology’, since this means that a particular social group is singled out as both deserving and having its own distinct history/historiography. But these questions have as yet never been addressed, leaving the idea of women’s inclusion in historiography in a research void. So far the few historiographies of women have had no model on which to mould themselves or against which to react. Nor has it been possible to look to neighbouring disciplines for guidelines, as they have similarly neglected this side of their development.<sup>1</sup> Initially the intellectual need for and significance of such studies may therefore not be obvious, and presentist reasons may be seen as their sole basis for existence. As a result, without intellectual guidelines and research agenda, the inclusion of female archaeologists has been initiated mainly through analysis and incorporation of the single individual rather than through the study of ideas, norms, and practices or critical analysis of the impact of gender ideology on knowledge formation.

In view of this, it is worth acknowledging the difference between various historiographic approaches. Studies tracing ideas and the shaping of concepts (such as evolutionism or typologies) and their effect on epistemology, provide different insights from those which take individuals as their starting-point. The latter are generally little interested in (challenging) the intellectual basis of the discipline and play a less central role in intellectual debates or the development of a critical self-awareness: they are not concerned with establishing intellectual thresholds, the formation of dominant views or changes in epistemology. They do, however, produce profiles of leading figures who act as disciplinary ancestors. Recognizing the different roles of these two approaches, it is thought-provoking that so far historiographies of

women archaeologists have tended to take the form of narrative biographies (see for example papers in Claassen 1994). This has been supplemented with quantitative analysis of the integration of women in power structures, the so-called equity issue that has been especially widely publicized by Wylie (for example, Wylie 1993, Nelson et al. 1994), but which is also commonly found in Australian (see papers in du Cros and Smith 1993), Norwegian (Mandt and Næss 1986; Engelstad et al. 1992) and British archaeology (Morris 1992). Such studies arise from a desire to demonstrate that the highest levels of employment and prestige are male dominated, that the discipline is taught almost solely by men, and that the past has been written about and interpreted by men. These concerns tend to characterize the first stage of gender awareness within archaeology in most countries, and relevant statistics were published in the 1970s in both Denmark and Norway (Fonnesbech-Sandberg et al. 1972; Holm-Olsen and Mandt-Larsen 1974). There is, of course, an historic dimension to these works, insofar as they trace statistics over a number of years, but they are rarely historiographic in terms of aiming at and understand a phenomenon in its time and as it unfolds through time. They are clearly, and often programmatically, presentist in their purpose. It is, therefore, difficult to base a critical historiography on these studies. Furthermore, the complex political agenda behind and the ideological aspects of the 'gender question' within the discipline and its historically created self-identity are difficult to recognize in such studies as they tend either to isolate the personal experience or to reduce the problem to one of absence/presence. There are exceptions to this tendency, and they are slowly becoming more frequent, such as Levine's (1994) analysis of female archaeologists in terms of their 'life choices'.

The impact of those studies of women archaeologists that exist, whether dressed as critical historiographies (Lucy and Hill 1994), biographical sketches, or statistics, has so far been limited in terms of archaeology's self-identity and 'creation myths', although they have been instrumental in forcing a greater presence of women in the contemporary discipline at various levels. This patchy result is partly because the importance of the histories that have been discovered has not been argued and explored beyond a limited agenda of increasing the visibility of women. A wider range of concerns needs to be embraced for a full critical analysis of women's contribution to archaeology.

#### WHY A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF 'WOMEN IN ARCHAEOLOGY'?

There are several reasons for investigating the role of women in archaeology, ranging from understanding the individual to questions of socio-politics and epistemological issues. By discussing these reasons in turn a broad discussion of the study of women in the discipline of archaeology may be developed.

### **To set the record straight: role model and equity research**

One obvious reason for investigating the role of women has been 'to set the record straight' (Sørensen 1988). This is a reaction against a biased, uncritical and to some extent mythologized version of the history of the discipline. It is, for example, commonly stated that women have not been present in the discipline until recently and certainly have not affected the accepted version of how the past was: 'Archaeology has always been interpreted by men and so we have an imbalance in the picture of the past' (WHAM<sup>2</sup> leaflet of the 1980s). Studies of women in the discipline that use such statements aim to correct misrepresentations. The ramifications of such exercises are limited, but it is none the less a significant initial task to recognize and assert the role of women in the history of the discipline and to question why their presence has been ignored both by traditional and recent historiographies.

The reasons for recovering the 'early female archaeologists' have been further argued and elaborated in two rather different and even somewhat contradictory directions, which can be summarized as role model and equity research. Despite their differences both are presentist and have particular political aims.

One direction is based on the argument that the earlier women can be used as role models—a kind of *dignity-research* (Lind 1993:6). It is now commonly assumed that role models are socially significant; they respond to the need for contextualization of the present and the self. The reconstruction of our past in order to understand our present is an important function of historiography. For women, it has become symbolized by Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* (1928), in which she recreated women's tradition in order to explain herself. Like the writer in Woolf's book it is important for contemporary female archaeologists to be allowed to recognize themselves as part of a tradition: to learn that they do not emerge from nowhere, orphans within the profession.

A common concern, however, is that the number involved is limited and their roles in the discipline personal and unique rather than typical. It is also frequently the case that their work is held to be unimportant (see also du Cros and Smith 1993:5), and thus they cannot serve as models—a view which may have discouraged potential researchers. Another interesting phenomenon is that these women often do not 'behave' as we desire them to; analysis of them does not satisfy the researcher's personal agenda and ideals. For example, only a handful of the pioneers were actively involved with the women's movement; Hanna Rydh (see Arwill-Nordbladh in this volume) is one of the few active political-feminist scholars amongst them. Some were even outspokenly opposed to the women's movement and the suffragettes, like Lis Jacobsen (see Bender Jørgensen in this volume), or became so with time, such as Harriet Boyd Hawes (see Picazo in this volume). This does not make them less interesting or significant for the understanding of the discipline; but it does render them emotionally unsatisfying and may subconsciously make them less heroic and of little attraction for substantial research. Another discouraging experience is when a biographer discovers that she or he dislikes the subject. The impression that the person under study is unlikeable interferes subtly with her potential position as a role

model and, as there is not another obvious niche to put her in, she risks being dropped.

Thus, it is probably the case that historiographical investigations of female archaeologists are still burdened by the need for emotional empathy and the desire to find certain qualities and a specified political commitment. It is interesting, however, that the criteria by which the contributions of the female pioneers are evaluated are not themselves critically assessed, and there is an obvious risk of perpetuating certain types of values and of systematically downgrading (and thus erasing) typical female contributions (see also Spender 1982:10–11). While the need for female role models is entirely legitimate, reflection about the nature of role models is required. Are the personal qualities of the female archaeologist relevant, and if so why, and how do we contrast this with the ways in which male archaeologists and their roles and contributions are assessed? Are we, subconsciously, perpetuating stereotypical expectations of desired female virtues superficially dressed with a commitment to feminist politics and emancipation? Whom should we select as our role models: those who were successful? And in what terms shall we evaluate their success? Who would be the more appropriate role model, Dorothy Garrod or Gertrude Caton Thompson? And would either of them have accepted that role? Or, should we aim quite differently in our search for role models and recognize that many women and men, who are now faceless and forgotten, had happy and satisfying employment within the various branches of archaeology?

Historiographic research guided by the search for role models obviously risks ignoring important insights into disciplinary gender politics and ideology since this is not recognized as having any direct bearing on the objectives. This type of analysis should therefore ideally be supplemented by investigations aiming at understanding other aspects of the women and their integration into the discipline. It has also been pointed out that the traditional association of women with particular (low-value) types of work may be perpetuated through role models or mentors (Lucy and Hill 1994:9), and that they risk circumscribing women's involvement in the discipline by confirming invisible barriers and reproducing differences through expectations.

Equity research, meanwhile, has explored the history of women in the field for the opposite purpose of demonstrating their marginalization and suppression and thus establishing the need for change. In historiographic terms this approach, which has been called *misery-research* (Lind 1993:6), has the potential danger of desiring the marginalization of women. Exaggeration of their suppression, or *a priori* assumptions about their contributions as safe and non-inventive, can (un)intentionally colour the studies. This point has also been made by Beard, who in a review of Claassen (1994) suggests that the contributors 'seem much keener on female failure than female success' (1994:7), which means that even success is reduced to 'a pointed reminder of their [women's] failure in the present' (ibid.: 8). A further but related point has been made by Dincauze, who writes: 'The recognition of discrimination is liberating; it removes any stigma of personal failures. At the same time, the claim of effective discrimination is an admission of relative powerlessness' (1992:136).



In addition, historiographic research often disregards the fact that specialist knowledge may be needed in order to assess earlier archaeologists, and in practice such research is often conducted without sufficient critical insight into the person's archaeological work. Thus, the assessment rests heavily upon unspoken expectations of what constitutes importance and originality and often also, it seems, upon ideas about how women *are* and speculation about what they *must* have done to be accepted by the discipline. Another problem arises when the analysis consists of contrasting the characteristics of what men and women do and comparing the nature of their employment. This assumes uncritically that the conditions of men's employment are the desirable ones. While these studies argue that women are systematically under-valued, they do themselves routinely assume that the types of employment women generally gain are secondary. Thus, while the aim is to argue for greater equality, the lack of equity is analysed and valued in terms of the male system. Typically, these otherwise very useful studies focus upon occupational status, full-time employment versus part-time, tenure, degree levels, number of articles published, financial grants, and self-image *vis-à-vis* the profession (see papers in Nelson et al. 1994). Participation and incorporation into the discipline are reduced to questions of quantity and hierarchy. As with role model research, this approach tends to leave untouched the broader questions of gender ideology and politics, and these fundamental issues become equated with the question of numbers.

### **Distinct female contribution**

Another argument is that there is a distinct female intellectual contribution to be discovered and recovered. The absence or scarcity of women in academia is well known, and it has now become legitimate to consider whether this has led to the production of biased, or even false, representations of reality (Harding 1986; Dommasnes 1992:4). This means that the under-representation of women may have a deeper influence on our reconstructed past(s) than is recognized in equity or visibility research. The accepted past, it is argued, has been presented by men and this means that it is seen through a male-created tradition, a man-made language and androcentric epistemologies and practices.

The purpose of historiographic studies influenced by these views is to trace the 'hidden' and silenced voices of women, and to present them as having the potential for an alternative understanding of the past.<sup>3</sup> This, as a reason for historiographic research, is similar to the *feminist reconstructive project* outlined by Harding and Hintikka (1983: x) which aims to identify distinctive aspects of women's experience which can provide resources for the construction of a more representative human understanding.

Whether men and women are different is of course an old question discussed at least since Aristotle. Such discussions, using ideas of biological determinism and women's role in reproduction, have recurrently associated men with culture and women with nature, assigning them different inherent characteristics. The difference between men and women was for example much discussed during the Italian

Renaissance.<sup>4</sup> The debate focused upon whether women and men have the same rational and ethical capacities. One view held that men are universally superior in intellect and virtue, and that women's chastity is their virtue *par excellence*. Women, it was said, are driven by irrational instincts, especially sexual ones, and they therefore need to be kept forever in tutelage by fathers, husbands and brothers. High-achieving women, so the argument went, are possessed by a virile soul trapped by a mistake of nature in a female body. In addition to rationality, differences between the sexes were also articulated in terms of capability for making ethical choices. Men excel in the superior speculative and active virtues needed for a public and professional life, such as fortitude, justice and magnanimity, while women are given the lesser virtues concerned with private life under authority: chastity, meekness and obedience. The other side in the dispute maintained that men and women have the same rational and ethical capacities. Differences in their behaviour are due not to women's innate deficiency but to men's unjust desire to subordinate and to the lack of equal education. This debate has continued with varying intensity ever since these early discussions, and the same binary oppositions between men and women have been drawn. Such views, furthermore, have given ammunition to attitudes of exclusion and ridicule. Meanwhile, the issue of whether men and women are equal *and* same or equal *but* different remains a central concern at many levels, and it necessarily intersects any discussion of women's contribution to knowledge production, past, present and future.

The most prevalent contemporary feminist view on this question states that what counts as knowledge must be grounded in experience. Therefore, since women's experience arguably differs systematically from that of men, then the existing foundation for knowledge claims (created by men) has been partial and distorted (Harding and Hintikka 1983: x). There have, however, also been dissenting voices in this debate. Flax (1987) has, for example, argued that women's experience in itself is not an adequate ground for theory. In practice, the argument has expressed itself at two separate but interlinked levels, one related to power and control (including the evaluation and authorization of knowledge claims), and the other concerned with what constitutes a special female knowledge.

The concern with androcentric knowledge production has, not surprisingly, to some extent been bound up with the project of analysing and challenging the politics of control over knowledge and epistemic authority (Wylie et al. 1989). It is worth noticing, however, that within European archaeology the critique of the discipline in terms of control has mainly been articulated by males and has been formulated within a post-processual agenda heavily influenced by critical theory and post-structuralism (e.g. Bapty and Yates 1990, Tilley 1991). These critiques have not considered androcentricity a particularly central problem (one may even argue that they have perpetuated it), and the gender bias in knowledge production has generally been ignored or only paid lip service (see also Engelstad 1991a, 1991b; but see Tilley 1993:22 and J.Thomas 1995:352 for a partial response). Thus, while archaeology now widely accepts that knowledge is socially constituted, the discipline still effectively disregards gender as part of that social influence. From a gender-critical perspective it can be argued that recent concern with the politics of knowledge (Wylie

et al. 1989) has been used to replace rather than to challenge the nature of existing power structures. Meanwhile, the realization of androcentrism in science raises serious questions about the evaluation of knowledge claims.

The limited epistemological debate within gender archaeology has mainly been concerned with avoiding relativism (Engelstad 1991a:505; Wylie et al. 1989; Wylie 1992); but the ability to do so is dependent upon what is considered to constitute female knowledge and what distinguishes women's practices. If the issue is merely of correcting biases and erasing stereotypes, including ignored data in our analysis and making women visible in the past, then it may be possible to do this within existing epistemologies. Dommasnes (1992:6) has suggested that the first stage of gender archaeology in Norway in fact was possible (in terms of being accepted and not easily refuted) precisely because it closely followed the processualist scientific prescriptions. This, however, also reduced the effectiveness of the questions that could be asked. If, however, the bias is considered also to affect the notion of objectivity and scientism, then a more radical revision of the ways knowledge claims are evaluated is needed. Wylie is currently one of the few to have considered these issues for archaeology. Using the critique of science as androcentric, especially in the works of Harding (1986), she argues that any effective critique of patriarchal science depends on constructive insights about what it is *that traditional theories and methodologies miss when they ignore gender and demean women* (Wylie et al. 1989, my emphasis).

According to Wylie this implies that women scientists must both develop models of scientific rationality that take gender into account and articulate regulative ideals for research practice so that it can incorporate feminist values. Since at the same time Wylie supports the view that women cannot be presumed to possess a distinctive set of cognitive capacities, 'female values' implies 'doing science as feminists' rather than representing other ways of thinking, i.e. this becomes a matter of politics rather than cognition. It is, however, difficult to see how this will avoid relativism, nor is it clear how feminism as such can provide a starting-point for developing models of scientific rationality. These may in fact be more separate fields than Wylie presumes, and some, such as Strathern (1987), hold that the aims of feminism are incompatible with the objective study of society. Another problem arises from the danger of marginalization. If women's knowledge acquires its existence through feminist practice alone, then it may easily become reduced to just another marginal or minority 'voice', and one that is only relevant to feminists. Furthermore, if an aim of archaeology continues to be—in addition and not unrelated to its various contemporary purposes—to understand the variability and dynamics of gender relations over time and space, then a feminist agenda may not alone provide sufficient guidance for its development.<sup>5</sup>

In contrast to Wylie's position, which attempts to unite feminism and a non-relativist rationality as a foundation for knowledge claims and scientific practice, others have explored the idea of difference as a means of creating a place for women's contribution. This is often expressed in assumptions that accord women different intellectual abilities: assigning them greater sensitivity, making them more intuitive, suggesting that they have a different empathy with the past, or stressing

their different experiences generally. This approach has also been used to argue that women's way of thinking is incompatible with, and accordingly suppressed by, notions of objectivity and scientific rigour. Basically, women are assumed to have the ability to 'know' differently, reaching alternative and complementary understandings to those of males. The reasons for such differences are also debated, and are commonly explained either as biologically determined or socially constituted. Depending on how strongly these differences are maintained and the extent to which they are seen to express cognitive abilities, they will affect how men's and women's knowledge claims can be compared. If a strong cognitive separation is argued, it does not necessarily follow that the traditional criteria for evaluating knowledge claims are false, rather that they only apply to men's thinking. It could thus be argued (as at times it is) that knowledge claims by men and women should be assessed within different epistemological frame-works, replicating ideas of the rational, logical male versus the irrational, emotive female. The danger of this causing further marginalization of female academics is obvious, suggesting that this approach should only be accepted within a climate of positive attitudes to gender differences.

Another line of argument is a concern with language itself, and how our existing disciplinary terminology enables certain interests and ways of speaking while suppressing or silencing others. Similar concerns have also been expressed in anthropology (Caplan 1992:83). This demonstrates both tension and strategy in the use of language, such as women using men's language, including its meaning and power. It also hints at the problems of comparing knowledge expressed through a learned language and within disciplinary rules of discourse with that expressed in our other voices. Arwill-Nordbladh has also questioned whether our analytical and interpretative concepts are formulated in such a manner that they perpetuate contemporary gender asymmetries and make certain issues difficult to see or even hide them (1994:35, 45). For instance, as a simple example, archaeology has several metaphorical associations with the military and engineering (as well as real links in terms of experiences and personnel). It has adopted their language of campaigns, trenches, and strategies as well as the practice of a hierarchical 'command' structure, as acknowledged already by Wheeler (1954:2). This may automatically make women invisible or at least de-centre them (Arwill-Nordbladh pers. comm.).

Differences between women and men in their research practices have also been analysed in terms of gender-based division of labour within the profession. One of the earliest studies of this kind was Gero's analysis of 1985. Its widespread use and citation clearly show this was a much-needed report that finally articulated what many had experienced in practice or subconsciously observed: we do not all do the same things. Interestingly, this concern with the differences between men and women has not been used for any substantial exploration of how the presence/absence of women may also affect the sociology of the discipline, although this would be an obvious development and one that relates to practical experiences with which most of us are familiar, whether or not they have been recorded.

Thus, in different ways it may be argued that women have made a unique intellectual (and possibly social) contribution to the discipline. Historio-graphic analysis of women and their works would therefore be important in order to isolate

that contribution, to investigate how it has been received, absorbed or rejected by the discipline, and to rescue these ‘voices’. Alternatively, analysis may suggest that the voices are not distinct (for the situation in social anthropology see Caplan 1992: 79–80). There is, however, an additional and more subtle agenda hidden within this concern, as it also aims to strengthen the perceived difference between male and female contributions. In this context, it is worth speculating whether we can in fact identify a distinctly female contribution in the discipline’s past and contrast this with the recent development of a self-conscious feminist voice within archaeology. It seems that many, if not most, of the earlier female archaeologists deliberately moulded themselves to the expectations of the discipline in terms of its knowledge claims and procedures. At times, they might even have exaggerated their conformity in a subconscious defence against any attack on their professionalism. The importance given to proper professional behaviour is interestingly illustrated by the conflict which arose between Gertrude Caton Thompson and the traveller Freya Stark, when they joined forces to mount an expedition (with the geologist Elinor Gardner) to the Hadhramaut, Yemen, in the winter of 1937–8. Two different styles collided. Stark was self-consciously using her exotic personality, her femininity and other people to gain her objectives. She did, however, have a high reputation as a traveller and cultural geographer, and played a part (somewhat modelled on the earlier role of Gertrude Bell (1868–1926) in the Anglo-Arab politics of the First World War) in Middle Eastern politics and intelligence during the 1930s and 1940s. Caton Thompson was professional: clear-headed, meticulous, and scientific in her planning of the expedition and excavations (Caton Thompson 1983; Izzard 1993: 108–21). Caton Thompson was generally restrained in her remarks on Stark, although the contempt she felt by the end of the season is clear:

And so a frustrating season ended on March 3rd 1938 and packing up began. On that day Freya Stark announced her intention to reach the coast, not by the reversed way of our coming by car, but by the way of camels to the head waters of Wadi ‘Amed. She asked me to accompany her. I refused, my several reasons including...my unwillingness to share in an enterprise with someone whose scruples I had learnt to distrust.

(Caton Thompson 1983:194)

Restraint she may have been, but she did not try to cover up their differences and she ruthlessly dismissed Stark in her report on the expedition to the Society of Antiquaries (Izzard 1993:122). Stark was still less guarded and expressed her scorn for ‘the archaeologists’ in various letters and in her book *A Winter in Arabia* of 1940,<sup>6</sup> which gave a derogatory account of the two academic women, their pedantic scientism and insensitive attitudes towards the local people.

I find that I get through much more with less exertion than my own party. It is far more useful in this climate to sit quiet and make other people do things. A little chat about their family affairs does more to get willing and efficient helpers than all the ordering about in the world. It is a great mistake to look as if you can do anything for yourself if you want people to put themselves out for you.

(quoted in Izzard 1993:116)

In addition to personality clashes and differences in class background, the conflict between these women was also due to their diverse pursuit of knowledge: an objective scientific knowledge as opposed to a personal, subjective experience. Caton Thompson and Gardner did not grant Stark's inter-action with the local people any importance: 'Freya's strategy of accessibility to the people of the wadi was not taken seriously. They couldn't see the point of it, it interfered with the *real* work. "Freya is collecting dresses!" Elinor Gardner exclaimed in a letter home' (ibid.: 118). With her 'professionalism' Caton Thompson profoundly erased non-scientific understanding from her archaeological work and disregarded the importance of ethnography.

It would not be surprising to find that women archaeologists were often attracted to different topics than men, and more often paid attention to items, sources and issues that relate to women's experience. In fact, textile, pottery and to a lesser extent ornament studies seem to have been such female fields. Many of the earlier women who reached high positions as internationally recognized experts worked within these areas. Others, like Hanna Rydh (see Arwill-Nordbladh in this volume) and Margaret Murray (see Champion in this volume), explicitly explored the past through women's history. The overall differences between the work of male and female archaeologists are, however, relatively minor and much of the archaeology produced by the early women in the field corresponds with that of their male colleagues. It is interesting here to note that Tilley's (1989) analysis of the Cambridge inaugural lecture, although not explicitly interested in gender issues, suggests no differences between the one produced by a woman, Dorothy Garrod, and those of Grahame Clark, Glyn Daniel, and Colin Renfrew. It appears that contributions which either are explicitly feminine in content or style or stand out as representing women's voices are rare. The difference in the contribution of men and women might, therefore, have to be recognized as more subtle than the idea of 'different voices' implies. It might in fact often have been expressed through how they did archaeology rather than how they wrote about it.

To find the female 'voice' one may have to look elsewhere. It is in this context noteworthy that several of the early female archaeologists wrote poetry, general fiction or popular prehistoric narratives in addition to their professional work, and some like Amelia Edwards are primarily remembered as writers (Champion, this volume). This is, for example, the case with Winifred Lamb, Johanna Mestorf, Margaret Murray and Hanna Rydh, with Jacquetta Hawkes being a more recent example (Hawkes 1980). It is thus possible that many of the earlier women archaeologists channelled their 'female voice' through a different context than the academic discourse. This suggests that they simultaneously, but in different ways, explored and used the newly available male-dominated field of science and the more

familiar and women-friendly field of literature. Later, women became far more professionalized and socialized into a scientific thinking regime, and those who were highly successful within the discipline, such as Professor Berta Stjernquist (1918–)<sup>7</sup> in Lund, Sweden, are known only through their scholarly production; their potential female voices probably deeply buried or erased by the educational system.

It is, therefore, mainly in recent years that a deliberately feminist voice, which aims at an alternative discourse, can be traced in the academic production of women archaeologists. So far, the most obviously different contributions have come from America, where archaeologists like Conkey, Spector and Tringham in different ways have explored the process of writing in a self-conscious feminist manner. Conkey (1989) and Tringham (1991) have focused on the alternative fictional narrative, that gives imagination and story-telling a place in archaeology, while Spector's volume *What This awl Means* (1993) brings feminist criticism to the whole practice and process of writing archaeology. The use of the first-person pronoun has also begun to characterize some of the writings in both gender and feminist archaeology. This centring of the personal has been given an important theoretical weight by Moore, who argues that first-person pronouns convey a sense of audience and of myself speaking to others, and at a deeper level they reveal the contingency and fragmentation of identity (Moore 1994:8). It is also a challenge to accepted norms of academic discourse (Spector 1993:4).

### **Integration in the discipline**

Another argument for studying women in the discipline is to discover whether women's participation has specific characteristics, how this changes with time and context, and what factors are involved: in short, to comprehend some of the characteristics of archaeology's 'disciplinary culture' and the factors affecting its development. This means investigating whether there are any systematic patterns in women's participation. Did they, for example, work in particular areas such as the often-emphasized involvement in Near Eastern and Egyptian archaeology, or with specific topics and materials, such as the early Medieval period, and in sub-areas, such as conservation, finds processing and pottery? Factors which produce such differences should be analysed. This, however, is an extremely complicated issue, and the familiar nature—nurture distinction has also affected this debate. One side holds that much can be explained by reference to biologically determined behavioural differences. This applies to intellectual pursuits, where women are seen as naturally interested in domestic-like tasks, such as finds processing, and in issues which relate to stereotypical female occupations, like textile production. It also relates to professional behaviour, in that women are assumed to be non-competitive, non-ambitious, and non-aggressive, and to possess typical female virtues incompatible with the demands of the academic world. The other side argues that differences in the integration of men and women are largely socially constructed, that they are the result of contemporary gender ideology. The different integration of

women may then in fact be seen as a survival strategy in a 'hostile' environment that does not grant them equal rights and importance, and where women have had to identify previously ignored or undervalued jobs, or else work abroad, as their ways of accessing the discipline.

The history of archaeology shows that at certain points in time small and distinct groups of women have been part of the academic elite. Despite the tendency to ignore this, their presence can sometimes be 'read between the lines' of existing histories. For instance, Trigger, commenting upon Childe's appointment to the Abercromby chair in Edinburgh (1927), remarks: 'Childe thus joined the small band of prehistoric archaeologists who occupied professional posts in Great Britain' (1980:60). He then mentions 13 prehistorians that he considers professional, of whom two were women (Garrod and Caton Thompson, both at the beginning of their careers). Likewise, Daniel's (1978) history of archaeology accounts in some detail Caton Thompson's work in Fayum, Egypt and mentions her Huxley lectures in 1946 and 1948. He also refers to Garrod's remarks on Palaeolithic studies. Dame Kathleen Kenyon, on the other hand, is only briefly acknowledged.<sup>8</sup> The former two women clearly played important roles in the development of British archaeology from the 1920s to the 1950s, while Kathleen Kenyon, despite public honours and recognition, may be considered a less central and influential figure *within* the profession. The importance of the three women is demonstrated by the various honours and professional acknowledgements that they gained, by their publications and works, but even more by the influence they have had. In this regard, Caton Thompson and Garrod are clearly part of a small academic elite rather than just members of a large profession. They were influential in their time, and their legacies can still be traced within field methodologies, in the importance given to cross-disciplinary co-operation, and through their acknowledged interpretative authority which often played a decisive role in the explanation of archaeological data. Furthermore, the tripos in archaeology at Cambridge, designed by Garrod, is still in use (Beard 1994, Renfrew 1994).

Similar 'clusters' of women may possibly be found in other archaeological milieu, such as Stockholm/Uppsala in Sweden, where women were trained as archaeologists from early in this century, were employed in various capacities, and even gained professorships, as exemplified by Greta Arwidsson (1906–) who in 1956 became the professor of archaeology in Stockholm. Agnes Geijer (1898–1989), a textile expert, and Dagmar Selling (1912–87), working with the Iron Age, are other pioneer women from this milieu (Kaelas 1995). From the 1920s onwards concentrations of women also appear at the research centres in eastern Europe and in the various academic institutions in St Petersburg and Moscow. The histories of these women have not as yet been researched (and the possible effect of the First World War on the academic population can at this point only be guessed at), but their presence can be traced through their publications in various regional journals and monographs. It is, however, also clear that while from the outside these look like exceptional places with a different positive atmosphere, for the early women within them the experience did not substantially differ from other places, as suggested by Lili Kaelas' (1919–) reminiscences about Stockholm in the 1940s and 1950s (Kaelas 1995:113–16).



### Social impact on the discipline and its product

Intellectually, one of the most stimulating motivations for a historiography of women is the possibility of it being used to illuminate how society's gender ideology affects its production of knowledge. There may be stereotyped versions of both maleness and femaleness which legitimize or alternatively suppress certain ways of thinking and certain topics. The close association of ornaments and textiles with women may, for instance, have prevented male scholars from exploring the significant social implications which evidence of appearance provides about the past, while women working in this field have been marginalized. This is clearly demonstrated in Danish archaeology, where the remarkable textile finds from the Bronze Age gave rise to a specialist field for a few women (Margrethe Hald, Elisabeth Munksgård, Lise Bender Jørgensen; see Bender Jørgensen this volume), who did the technological analysis, while their male colleagues only worked with textiles at a generalizing level or employed them in social analysis. The asymmetrical attention accorded to females/femininity and males/masculinity means that women's contribution, whether in the past or as practitioners in the discipline, is systematically down-graded. In particular, women's capacity for innovative thinking and thus for influence is often ignored. Differences in perception of what merits study may also be a significant aspect. This has been influentially demonstrated in social anthropology, when the discipline began to recognize that male and female researchers may represent the same society differently (Moore 1988). These differences, which essentially stem from images of femininity and masculinity, are not overt, and they exist not as an explicit policy but rather as an under-current affecting labour divisions within the academic community. A thorough study of how different types of knowledge, activities and materials are associated with gender may thus also reveal corresponding differentiation in their evaluation. Systematic downgrading of women's contribution has been shown by studies of the archaeological environment in both Norway and the USA, which demonstrate that the contributions from males and females in similar jobs are not given the same prestige in terms of publishers, reviews, and so on (for example, Mandt and Næss 1986). The importance of these studies is that they show the extremely subtle yet effective mechanisms through which difference is maintained. They suggest that since this is largely a matter of mental attitudes rather than explicit policies, solutions must aim at changing the ways we think about our differences and how we value them rather than merely attempting to change our behaviour by rules and regulations. In addition, these studies warn of the eclectic nature of accepted knowledge.

The association of certain abilities and activities with women not only suppresses women's free participation in the generation of knowledge; it also limits men. It should, moreover, be noted that the gender ideology which at any one time influences women's integration in intellectual work, contains largely the same assumptions as those used in the contemporaneous interpretation of the past. Gender ideologies in *our* past and *our* present are linked. It should also be pointed out that the feminist agenda of showing that bias exists in archaeological interpretation cannot be accomplished without this historical dimension, as the interpretations emerge from a complex web

of accepted norms about knowledge and its evaluation. While bias may be easily recognized, it is not that simple to erase unless its roots are traced (see also du Cros and Smith 1993:9).

Another issue is how the creation of knowledge is embedded in a changing society. Over time new opportunities for women's integration in the profession have been created, while other aspects of their gendered identities have remained very stable, such as the notion of femininity and motherhood. Thus various tensions arise both for the individual and as regards the extent to which society can tolerate the involvement of women in professional and public life. The history of archaeology, and in particular the phenomena surrounding its increased professionalism are, of course, at different levels deeply affected by these changes. Parallel to changes in society's norms and expectations of public life, the discipline has developed its own codes of practice and created new types of exclusion in terms of memberships and knowledge. Education, and women's gradual admission to professional qualifications and thus employment, has played a central role in these developments.

In order to keep the women out, each subject had to develop its own codes of unspoken rules, since reference could no longer be made to the commonly held view that women were unsuitable for academic life. In these later stages in the evolution of the discipline of archaeology, women's acceptance and visibility were bound up with issues of prestige, wages and labour divisions. This complexity begins to explain the peaks and troughs in women's inclusion in the discipline. There are clearly periods, such as between the two wars, when women were strongly present in archaeology in places such as Britain and eastern Europe. It also seems that women may have played a quite substantial, although informal, role in the formative years of archaeology during the mid-nineteenth century, when they were involved with recording of ancient remains through travel writings, outings, and gradually also the activities of the societies. They even financed archaeological work (like the 1858 Brixham cave excavation financed by philanthropist Angela Burdett-Coutts (1814–1906) (Bowdoin van Riper 1993:85)). This oscillation in the presence and status of female archaeologists has already been noted by Kathleen Kenyon (1970), but as a part of the disciplinary history it has hardly been noticed. It is, however, significant to investigate the mentality of the discipline, to understand how, as a sub-culture, it strategically creates and re-creates itself in response to its larger contexts, and to analyse how these changes affect its product: the record and interpretation of the past.

### **Characterizing the individual**

A historiography of women will also make it possible to characterize the type of women who engaged with archaeology. The structures and mentality of disciplinary culture affect the behaviour and expectations of the individuals within it and may reveal boundaries in terms of both hierarchy and gender. Thus, the history of the individual can enrich our interpretation of the discipline and will in particular help to identify its structural changes. Narrative biographies can improve our understanding

of the social construction of knowledge and expand our insights into the relationship between the discipline, the disciplinary code, conduct and the individual. Furthermore, biographies arguably have the ability to establish provenance, and can create confrontations between assumed and factual knowledge. Some of these factors will be briefly considered in what follows (see also Díaz-Andreu and Sørensen, this volume).

The gender politics and ideology of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are often described in terms of men and women being allotted to separate domains of activities and authority: the public and the private. During the nineteenth century this separation was gradually challenged and the rhetoric of Victorian feminists refers to the invasion of the male public spheres in contrast to the traditional confinement and belittlement of women. This took place while archaeology, as a practice and a common interest, was coming into being. The women who entered archaeology during this period were therefore integrated both as women *and* as individuals who negotiated a system which was not designed for them. In particular these women did not go through the same educational systems as men, they did not have pre-established roles in public life, and they were challenging expectations of women's lifestyles and temperament.

Gender roles, as social constructions, vary over time; during the nineteenth century the idea of woman and femininity underwent drastic changes as society made new demands on its members. In addition, a number of new contexts created opportunities for potentially formative experiences for many middle- and upper-class women, allowing them new roles and spheres of independent action. One of these was when wives followed the military abroad; another was the Christian mission, where women often played important educational and social roles. Initially many such new roles remained invisible: female missionaries, for example, were formally posted as wives and daughters irrespective of their actual involvement with the work (see papers in Bowie et al. 1994). Gradually, however, women gained a certain independence and began to be professionals in their own right. Another edifying new practice was the Grand Tour, which during the nineteenth century became increasingly popular, with ever more exotic destinations (Wilton and Bignamini 1996). Living abroad for long periods, for either financial or health reasons, also became common amongst the upper-middle and upper classes. Agatha Christie (1890–1976) and Gertrude Caton Thompson both had such experiences, as their mothers spent time in Egypt and the Mediterranean for health reasons, and their comments are revealing:

Of these [travels], at the age of 11, Sicily and Rome stand out in memory because, in the ruins of Eurylus and the Palatine, I felt the first stirrings of interest in past civilisations.

(Caton Thompson 1983:43–4)

Cairo, from the point of view of a girl, was a dream of delight. We spent three months there, and I went to five dances each week...A good many people went out for the winter, and many of them were mothers and daughters.

(Christie commenting on her visit to Egypt in 1907 (1977:172))

Such experiences may have bred a certain arrogance, but they also developed a competence with regard to expedition-like conditions and a familiarity with the 'other'. This may be among the main factors behind the relatively high number of women involved with archaeology in Britain in a more or less formal capacity towards the end of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth century.

Women remained, however, restricted in various ways, and it is worth remembering that women in most European countries first gained inheritance rights towards the end of the nineteenth century or later. This symbolizes their tutelage by and reliance on men, especially in terms of livelihood. Fear of spinsterhood was not just a result of social pressure but was also due to the real economic consequences of the unmarried state for many women. At the turn of the century economic independence and access to professional education began to change the choices and lives available to these women, but various constraints remained, both visible and invisible.

During this time women were effectively excluded from circles of social, political and economic power. In the field of archaeology, they were usually denied membership of the various societies altogether, or permitted to become supporting members but denied the right to vote. Nor did they have access to the club culture through which social ties were made, policies drafted and loyalties created. Thus, the ability to participate in the formal decision-making processes was often withheld from them. Participation in academic and intellectual networks was also severely restricted, and for most women it was exceedingly difficult to affect the development of archaeology in any direct manner until after the Second World War. There are exceptions, such as Johanna Mestorf, who played an important role in the development of archaeology in northern Europe (see Díaz-Andreu and Sørensen, this volume). Such cases are not just exceptions that prove the rule; on the contrary they must be fully incorporated into our emerging understanding of gender as a component of academic discourse.

It is often explicitly assumed that if women participated in archaeology they must have come from the upper classes. Embedded in this assumption is a notion of archaeology as a leisure-time pursuit: the women were not really seriously engaging with the profession, they were merely treating it as a pastime. Not needing an income, they could amuse themselves with archaeology, which provided exotic associations with travel, explorations and discovery without being dangerous. In fact, the women in archaeology's past are far more varied than that. Some were indeed upper-class, but most were solidly middle-class, and they engaged in archaeology without financial security. There were, however, probably no working-class women (or men) involved in the early history of archaeology in capacities other than illicit robbing or paid diggers.

Even those women who were financially secure should not for that reason be dismissed from the histories as having no serious commitment to the field. The Duchess of Mecklenburg (Figure 2.1), born Princess Marie of Windischgrätz, excavated during the period 1905–14 several extremely important Iron Age sites in Austria and Slovenia of which the famous cemetery at Hallstatt and her work at Stična are worth particular mention (Wells 1981). Contemporary recognition of her

work is reflected in the many academic visitors to her excavations, including Montelius in 1913 (Wells 1981: 48), when he was an internationally acclaimed scholar. The duchess, further-more, did not merely act as a figurehead for the excavation; her active involvement with the work is indicated both by the photographic archive and contemporary descriptions.<sup>9</sup> Photographs may of course be staged, but the fact that the duchess wears an apron (part of her digging uniform) on many of the pictures suggests that they show real site situations (see for example Wells 1981, figure VI, 85 and 129).

A common characteristic particularly of the earlier women in the profession is that they were either unmarried or married to an archaeologist. People met on excavations, excursions, through their participation in the work of societies, and later on at the universities, and marriages resulted (J. and C. Hawkes 1949:165). In Clark's *Prehistory at Cambridge and Beyond* (1989), of the 25 women listed in the index at least eight married archaeologists. Marriage is often assumed to have hindered the woman in fulfilling her professional ambitions, and individual stories show that this was often the case: the woman 'sacrificed' her career to raise the family or withdrew from competition with her husband (for further discussion see Díaz-Andreu and Sørensen, this volume). At times, however, marriage to another professional did create mutual support (as suggested by Malmer 1995:128-9); sometimes, too, it actively helped the woman in her work as the partner could give male support and solidarity and possibly provide greater freedom of movement and of activity, since the married woman was less subject to social censorship than the single one. In some cases, such as that of Hilda Petrie (1871-1957) the shared interest could further the woman's involvement in the field (Drower 1985:237, 243, 248). It would not necessarily have increased their visibility, however, and there has been a tendency to assume that the female member of a partnership played a passive supportive role. Women in professional partnerships, however supportive the private relationship, have rarely been given full credit for their work, either by themselves or the discipline. The tendency for both partners in marriages between archaeologists to work in the same field and often on the same sites, furthermore, makes it difficult for later biographers to unravel their individual contributions, as with Tessa and Mortimer Wheeler. In their case there have been declared attempts to 'rescue' Tessa and to show how in fact she was the practising field archaeologist, and that the management and daily decision-making on famous excavations such as Maiden Castle were in fact mainly done by her (Hudson 1981:106); but as yet their separate identities as archaeologists have not been properly established. One of the difficulties is that wives would often have done things in their husbands' names, even down to writing their reports and publications. Hilda Petrie, who continued editing and publishing her husband's manuscript after his death, helped her husband throughout her life 'with the preparation of the plans and drawings for the excavation report, reading through his text and sometimes re-writing whole sentences to make them more intelligible' (Drower 1985:248).

The professional independence of married archaeologists depended, however, upon the nature of their marriage, the society's perception of their role and their own



*Figure 2.1* The Duchess of Mecklenburg excavating an Iron Age grave at Stična in 1913 (source: Peabody Museum, Harvard University)

personality. Hilda Petrie, for example, appears to have deliberately chosen to remain in the shadow of her famous husband.

There were, however, also many unmarried women involved with archaeology, in particular after the First World War when multitudes of young men were killed and expectations of marriage changed. It is noteworthy that these women often worked in what have been described as all-women groups on excursions and excavations, particularly abroad (e.g. Beard 1994). Two interesting points emerge. First, a kind of female support system which extended to their joining forces in applications for grants and uniting their strengths in cross-disciplinary collaborations existed. This system is largely invisible as it does not take the familiar form of clubs and societies, but works on a more personal, informal level. But the result was often very effective, both in securing grants and in generating high-quality academic products. Nevertheless, it often either remains unrecognized, certainly compared to the status of the male network, or may be looked at with a certain suspicion. The sexuality of these women—unmarried, professional and in female work-teams—may be questioned or cause a certain unease, and speculations about homoerotic friendships easily arise. The second point worth notice is the embedded chauvinism and potential racism in descriptions of the all-female teams. The women worked with many men

on their excavations, but as these were usually African, Near Eastern or working-class they are de-sexualized and erased from our vision. It seems that while unmarried white women might encounter problems working and living in the field with white males, it was not in the least frowned upon for them to spend several months alone in the company of black men.<sup>10</sup>

While the effects of marriage were clearly differently exploited and negotiated by different women, motherhood was a far more socially restrictive role. Motherhood is still widely considered a sacred role that cannot be compromised through career choices. Female archaeologists' reflections upon this often reveal anguishing choices and doubts; those women who were able to combine motherhood with their work often assume that they were themselves unusual, very lucky, or more supported than others. Meanwhile, women who did not become mothers often experienced this as failure at a deeply personal level. The attitude towards motherhood at the time when archaeology was coming of age is vividly illustrated by the reception of the play *A Doll's House* by the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen (trans. 1879). The main character of the play, Nora, suddenly realizes that hers is a 'doll-life' and, in a necessary, emancipatory move towards discovering who she is, she leaves her husband and abandons their two children. She has to 'die as a doll to live the life of a woman' and a person, but her freedom is at a terrible cost: her children (Durbach 1991). The play was performed widely in Europe and North America around the turn of the century and became a *cause célèbre*. In Europe, however, while the play caused much commotion, it 'did not precipitate heated debate about feminism, women's rights, or male domination. The sound and fury were addressed to the very question...What wife and mother would ever walk out in this way on her family?' (Durbach 1991:14). Nora's actions were repeatedly attacked as unnatural behaviour, and her transformation was pronounced an impossibility and ridiculous (ibid.: 16). For instance, Ibsen was obliged to provide an alternative ending for the German production as the leading lady refused to perform on stage an action that she would have found abhorrent in life. Modern feminism has celebrated Ibsen as the first playwright, since the Greeks, to challenge the myth of male dominance (for example, Millett 1970); however, Ibsen's point is that for Nora to 'sin' against herself may be a worse 'sin' against her children than leaving them. Reflecting upon women in the late Victorian world he comments:

These women of the modern age, mistreated as daughters, as sisters, as wives, not educated in accordance with their talents, debarred from following their mission, deprived of their inheritance, embittered in mind—these are the ones who supply the mothers for the new generation. What will be the result?

(Ibsen quoted in Durbach 1991:77–8)

To him humans are trapped between the seductive and soul-destroying security of the doll's house and the frightening emptiness of the freedom beyond the door (ibid.: 94). Expressed dramatically, this situation captures a sense of the real tension and pain that can be embedded in career-choices and how, owing to the unique value of motherhood, this difficulty is particular to the life of women. This conflict is still



*Figure 2.2* Hilda Petrie in Egypt, 1897–8 (source: Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology)



with us today, and many female archaeologists who combine both roles feel the pressure that it exercises upon our lives. It is still taken for granted that the nurturing mother belongs in the private sphere and there is no room for her in the public domain of academia.

It is, however, also important to recognize that personal factors, unpredictable coincidences and oscillations in trends and ideologies have affected women's position in archaeology. A comparison between Denmark and Sweden illustrates this. In the former, women have always been and still are in a minority and this is particularly the case for university posts. In the latter, where one of the key figures in the development of the discipline, Oscar Montelius, strongly supported the suffragette movement, a consistently more positive climate for women (at least in the moderate sense of not prohibiting them) has prevailed. Swedish assessments of this situation therefore stress a strong emancipatory tradition in their profession (Arwill-Nordbladh 1989, 1991; Welinder 1987). These differences between two neighbouring regions with similar recent histories and socio-political traditions demonstrate the need for historiographies to take account of variations in the ability to circumvent and change existing practices and attitudes.

#### THE CREATION OF (IN)VISIBILITY AND (IN) SIGNIFICANCE

The sections above have outlined the main arguments for a separate historiography of women. How this may fit into a broader programme of critical historiography or gender studies has not been considered, although as a final point it should be stressed that to reach the insights called for a systematic analysis of women's participation in archaeology must be interwoven with the social history of women and the intellectual and social history of archaeology. The discipline did not create its own gender politics but was in various ways affected by and responding to existing contemporary gender ideologies. Archaeology none the less also provided a distinct context—with its own traditions and its own self-image—in which these social relations were played out. At this basic level gender relations were involved in the shaping of archaeological knowledge and practices.

Why, then, is the history of the discipline produced without recognition of these elements? Much work remains to be done before the mechanisms of selecting and forgetting can be properly revealed, but it is possible at this stage to provide some suggestions. A fundamental factor is the contemporary society's image of the profession and thus whom it recognizes as its practitioners. While male and female jobs and integration in archaeology were not clearly laid out from the beginning, and early archaeological activities often overlapped with travelling and exploration generally, it can be argued that as it became institutionalized and professionalized archaeology also became increasingly masculinized and exclusive. And there was no parallel construction of an identity as a female archaeologist. The absence of a female model possibly had two effects. On the one hand it meant that no clear restrictions or limitations were in fact imposed on the women who participated, allowing them to

carve original and personal positions within the discipline; but on the other hand, and probably of greater practical impact, women were quite simply not thought of as archaeologists. This male stereotyping has been so strong that it still colours both the public and professional image of archaeology, unaffected by the increasing number of women now participating in the profession. It is possible that the practical aspect of archaeology, where (in contrast to, for example, the role as anthropological observer) the researcher is involved in stereotypically male physical activities, has created an additional barrier to recognition of women. Therefore, although it is well known that women were members of societies, conducted excursions, organized lecture series, and played parts at all levels in the production of an archaeological record, this is still assumed to be irrelevant to the development of the discipline. Women are made into a muted group (Kehoe 1992). In addition, women often collaborated in this strategy of invisibility and thus wrote themselves out of the disciplinary past.

The history of the discipline is, moreover, part of a larger context: it consists of more than the activities of famous individuals. The social context in which knowledge was produced and the archaeological record shaped must be understood in order to comprehend the intellectual and physical frame-work that has been generated and within which we now work. Women and gender politics were part of these influences, and women must be re-integrated into the disciplinary history—whether they were active, accomplished, influential, or whatever—since they and institutional reactions to them are part of what made the discipline. A major problem, however, is that historiography in general has not appreciated the self-regulatory nature of the discipline—how it makes itself. Attention to the processes (largely of selection) that create disciplinary closure and awareness of how knowledge claims are evaluated are therefore needed. Archaeologists, women as well as men, are commonly valued according to their perceived contribution to dominant views or else are treated as exotic or rejected as amateurs. So far, our historiographies have ignored these issues of selectivity and dominance, and as a result we do not know how our disciplinary history has been constructed. In attempting to establish how women disappear, one is further-more restricted to those women who, in the first place, made their presence known—generally a small and select group. In publications, and in acknowledgements, emphasis on intellectual contribution, originality and innovation has been used to create a division between those who mattered and those who did not. This has become a history which is continuously kept alive by the addition of a few more selected persons. Against it stands a different historiography that aims to problematize the discipline's past in order to understand its present. Another obvious factor is that while hundreds of women and men have been employed in supportive jobs within the universities, museums and antiquity services, the discipline has drawn its profile on the basis of the idea of primary research, thus ignoring much of its own practice. Its intellectual history has become equated with its history *per se*. When at the same time women are not considered as serious intellectual beings there is a double erasure of women from the disciplinary memory.

A further point worth consideration is whether women's participation in and contribution to archaeology, both shaped by and received in a male-dominated society, in fact loses its distinct character. The successful women are not invisible as

archaeologists; rather they have disappeared as women. To re-institute *women* as archaeologists may then involve a different shape of knowledge. Writing the history of women in archaeology is not just a question of women archaeologists being made visible, but also of how this is achieved. In order for this type of analysis to enlighten as well as problematize, giving visibility must be combined with making transparent how, previously, the discipline could so easily ignore both its women and its gender politics. This may engender new forms of critical and reflexive engagement with the discipline and its history. In the end this is the most fundamental argument for historiographies of women in archaeology.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank Christopher Evans for endless discussions about historiography, the nineteenth century, British archaeology, and the role of women. Although we did not always agree, his insights into these issues and critical comments upon my ideas have been very inspiring and formative. For reading and commenting upon the manuscript, Margarita Díaz-Andreu, Susan Thomas and Christopher Evans are warmly thanked. Needless to say, while their ideas have influenced the paper they do not necessarily agree with it.

#### NOTES

- 1 Social anthropology, for instance, had until recently only commented on its female practitioners in passing. An edited account of a limited number of women fieldworkers has now been published (Ardener 1992).
- 2 WHAM stands for the organization 'Women in History and Museum'.
- 3 This same tendency is found in literature, where the Women's Press during the 1970s and 1980s often literally gave voice to 'silenced' female writers. It is currently also demonstrated in the creation of various women's series in academic publications such as the 'Women of Ideas' series from Routledge.
- 4 These comments on the debate on the nature of women in the Italian Renaissance are based on a book exhibition, 'Women and Books in Renaissance Italy', The British Museum 1995.
- 5 It is interesting that post-processual archaeology has generally been undergoing the same progression as regards the question of how knowledge is evaluated. This means that it has increasingly withdrawn from the more radical claims of relativism, which argued for politics and ethics alone as the basis for knowledge claims, and replaced them with a notion of the resistance of the material object. For a discussion of the role of subjectivity in archaeology see S.Thomas (1996).
- 6 Stark's spitefulness towards Caton Thompson is evident in the original intended title of the book, *Newnham in Africa*, referring to the latter's connection to Newnham College, Cambridge (Izzard 1993:126).
- 7 The dates are provided only if they are not found in the introductory chapter to this volume.

- 8 This may partly be because the last chapters, added in the 1978 edition, are less thoroughly researched.
- 9 The activities of the duchess are briefly but vividly captured in the comments from visitors published by Wells (1981:17).
- 10 For the subtle presence of racism even within an apparent liberal view see for example Caton Thompson's description of her work in Zimbabwe (Caton Thompson 1983) and also Hall's comments on her interpretation (Hall 1995).

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# ARCHAEOLOGY OF FRENCH WOMEN AND FRENCH WOMEN IN ARCHAEOLOGY

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The end of a century and the end of a millennium: it is in a context of global crisis—the collapse of great unifying paradigms and the general questioning of collective identities—that archaeology today is asked to reveal cultural specificities and nationalist traits. The discourse about women, on the other hand, appeared as a defence against the rise of fundamentalisms, and is essentially universalist.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, both the journey of women and the practice of archaeology in any given country are shaped by one and the same intellectual logic (that of a community organizing the way in which it sees the world). An examination of the role and the place of women in French archaeology is therefore primarily a question of French history and French sociology.

Such an inquiry leads one to pose another question, a question which is totally emblematic of the French situation: why is there no gender archaeology in France? And asking it, in turn, leads one to discover a wider conundrum: why is feminism so peaceful and moderate in France? There is, in fact, no university department of women's studies.<sup>2</sup> Books and theses devoted to women are not only infrequent but, above all, do not propose a reinterpretation of history in the light of women's history. The historian Mona Ozouf (1995a:11) emphasizes that, 'deprived of that militancy which transforms feminine misfortune into honour', they only propose additions, and 'do not contrast collectively guilty men and collectively victimised women'. In looking for a way to elucidate this French 'singularity' (Ozouf 1995a, 1995b) or 'exception' (Badinter 1992, 1995b), we have to go back to History. And in doing so, I will take up the argument made by Ozouf.

## THE SELF-RELIANCE OF FRENCH WOMEN (WHICH AMERICAN FEMINISTS MISTAKE FOR TIMIDITY)

In the eighteenth century travellers from across the Channel considered France as the land of women, a nation where women were intelligent. At the time, the fact that men and women mixed in the salons and that they freely associated in all areas of social life came as a surprise to the British. Throughout their history the British have not so much been preoccupied with cohesion (the union of different parties) as with coherence (the absence of conflict). Hence they are less sensitive to integration than



to tolerance, less attentive to social relationships than to the moral contract which, in the UK, *unites* communities and individuals while respecting their specificities.

Ozouf (1995a:323–38) first links this English astonishment to the difference between the two political regimes.<sup>3</sup> The English monarchy, where the sovereign cannot decide anything without the authorization of parliament, hides a republican government in which an entity (without a formal legal framework)—the law—rules. France, on the other hand, is an absolute monarchy. It is certainly civilized (the king's subjects are protected from the king by law), but it is unambiguous: state and king are one.<sup>4</sup> In contrast to the situation in England, in France the regime does not demand, from the constituent entities of the nation, any participation in the affairs of state. Instead, it requires allegiance to the king, and does not accord any particular rights to one group or another. As a result, men (not occupied by the traditionally virile activities of the Anglo-Saxons) can dedicate themselves, just like women, to role-playing and to the social relationships which bind the nation and give it its cohesion,<sup>5</sup> as well as its diversity: no law (except that of good manners) or parliament intervenes to balance or regulate differences in status, title, rank, and job, nor to limit the pretensions and ideals which structure French society by creating networks of influence and currents of thought. As a result, the French are both deeply individualistic and, through their networks, profoundly interdependent. And in this world of differences, in which the inevitable confrontation with the central powers provokes solidarity between different groups, sexual difference is but one difference among others, negligible in the light of differences in condition. This ethic still functions today, so that a marriage is not an antinomial relationship 'woman/man' but the formation of a *couple* within a social (family or domestic) network, sticking together in the face of challenges from the public, employers or political powers.<sup>6</sup>

It can thus be seen that the singularity of the French is a matter both of custom and of collective representation. In France—where the religious rights of the Protestants were revoked in 1685, and secularization began in the eighteenth century—morality is not puritan. On the contrary, sexuality is expressible, and expressed, by means of socially coded behaviour: gallantry, 'libertinage', even 'gauloiseries' (spicy stories) or 'grivoiseries' (smutty stories). The French have effectively succeeded in transforming an intrinsically egoistic and individualistic action—sexuality—into a means of producing cohesion and social relationships. Or in Mona Ozoufs (1995a) words, in France it is hard to believe that violence is lying in wait behind all relationships between men and women. Hence, in contrast to Americans, the French distinguish between the good manners necessary for social life on the one hand, and those civic duties (the devotion of the citizen to the nation) which demand the denial and control of private passions, on the other. Thus, when the behaviour of the French is uncivil, it is because—when the action of everyone is directed towards the common good of all—sociability finds itself confused with public order. In such circumstances gallantry and sexuality are taboo, privacy and women are restricted to the domestic quarters which serve as a refuge from the uniformity of democratic society and the excessive intervention of the state. That is why manners always prevail over laws which are regarded as abstract, repressive and controlling. France is a country

of liberties (to be lived) rather than human rights (to be defended): the individual who does not conform to the law is not, for all that, asocial or alienated.

As a consequence, and in contrast to the United States (where the idea of human rights was first instituted), individuals matter less than the social relationships which they serve to establish, and the content of a conversation is less important than the act of having that conversation (Carrol 1987). Thus, if the French invite you repeatedly to dine, despite the fact that they have nothing to say to you, it is because the social link takes precedence over any other consideration. This disrespect is a 'savage' aspect of French society, in which 'constitutional laws' and 'individual' acts remain abstract concepts, whereas social solidarity makes sense. The prestige of having a social role to play is generally preferred to the guarantee of having a particular right to defend; not because the French would be more devoted than others to the group, but because taking charge of a collective task leads to collective gratitude and recognition of one's ego. In this context, there is a reluctance to imagine anything that would appear to make women a separate category. Besides, it should be kept in mind that France remains a deeply agricultural country. As Ursula Paravicini (1990) has underlined, peasant activities constantly mix the sexes, so that the persistence of small family farms has reduced the exposure of women to the kind of large-scale social habitat which, elsewhere, has transformed domestic space into a trap of confinement and changed the role of women from that of the traditional housewife, the centre of a network of neighbours, to that of an individual responsible for managing the privacy of the home. Incidentally, the overlap between the place of work and the dwelling place (where the woman reigns) and, beyond that, of an open boundary between the public and the private persisted in France until well into the twentieth century because, in most of the country, industrialization and the modernization of production and the means of communication did not occur until after the Second World War.

As a result, women in France consider themselves as human beings rather than as women, and attach more value to their social role (traditional or not) than to their rights as women. The freedom that they covet is not linked to any particular group membership but to the right of individuals to look after themselves; it is therefore difficult for them to look upon themselves as a minority, and they would not like to owe their position and/or their success to a quota system. Thus, according to Mona Ozouf (1995a:377), it is the radicalism of French ideas (not their timidity) and the self-reliance of women which explains the slow development of the suffragette movement for women's right to vote.<sup>7</sup> It may also explain why a women's revolution, such as American feminists might have expected, has not occurred in France. Women in France have a different set of vital priorities<sup>8</sup> and a different relationship to political power.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, they have now obtained a very powerful and egalitarian arsenal of laws which covers all areas of life, apparently without modifying male sexism or the relationship between women and men.<sup>10</sup> And in search of an explanation one might point out that, even in the French Revolution, women spoke about utility and justice rather than about their rights, and they were eventually ready to sacrifice their personal interests for the nation.

The French Revolution produced a remarkable contradiction, between the universal equality of individuals and the exclusion of women from citizenship, which Anglo-American feminists never cease to denounce. It was, however, never a question of excluding women, but rather of uniting them with men in pursuit of the common good, and giving the same lay education and instruction to everyone. In fact, granting women their civil, professional and political rights meant giving 'the people' all their rights. But the rights of the people were directly opposed to the rights of the liberal bourgeoisie which was, at that moment, coming to power. That bourgeoisie was evidently not concerned with the circumstances of the workforce, but with obtaining the right to free enterprise (that is with freeing production, and the economy in general, from the corporatism of the Medieval guilds). In that context, the demands of women were only of limited importance compared to those related to the new socio-economic conflicts which were brewing. One could fear that extreme egalitarianism (the non-differentiation of functions, actions and spaces) would either lead to uniformization of the sexes or to competition between them. The viability of a community depends on its coherence, which is in turn based on the articulation of two categories of socially abstracted elements.<sup>11</sup> These are, on the one hand, the rules and standards common to a society, those which serve to define morality and collective identity (in other words, what we consider 'universal'); and on the other hand, the individual entities which constitute that society. Thus, and contrary to what diehard supporters of neo-liberalism believe, solitary individuals could not oppose society head-on, and society could not be reduced to law. In effect, a social system is at the same time both concrete cause and consequence of the interaction of collective representation and individual idiosyncrasy.<sup>12</sup> The affirmation of self as an imprescriptible value can only lead to a denial of the universal, and the triumph of individual particularities only appears at times of crisis, when the indicators of collective identification start to fluctuate. This is exactly what is happening in today's crisis of the 'western' cultures, which I referred to in my introduction.

It is in this context that we must look at the social paradox encapsulated in Camille Sée's law (of 1880) concerning secondary schools for the daughters of the bourgeoisie. In it, the state tried to preserve the specific nature of femininity. But when it came to schools for the daughters of the people, the republicans developed educational standards strictly parallel to those for boys (with the exception of practical work): school was non-denominational and reflected absolute standards, heedless of any difference, including regional diversity. The centralized state thus played a decisive role in the access of women to the masculine world. It was the state which, at the end of the nineteenth century, was to favour the appearance of a new sort of person (the (un)married female teacher)<sup>13</sup> and a previously unknown type of couple (that of married teachers). It made the difference between the sexes a reason to justify, rather than to reject, a similarity of career path, mixed teaching, and the familiarity of business between men and women (Ozouf 1995a: 365–74). Indeed, it would normalize these new social formations. School is in fact the place where the child continues to assimilate the (invisible and long-lasting) basic categories which are initially inculcated by the mother, and which constitute the long-term foundation of the intellectual logic which organizes the manner in which a society, and the

culture to which it belongs, perceive the world. Mona Ozouf is correct in her assertion that the real French singularity probably resides in its republicanism, which makes everything dependent on education and scholarly equality. It is in teaching that the decisive long-term victories for women were won. The numbers speak for themselves: in 1963, 43 per cent of French university students were women as against 32 per cent in England and 24 per cent in West Germany; in 1995, their number had grown to 55 per cent in France. In 1993, 58 per cent of the students who successfully passed the baccalaureat were girls; in 1990, more than 50 per cent of university lecturers and scientists were women. Women made up 50 per cent of the total number of pre- and proto-historians recruited by the National Centre of Scientific Research between 1992 and 1995. With an increase of more than 75 per cent in the number of women employed between 1982 and 1990, the managerial and intellectual professions constitute the most feminized socio-professional category in France (31 per cent in 1992).

Let us be clear. As far as men go, France is not different: most men are sexist there, like everywhere else. As Elisabeth Badinter (1992, 1995a) says, the problem is not how to be a woman but how to become a man. One reality which illustrates this perfectly is the command 'be a man', which is so often heard and so emblematic: does one ever tell a little girl to be a woman? Simone de Beauvoir conflated the state of woman and the state of the individual. Unlike her (Beauvoir 1949), Elisabeth Badinter (1992, 1995a) has shown very nicely that a woman does not become a woman: she is born as such; but the affirmation of her individuality is acquired during a long process of appropriation, as is the individuality of men. As for manhood and virility, they are acquired by resolving the Oedipus complex, and by negating femininity through a long process of initiations, separations and affirmations of masculinity.<sup>14</sup> Few men survive this mutilating break with the world of women with serenity and without sexist repercussions. The Baruya society of New Guinea, which I visit regularly, is a good example of this. In the heart of a masculine space forbidden to women (the men's house) the Baruya men initiate the boys of the tribe over a period of several years. They become men in a context of repression by men. This construction of masculinity is conceived of as a second birth, and acts like a means to avail oneself of female power (Godelier 1982, 1986).<sup>15</sup> But it would be wrong to assume that Baruya men see themselves as intrinsically superior to women. To be convinced of this, one only has to observe their fear of the feminine which manifests itself, for example, in the pollution which they attribute to menstruation and childbirth, in the perpetual verbal denigration of women, or in the self-alienating acts which they practise in order to avoid contact with the feminine world. The women do not misunderstand the situation, and except in situations involving physical brutality they mock them continuously. Are the male clubs which are to be encountered at all levels in English society, and the university colleges of Cambridge or Oxford (which were for so long inaccessible to women), not performing the same role in masculinization as the Baruya men's house?

FRENCH ARCHAEOLOGY OR THE INCONGRUITY OF AN  
ARCHAEOLOGY OF GENDER

The particularity of the French situation which I have evoked above is not odd if one situates oneself in the more abstract framework of relations between feminine and masculine, which the English language approaches under the term gender. Although the French word 'genre' is at the origin of the English word 'gender', the Anglo-American idea of gender does not exist in French; the French language generally uses the concept of gender in a restricted, semantic way, that of the grammatical gender of words. Actually, genre commonly signifies species, sort, type, manner, air, way (expressions which could be translated into English as 'kind'; 'kind' and 'gen' have in fact the same Indo-European root), but it does not express the Anglo-American concept of gender.<sup>16</sup> The particularity of French attitudes to the relationship between women and men is evidently one reason but, to a lesser degree, the French language is also responsible for the absence of a French gender archaeology.

For about a decade, an American movement<sup>17</sup> has argued in favour of a cultural approach to 'gender', opposing it to the biological idea of 'sex';<sup>18</sup> gender was thus conceived as an element in a system of thought and of collective representation, that is, as a sexual orientation culturally acquired by individuals. But the idea of 'gender archaeology' is difficult to understand for the French, and not only because the term 'gender' is untranslatable. It is quite simply incongruous for a French-speaker, who has always conceived of everything (beings, objects, space, action, concept, etc.) in terms of a grammatical gender specifically feminine or masculine/neutral (the masculine gender is also used to express the undifferentiated and unsexed form).<sup>19</sup> When feminine and masculine words are associated in the same expression, the determinant, the epithet, the adjective or the pronoun representing the two nouns occur in the undifferentiated form, and not in the masculine gender as many think. In the same way, certain nouns have only one gender, whatever the sex of the person or animal designated.<sup>20</sup> This obligation to think in the feminine or the masculine has important implications for individual and collective imagination: one often plays, for example, on the ambiguity of those nouns which change meaning when they change gender,<sup>21</sup> or on the gender of a personal noun when it does not conform to the sex.<sup>22</sup> The French (particularly singers, writers, journalists, songwriters, etc.) move from one sphere to another<sup>23</sup> without needing to deconstruct or to transgress.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, this grammatical omnipresence of masculine and feminine genders favours the sexualization of things well beyond syntax: for example, kindness, justice, death, revolution, homeland, agriculture, the sea or the republic are generally symbolized by a woman. And as a result, angels have one sex: in everyone's subconscious, they are boys.

Thus, the idea that an observation as traditional as the categorization of things according to their gender could be considered a new paradigm has somewhat surprised the majority of French anthropologists and archaeologists—who have often ridiculed it. However, there is no doubt that anthropologists and archaeologists in France, as elsewhere, are interested in the cultural and social relationship of the feminine and the masculine. But they do not have as strong a tendency to limit their

investigation to the simple relationship of men and women, and even less to reduce women to the rank of an ethnic or sexual minority. And one thing is certain: whether history of language, history of customs, or just history, in this grammatically sexed country the archaeology of gender is not a priority. That probably explains the general absence of any French reflection on the idea of gender in works which address the idea, even when the perspective is transcultural,<sup>25</sup> so that when they addressed the idea of gender, Joan Gero and Margaret Conkey (1991:10) could divide the world into only two cultural categories. With the turn of a single phrase, they distinguished Anglo-American cultures on the one hand, and non-western cultures on the other, thus bypassing the whole of continental Europe.<sup>26</sup>

## WE MEET A SMALL NUMBER OF WOMEN AND MEN

Given French co-education, one might have expected women to have played a role, if not a key role, in the development of French archaeology. But one would be disappointed when searching for the name of a woman in the book which Alain Schnapp (1993) devoted to the origins of archaeology. In the two millennia which he covers with erudition, he can only call forth one woman who took an interest in the material study of the past: she was Chinese and lived in the twelfth century AD (1993:77–8). The first female antiquarian, and the first woman of letters, she left an extraordinary auto biographical account of the state of mind of the collector of the past, as a postface to her husband's book *Archives of Stones and Metal*.

The fact that very few people looked after antiques in France was probably not unrelated to the very small number of women who were interested in them: two (Jane Dieulafoy and Madeleine Colani) of these have played an important role as pioneers. Their personalities were deeply different, but both were inflected by the intellectual co-education mentioned above, and neither ever questioned the fact they acted in a men's world.

The combination between masculinity and femininity was displayed by Jane Dieulafoy (1851–1916) in an ostentatious manner, both in her dress (she wore masculine clothing for convenience) and in the couple she made with her husband Marcel Dieulafoy (Gran-Aymerich 1991). Being a faithful and devoted spouse did not prevent her from leading the life of a man; being the indefatigable support of her 'companion at arms' (whom she accompanied in the war against Prussia and Germany) did not prevent her from being an explorer and the first female archaeologist in France. She was in no way masculine or a libertine, but a liberated woman who espoused femininity and masculinity with serenity. As an intrepid explorer who did not flinch from danger, and as someone interested in architecture and history of art, she accompanied her husband to Morocco, Egypt and Persia. Their excavation campaigns at Susa were for her a 'revolutionary project against the desire to live a lazy and comfortable life'. As an established archaeologist she edited and published the excavation journals, recorded the objects and the bricks of Darius' palace, and supervised their reconstruction in the Louvre (Dieulafoy 1887, 1888). As an honoured woman of letters, she gave lectures and published literary works and

historical novels (Dieulafoy 1890, 1892, 1893a, 1893b, 1894, 1897). Masculinity and femininity characterized her to the end. When she was directing the excavations at a mosque near Rabat, in 1914, the German prisoners who were working under her orders bestowed upon her the rank of colonel, but it was as a devoted nurse among prisoners that she contracted an infection from which she died in 1916.

The destiny of Madeleine Colani (1866–1943) is even more surprising (Saurin 1943, Souhaité 1994), but more self-centred. She was a scientific, unmarried, authoritarian woman who was not overwhelmed with gratitude towards her benefactor, the geologist Deprat, but was forever concerned about adding to the store of knowledge. In 1899, she set off for Indochina where she became, in 1917, the permanent head of the geological service of Indochina (a position up until then reserved for men). Author of a thesis on tertiary flora in 1920, she became interested in prehistory shortly before the age of 60. She was the inventor of the Hoabinhian (a Neolithic culture), constructed a first hypothesis on the early peopling of the region, excavated (or got her sister Eléonore, who was entirely at her service, to excavate) more than 130 sites, and devoted the end of her life to the French School in the Far East. Prolific (100 articles) and passionate, her work was no less eclectic than that of Jane Dieulafoy: she was successively interested in palaeontology, prehistory and ethnography, in a way which was remarkably precise and objective (Colani and Mansuy 1925; Colani 1927, 1931, 1935, 1936).

The scarcity of female archaeologists is above all linked to the history of the discipline in France. The French tradition of the Enlightenment seems to have played an important role in the development of archaeological knowledge in Europe (Schnapp 1982). But when knowledge of the past began to take on board the growing awareness (so feared by Buffon) that the history of nature and the history of humanity were one and the same thing, people from the Enlightenment were not ready to admit the idea of a cultural history based on technological development. Those who had the desire to create a new branch of knowledge could therefore not find anywhere in France the coherence necessary for the construction of archaeology as an independent discipline. Classical archaeology (based on aesthetics) was on the defensive in the face of German philology and archaeology; Egyptology and oriental studies developed more as the study of cultural areas than as archaeological disciplines; and prehistory could only emerge as a natural science, in the wake of anthropology and geology. Born during the two crucial decades 1830–50 (Laming-Emperaire 1964), French prehistoric research was conceived almost wholly as a natural science, which forged its methods in the field by the positivist analysis of remains. This divergence resulted in a long-standing division which explains the contrasting destinies of prehistory and of classical or oriental archaeology (Cleuziou et al. 1991). Until the 1950s, French prehistorians and protohistorians were marked by a double academic exclusion, from the faculties of arts as well as from the faculties of science. For French archaeology, which lacked intellectual coherence, leadership, jobs and legislation, the situation was hardly favourable for unity or for the easy ‘mix’ of men and women.

After the First World War, when the social sciences began to expand around *L'Année sociologique*, and when Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch launched *Les*

*Annales*, classical archaeology continued its slow development, but French prehistory no longer occupied the position it had held during the preceding decades. The Institut de Paléontologie Humaine no longer contributed to the continuity of the tradition or to the framework of a developing discipline. Certainly, the heterodoxy of an exceptional man, André Leroi-Gourhan, led at that point in time to the foundation of a totally different prehistory, nourished by anthropology, ethnography and oriental studies. But because it positioned itself deliberately on the edge of both traditional prehistory and the humanities, it did not alter the course followed by the latter two disciplines. François Bordes, for example, developed and transformed the typology inherited from the Abbé Breuil. Similarly, most of the women who were interested in archaeology adhered to this orthodoxy and to the typically French collaboration between husband and wife adopted by the Dieulafoys—though, unlike Jane Dieulafoy, they generally survived their husbands. The collaboration between two *demoiselles* also occurred not infrequently. Daughters or granddaughters of historians, prehistorians or archaeologists, they followed, or often took up again, a family tradition. Indeed, kinship and marriage were often determinant in the willingness of some women to be archaeologists. Their personality was generally strong (at least as strong as, if not stronger than, that of their husbands), but they were none the less shaped by the intellectual logic which is the organizing principle of French society. Like women of the Revolution, those women unconsciously knew that the assertion of the self as a dominant value could only lead to the denial of that which is universal. Accordingly, their *ego* was never absolute, and never completely controlled their lives. Consequently, they were often happy to pay more attention to scientific progress than to their personal careers. It is in this context that some ten female prehistorians came to the fore between the First World War and the 1960s.

The discovery of the Venus of Lespugue (R.de Saint-Périer 1921) and the excavations in the Isturitz cave (R.de Saint-Périer 1930, 1936; R. de Saint-Périer and S.de Saint-Périer 1952) owe as much to the artistic and historical abilities of Suzanne Raymonde de Saint-Périer (1890–1978) as to those of her naturalist husband. For this woman, who carried on excavating and publishing alone after the death of her husband in 1950, the creation of a foundation aimed at encouraging and developing archaeological and anthropological studies, the legacy of her chateau and the gift of her paintings were more status-enhancing than the career that she did not seek.

Great-granddaughter of an ardent pioneer of Celtic studies, and daughter of the discoverer of the celebrated Palaeolithic site of La Quina, Germaine Henri-Martin (1902–75) abandoned the violin to continue the work of her father, and became maître de recherche at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS).<sup>27</sup> The doors of her house were always open, and on the excavations which she conducted (at Fontéchevade, in Lebanon and at La Quina), she never ceased to guide students and to encourage their vocations. What drove her was devotion to science: she published scores of notes and papers (Henri-Martin 1949, 1957, 1961, 1965; Garrod and Henri-Martin 1961), but she died before she published her major study on La Quina.

After the Second World War, but still part of this lineage of women inhering a task to pursue, we must also recall the figure of Mauricette Jacq-Le Rouzic



(1928–79). Granddaughter of Zacharie Le Rouzic, she cared all her life for the museum of prehistory which was founded by her grandfather at Carnac, and which is one of the most frequented in France. When she met the Neolithic specialist Gérard Bailloud (she married him in 1970), this elegant woman, scion of the *grande bourgeoisie*, became indifferent to material and meteorological conditions. Without ever tiring, she assisted him wherever he worked. She had no position and wrote very few papers, but when she received prehistorians from all over Europe at her beautiful hotel at Carnac (situated at the foot of the Saint-Michel tumulus) she was the master, and the eminent scientist (her husband) was often mistaken for the gardener.

Susanne Cassou de Saint-Mathurin (1900–75) frequented the same circles as Germaine Henri-Martin, but she chose a more idiosyncratic path. In 1939, she abandoned her literary studies and her position as lecturer in Oxford in order to reorganize the collections of the Museum of Natural History with the Abbé Breuil. In 1947, she met Dorothy Garrod, Disney professor of archaeology at Cambridge University. The meeting was decisive: she never married, but she excavated and studied the Palaeolithic art of Angles-sur-l'Anglin together with Garrod. She published several notes and papers (Cassou de Saint-Mathurin and Garrod 1951a, 1951b, 1956), but her great regret was that she did not finish her monograph on Angles-sur-l'Anglin.

Quaternary geologist and Africanist, Miss Marie-Henriette Alimen (1900–77), as she was called, was one of the first female prehistorians to submit a Ph.D. thesis (1936). She directed the CNRS's Laboratoire de Géologie du Quaternaire. But her career (professor at the École Normale Supérieure at Fontenay-aux-Rose, and professor at the Institut d'Ethnologie de Paris) was also dedicated to the collective good: she was, for example, the only person ever to be president of the Société de la Préhistoire Française for three terms, in 1949, 1960 and 1965. Her numerous papers (more than 60) were concerned with physical anthropology, African prehistory and French geology (1954, 1955, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1969; Alimen and Goustard 1965; Alimen and Toleaud 1945; Alimen and Vignal 1955; Alimen et al. 1978), but also with the formation of prehistorians (Alimen 1949).

Among this generation of women who later submitted theses, we must mention Denise Férembach (1924–94), a palaeoanthropologist (Férembach 1956, 1958, 1961, 1986; Férembach et al. 1962), who obtained her doctorate in 1956, and who was to become maître de recherche in the CNRS in 1961, and maître de conférence at the École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE)<sup>28</sup> in 1963.

Eliane Basse de Menorval (1920–83), interested in the French Neolithic, was also a pioneer figure. She was, at the beginning of the 1960s, director of prehistoric antiquities of Ile-de-France. That is, she was the first (and for nearly 20 years the only) woman in France entrusted with the administration of archaeological excavations.<sup>29</sup> This position gave her the opportunity to publish various papers (Basse de Menorval 1959, 1968a, 1968b).

Annette Laming-Empeire (1917–77) was without doubt the most brilliant of her generation. Her life followed the lines laid out by Jane Dieulafoy, except that she had a professional career. Having studied philosophy and biology, she was involved in the Resistance and then joined the army, where she devoted herself to care for the

deportees of the German camps. She joined the CNRS in 1946, and submitted her thesis on rock art in 1957 (Laming-Empeaire 1962b, 1964). She became maître-assistant at the Sorbonne in 1960, then directeur d'études<sup>30</sup> at EPHE in 1966. Her career is another example of collaboration between wife and husband: they conducted their work and their excavations together (Laming-Empeaire and Laming-Empeaire 1954, 1959, 1961). But José Empeaire died in South America, in the collapse of one of their excavation trenches. From that moment on she assumed singly the pursuit of work which they had begun in Patagonia, Brazil and Uruguay (Laming-Empeaire 1972, 1973, 1975, 1980). Her (highly original) thinking followed lines which ran parallel to, and sometimes anticipated, the ideas of André Leroi-Gourhan (Laming-Empeaire 1962a, 1963); the latter did not usually cite her, but he wrote her obituary. Moreover, her innovative hypotheses on Palaeolithic art won her, for a few years, the disapproval of the Abbé Breuil.

The commitment of Marthe Péquart (1884–1963) was of a very different kind. During the Second World War, she drifted away from archaeology and from the Catholic scouting ideals that had guided her until then, to embrace the ideas of the French Nazi Militia movement and Pétainism. She had no professional position, but she continued and completed the work begun with her husband at Tévéc and Hoëdic (Péquart and Péquart 1941, 1954; Péquart et al. 1937) after Saint-Just Péquart was shot by the Resistance in 1944.

Two women, Arlette Leroi-Gourhan and Denise Sonnevile-Bordes, both undeniably modern and still active in 1996, are the last of this generation of pioneers. Their personalities are strong, and their minds scientific. Their marriages were determinant factors in the course of their careers (the husband of the one has often been contrasted with the husband of the other), but their point in common is that they both have distinguished themselves from their husbands without opposing them. Denise Sonnevile (b. 1919) was heading towards history and geography when a fortuitous encounter with the young naturalist François Bordes led her towards prehistory. She was brilliant at it, and her bibliography is important (Sonneville-Bordes 1955, 1960, 1961a, 1961b, 1966, 1969, 1971, 1982, 1989; Sonnevile-Bordes and Perrot 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956; Sonnevile-Bordes and Mortureux 1955). Thanks to her work, Palaeolithic research became a family 'business': she successfully developed for the Upper Palaeolithic the statistical methods which her husband applied to the Lower and Middle Palaeolithic. Their careers developed in tandem: he became a professor at the University of Bordeaux, she was directeur de recherche at CNRS.

Arlette Royer (b. 1913) married the young André Leroi-Gourhan in 1937. She went with him to Japan to study the Ainu. But it was only in 1988, following his death in 1986, that she described and published this research trip (Leroi-Gourhan 1988b). Her husband's work had a solitary character, autodidactic and eclectic, which was not easily shared: they wrote only one paper together (Leroi-Gourhan and Leroi-Gourhan 1964). And because palaeobotany seemed to be considerably under-developed in France, Arlette Leroi-Gourhan invested her efforts in this area (Leroi-Gourhan 1956, 1958, 1959, 1967, 1968, 1973, 1980, 1988a, 1988b, 1989). At the Musée de l'Homme, she created and developed a laboratory for pollen analysis which she put

at the disposal of both French and foreign researchers. Its development remains handicapped, however, by the lack of a formal position for Arlette Leroi-Gourhan herself; actually, so as not to be accused of nepotism, André Leroi-Gourhan (who was in charge of prehistory in the National Committee for Scientific Research) asked her not to apply for a job at CNRS. Consequently, it was as director without position that she played an important part in the development of the first palaeo-palynologists in France, and she was satisfied with the scientific recognition inherent in her function. As she said in 1971, as newly appointed president of the *Société préhistorique française*: ‘the time was not yet ripe for the Liberation of women’. The rest of her work is less well known (Leroi-Gourhan and Allain 1979).

Classical and oriental archaeology had a different destiny. Part of the heritage left by the Enlightenment, and conceived as auxiliary branches of history, classical and oriental archaeology found their academic place at the beginning of the twentieth century. Their academic status, sustained by the schools at Rome and Athens, contributed to the fact that women were easily brushed aside in these fields. Hence, those women who did succeed in getting themselves admitted after the Second World War (who can be counted on the fingers of one hand), had to be imbued with individualism, and to be more concerned with a course independent from that of their husbands than with joint activities. Their careers were made outside the major schools and, for the majority of them, in the less elitist sectors of museums and oriental archaeology. Until the 1970s, single women were not welcome in these areas, as is illustrated by the position of André Parrot, who was willing to take one of them on an excavation at Mari, provided she was accompanied by her brother or her fiancé.<sup>31</sup> But initially, oriental archaeology was rather egalitarian. Thus, Denyse Le Lasseur (1889–1945) was put in charge of Renan’s excavations in the area of Tyre, together with Eustache de Lorey, the future director of the Institute in Damascus (they appear together in the *Illustration* of 5 August 1922). She was the author of a thesis defended at the *École du Louvre* (Le Lasseur 1919). In the 1930s, Judith Marquet-Krause (1907–36) became the director of the Rothschild expedition to an Early Bronze Age site, probably the biblical city of Ai or ‘Ay, not far from Jéricho (Marquet-Krause 1949). The work at the site was interrupted by her death.

In the next generation, only four women stand out. Of these, the Indianist Janine Auboyer (1912–90) was the most openly criticized. She was a great scholar, and she was an artist (she drew). She began her career very young, at 19, as *chargé de mission* at the *Musée Indochinois* of the Trocadéro. But neither her taste nor her decisions as *conservateur en chef* (1965–80) of the *Musée Guimet* have helped to draw positive attention to that museum. Her books (Auboyer 1941, 1942, 1949, 1951, 1965a, 1968a, 1968b, 1969, 1971, 1982, 1986; Auboyer et al. 1941), and the name of the CNRS team she ran, *Centre d’iconographie du monde indien*, bear witness to her major interest in artistic phenomena, and in Indian history. However, she never forgot she was a student of Marcel Mauss and Paul Rivet (Auboyer 1955, 1974). She also concerned herself with the history of women (1965b).

Very enthusiastic, domineering to the point of crushing those around her but never dominated, the Egyptologist Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt (b. 1913) knows how to seduce the general public and appears often on television. Initially professor at the

École du Louvre, she became inspecteur-général of the National Museums of France, and then (from 1970) Senior Curator at the Louvre. UNESCO adviser to the Egyptian government, she initiated the Tutankhamun exhibition in Paris in 1967. She has edited numerous catalogues of the museum, and written numerous books on Egyptian art and Egyptian women (Desroches-Noblecourt 1941, 1942, 1947, 1955, 1960a, 1960b, 1961a, 1961b, 1962a, 1962b, 1963, 1967, 1968a, 1968b, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1985, 1986, 1992, 1995; Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968).

Madeleine Hours (b. 1913) followed the École du Louvre. Chargé de mission at the Laboratory for the Scientific Study of Paintings and Objects of Art and Archaeology of the Louvre when she was 27 years old (1937), she became Head of that Laboratory in 1946. She was maître de recherche at the CNRS (1960), Conservateur en chef at the Louvre (1970) and finally inspecteur-général of the National Museums of France. She led three excavation campaigns (1945–7) to Carthage (Hours 1950), but she took more interest in the analysis of art and artefacts than in field archaeology (Hours 1950, 1958, 1964, 1968, 1987).

The career of Juliette de la Genière (b. 1927) is an exception. She was the first, and for a long time the only, woman to be admitted to the core of the elitist world of university professors. She was maître de recherche at the CNRS in 1958, and from 1969 professor of classical archaeology at Lille University. Her career is all the more exceptional because, just like the women above, she had not been a member of either the school in Athens or the school in Rome (both were closed to women until the 1960s), but graduated at the (prestigious) Institute of Political Sciences in 1949 and at the École du Louvre in 1954. Interested in many things and an indefatigable field archaeologist in Italy, Greece and Turkey, she mainly devoted her work (and continues to do so today) to the influence of Celtic, Near Eastern and various Mediterranean traditions on Hellenistic culture (La Genière 1960, 1961, 1962, 1967, 1968, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1975, 1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1978c, 1979, 1983, 1984, 1987a, 1987b, 1988, 1992, 1993, 1995a, 1995b; La Genière et al. 1980). Born to the *grande bourgeoisie*, she married the governor of the Bank of France; she did not need to work for a living, but was driven by the will to be acknowledged in a world she was intellectually able to investigate.

#### CONCLUSION: THE INEVITABLE MIX OF THE SEXES IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROFESSION

It was not until the end of the 1970s that classical archaeology in France became more democratic and acknowledged the existence of prehistory and protohistory. By then, the latter disciplines had been institutionalized and emerged as a genuinely national and modern archaeology. In the early 1990s, the newly found coherence and cohesion finally led to the feminization of the profession—which had already seemed inevitable at the end of the nineteenth or the beginning of the twentieth century. But that occurred at a time when the French feminist movement was in an impasse.

During the last four years one out of every two new CNRS positions in pre- and protohistory has gone to a woman. But if research is becoming feminized, fieldwork

is still masculine. In the Association pour les fouilles archéologiques en France (AFAN, Association for Archaeological Excavations in France) only 40 per cent of the 1300 people who are hired each year are women, although women graduate from the universities in greater numbers than men. It is also interesting to note that it was only from the moment at which an annual, national *concours* was instituted for their recruitment,<sup>32</sup> that the personnel of the Sous-direction de l'Archéologie (SDA) of the Ministry of Culture rapidly became feminized (during the 1980s), although the people nominated to high-level positions, as directors of Services Régionaux in particular, remain predominantly male. But it should be kept in mind that their work is today more and more administrative: they must be good managers (and sometimes good politicians) rather than good scientists. This disadvantages women, as they succeed notably in the domain of intellectual reflection and research: in archaeology, there is a higher percentage of women than of men who successfully finish their university studies.

When they take up important posts, women now generally take on their responsibilities alone. In fact, with one well-known exception (Marie-Antoinette and Henry de Lumley), the archaeological couple is no longer a configuration among those who have an influence on the future of archaeology. More than that, in 1995 women occupy the majority of key research positions in archaeology in France: they are feminine, elegant and (with the same exception) belong politically speaking to the left. But above all, just as the female prehistorians who preceded them, they are (again with the same exception) scientifically and professionally demanding, and devoted to the collective interest. Thus, the director of the largest archaeological institution, the Centre de Recherches Archéologiques<sup>33</sup> of the CNRS is a woman; the person responsible for the SDA in the Direction du Patrimoine (National Heritage Directorate) of the Ministry of Culture is a woman (as is, in fact, the person responsible for the National Heritage Directorate); the person responsible for the largest collection of archaeological publications in France (*Les Documents d'archéologie française*) is a woman, and so are the directors of the most emblematic archaeological journal (*Gallia*) and of the only journal which consistently devotes a large number of pages to archaeological politics and opinions.<sup>34</sup> At CNRS, the current scientific director for prehistory is also a woman.<sup>35</sup> Field archaeology, on the other hand, is directed by men: the AFAN (which runs all the salvage excavations), the Conseil National de la Recherche Scientifique (which controls research excavations), the Sous-direction for social sciences, humanities and archaeology of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its Commission des Fouilles (commission of excavations abroad), all have a man at their head. Finally, it is noticeable that the universities remain dominated by men: none of the women mentioned above has a university position.

Thus, historical contingencies and a complex set of structural elements have together created the century-old *mélange* of the gender roles which governs our actions and system of thought in France. Among these structural elements are a centralized political power (which has brought in its wake a disproportionate diversity of networks and a profound solidarity between men and women), a socially expressed sexuality (to which the elimination of puritanism and the lay nature of the

state have contributed), a highly valued education system (which is the same for boys and girls), the habit of women not to consider themselves primarily as such, but rather as human beings, and the obligation to think and speak in feminine and masculine terms at any time.

But the transformation of the community of archaeologists into a truly mixed one could not occur before the professionalization of the discipline. It is now a reality. Being a Frenchwoman, I do of course believe that this situation *annoncée* does not involve a depreciation of the intellectual profession, so prestigious in France, or of the profession of archaeologist which is so necessary if we are to understand our history and that of others.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank here a woman whom I have never met, Mona Ozouf, for her very inspiring essay on French specificity, as well as another historian, Laurence Coudart. I would not have been able to write this paper without information and data generously provided by Françoise Audouze, Jean-Pierre Bocquet-Appel, Pascale Bonnemère, Annie Caubet, Vincent Charpentier, Catherine Jarrige, Danièle Lavallée, Philippe Soulier, Marielle Santoni and Alain Schnapp. Kindly translated by Sara Champion.

### NOTES

- 1 This seems corroborated by the extraordinary media coverage of the World Congress of Women held in Beijing in 1995 under the aegis of the United Nations.
- 2 There are 1700 feminine or feminist associations in France and its overseas territories. But since 1985, only four specialist senior lecturer posts have been created in a university, and a programme of the National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) enabled funding of around 60 research programmes and three conferences.
- 3 We should of course understand that the women we are dealing with here belonged to a microcosm, that of an educated aristocracy. In this sense, they were not representative of the whole of French womanhood. But to understand that what happened in French salons in the eighteenth century is perfectly emblematic of the French situation, it is sufficient to compare, as Elisabeth Badinter (1995b) has done, the reactions of seventeenth-century men in France and in Britain when women challenged marriage and motherhood and demanded respect for their intellectual life. There are certainly counter-examples, but that is one of the principal and necessary characteristics of human society. Human nature is such that uniformity does not exist; variations and exceptions are, moreover, one of the conditions necessary for the successful development and evolution of humanity. That which does not fit the rules of the system is nevertheless part of it or the system would not be human.

- 4 The concentration of powers is also spatial. Concentrating them in the capital did, in the nineteenth century, ensure the coordinated action of public services, and served to break down local particularisms.
- 5 This cohesion is such that blood relationships and civil relationships are often confused; the use of the same qualifier (*fraternel*) to designate both the civic link which unites members of the same community and the link which unites people of the same blood is an example. Brotherly and fraternal relationships are totally distinct in English.
- 6 Today, 77 per cent of women and 75 per cent of men still make achieving a good relationship as a couple one of their essential priorities, well ahead of the numbers opting for professional success (26 per cent and 41 per cent respectively) (Aubin and Gisserot 1995:128).
- 7 Although American women (from Wyoming) obtained the right to vote in 1869 (and 1920 saw the extension of that right to all the states), Finnish women in 1906, German women in 1919 and English women in 1928, the French women had to wait until 1944.
- 8 Thus, a recent enquiry amongst secondary school fifth-formers showed that when choosing a profession, the desire for free time (as opposed to more prestigious but time-consuming careers) was the most important criterion among 72 per cent of girls against only 11 per cent boys. The latter were more numerous in giving priority to the level of salary (Aubin and Gisserot 1995:67). It should also be noted that the expectation of life for Frenchwomen is longer than that of men: it is currently 81.1 years at birth (and 84.4 years at the age of 60) as against 73 years for men.
- 9 Today, for example, they represent only 25 per cent of the activists in political parties, and less than 30 per cent of union members.
- 10 For example, alongside their professional activities, women devote on average 5 hours 20 minutes a day to household tasks, and men only 2 hours 40 minutes (Aubin and Gisserot 1995:72).
- 11 Which modernity opposes.
- 12 This interaction is clearly inscribed in the reality of the concrete contingencies of a historical and/or environmental nature.
- 13 One of the first female French archaeologists was an example of this new type of individual: Madeleine Colani left for Indochina in 1899 after being trained as a primary school teacher.
- 14 In the introduction to their book on the cultural making of gender and of sexuality, Sherry B.Ortner and Harriet Whitehead (1981:8–9) underline the implicit but general tendency, in traditional cultures, to define men in accordance with their status or their role (hunter, warrior, elder, leader, etc.) independently of their relationships with women; and the women are almost exclusively defined in terms of kinship relationships (sister, cousin, spouse, mother, etc.). The men's status is therefore not given but is to be acquired individually; women's status, by contrast, is given by birth or is the result of a social contract accepted by the group as a whole.
- 15 Surprisingly, the main body of historians, sociologists, and anthropologists (see, for example, Héritier 1996) establish a synonymy between 'power' and 'political power'. But this equivalence (or this limitation) does not stand scrutiny. It exists only in our western and modernistic cultures: that is to say in a world where social

activities and household are continuously denigrated, and the powers they produce are systematically hammered down to the level of functions. Yes indeed, a legislature and an executive do fall to the political power, but since when have society and social life been reduced to laws?

- 16 French is a very conservative language protected from change by the Académie française (which has not yet accepted that French is no longer the international diplomatic language), in contrast to the more resilient Spanish language which, for instance, has recently created the neologism 'engenerado'.
- 17 This movement results from the coming together of feminists and homosexuals, from the rise of certain French post-modern ideas (those of Jacques Lacan and Michel Foucault, for example) and from feelings of isolation experienced by certain women in departments of women's studies.
- 18 As if these two ideas were opposed and not simply different.
- 19 We say, for example, *il pleut* (it [he] is raining); *il fait chaud* (it [he] is warm); *c'est bon* (masculine) (it's good), and not *c'est bonne* (feminine); *cela est beau* (masculine) (that's beautiful), and not *cela est belle* (feminine).
- 20 For example: patron, juror, painter, judge, kangaroo, salmon, monkey, etc., which are all masculine; Imperial Highness, person, sentinel, victim, star, trout, magpie, mouse, giraffe, etc., which are all feminine.
- 21 For example: *un* (masculine) *page* (a young boy in the service of a prince), and *une* (feminine) *page* (a side of a piece of paper); *un livre* (a book), and *une livre* (a unit of weight); *un tour* (a mechanical or circular movement), and *une tour* (an elevated construction); etc.
- 22 For example: *un mannequin* (masculine), i.e. a model, who is generally a woman; *a sainteté* (feminine), i.e. his holiness; *une basse* (feminine), i.e. a bass (a man with a bass timbre to his voice); *une vigie* (feminine), a look-out (a man); *un alto*, i.e. an alto (a woman with an alto timbre to her voice).
- 23 In this context, it is amazing to hear a French commentator of documentaries telling that 'un (masculin) aigle pêcheur peut garder la (feminine) même partenaire durant trente ans' [a fishing eagle can keep the same partner during thirty years], 'mais une (feminine) grue du Japon garde le (masculin) même partenaire tout au long de l'année' [but a Japanese crane keeps the same partner throughout the year] (cf. *La Cinquième*, 1 February 1996). The French commentator adds 'female' to the eagle because the word *aigle* is grammatically masculine; but he adds 'male' to the crane because the word *grue* is grammatically feminine—a semantic game which is impossible in English.
- 24 This fact, combined with the overlapping of categories highlighted above, explains why French post-modernism has had so few consequences in France, whereas it has devastated the social sciences and humanities in the United States and England. 'Post-processual' archaeology illustrates this well; let us note, in passing, that it would be more accurate to call it 'post-modern' archaeology.
- 25 See, for example, the work edited by Caroline Brettell and Carolyn Sargent (1992).
- 26 In addition to the astonishing over-simplification and the profound lack of education shown by this imperialist division of the world (us/others).
- 27 Compared to other academic institutions, CNRS is quite original. Created just before the Second World War, this national organization is entirely devoted to research; today, it employs 23,500 civil servants (of which 11,600 are researchers), including around 400 archaeologists. Nowadays, the post of maître de recherche has



become directeur de recherche de deuxième classe (second class); it is equivalent to associate professor or reader (with no lecturing tasks).

- 28 The *École Pratique des Hautes Etudes* was created by Victor Duruy in the 1860s, at the end of the reign of Napoléon III. This national institution was then strongly developed during the 3rd French Republic, as an imitation of German universities, since the French thought they lost the war against Germany because their universities were not good enough. Maître de conference is their equivalent to associate professor or reader.
- 29 It was only in the 1980s, with the establishment of a national competition for recruitment, that the job of archaeologist was really feminized at the heart of the Ministry of Culture.
- 30 Equivalent to professor.
- 31 Information from Annie Caubet.
- 32 All the candidates are examined by a single jury, while the written tests are taken anonymously.
- 33 It comprises 16 autonomous laboratories, 140 researchers, 65 engineers or technicians, to which should be added numerous doctoral students and invited or associated foreign researchers.
- 34 *Les Nouvelles de l'Archéologie* which is, moreover, the second archaeological journal in France in terms of circulation and very emblematic of a French singularity.  
They are respectively Françoise Audouze (directeur de recherche at CNRS), Wanda Diebolt (a high-up civil servant); Christine Richet (engineer at the SDA of the Ministry of Culture); Fanette Laubenheimer (directeur de recherche at CNRS); Anick Coudart (directeur de recherche at CNRS).
- 35 Marie-Antoinette de Lumley, directeur de recherche at CNRS.

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# GENDER POLITICS IN POLISH ARCHAEOLOGY

*Liliana Janik and Hanna Zawadzka*

Women of the past were subjugated both as females and thinking beings, which is sad because a great deal of experience was lost as a result.

(Gaarder 1995:25)

## INTRODUCTION

This chapter is the first attempt to consider the contribution of women to Polish archaeology. As there are very few studies on women in Poland at all, to write a history of women in Polish archaeology is a very challenging task. As a consequence of political events and social change, women's quest for equal rights, access to education and better status in society has taken a different course in Poland than in Western Europe.

Our aim is to demonstrate how the role of female archaeologists has been shaped by political and social issues. We will first outline the political and socio-economic contexts which have affected women's issues from the second part of the nineteenth century until the present. Following this, we will look at the way in which archaeology was institutionalized after the First World War and at the participation of women in archaeology. Therefore we will first analyse the representation of women and men in the major institutions employing archaeologists and the academic degrees they achieved; second, we will consider the representation of women and men in three types of archaeological publications. Finally, we will discuss women's contribution to archaeology and also examine perceptions of the role of women in Polish society and how the traditional social structure has shaped archaeological practice in Poland.

We will mainly concentrate on the period between the end of the nineteenth century and the present. We have chosen this time-span on the grounds that it includes important historical events which affected the development of archaeology as a discipline. It also allows us to take a wider look at the participation of women in all aspects of archaeology.

POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXTS OF  
WOMEN'S ISSUES IN POLAND

In the second half of the nineteenth century Poland was still divided among Russia, Prussia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The main nationalist political aim was to regain an independent Polish state. The events after the January uprising of 1863 in the Russian sector led to a different understanding of how independence could be achieved and brought a noticeable change in the approach to women's issues. A new social, political and economic situation was created throughout all three parts of Poland. A period of repression followed the 1863 uprising in the Russian sector, which entailed confiscation of the property of those who took part in the uprising, enforced use of the Russian language in schools, public offices and institutions (a process called russification), persecution, imprisonment and deportation to Siberia. In the Prussian sector the process of germanization and political oppression gradually increased. As in the Russian sector, prohibition of the Polish language from schools, churches and other institutions intensified, especially in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century. A policy of systematic colonization of land by German settlers was supported by state funding for purchasing land from Poles. If Poles did not want to move they were forced out. The activities of Polish institutions were also severely restricted. In contrast, the Austro-Hungarian Empire sector enjoyed relative autonomy, granted in 1866, and thus did not experience such political oppression; however, economic conditions were bad and there was extreme poverty.

The tragic consequences of the 1863 uprising in the Russian sector made people aware that Poland could not regain its independence through armed resistance but only by means of political, economic and social evolution, gradually preparing the nation for future independence. Many people understood that they had to appeal to the whole nation in the fight for independence and not only to some sections of society. The largest part of the population—the peasants—had previously been neglected, but were now enfranchised in all parts of Poland, something which caused other important social changes. A number of landowners who had small and medium-size estates lost their free workforce and many had their properties confiscated for political reasons. Many of the landowners moved to the towns and wanted to have their children educated to work in a profession. These children later joined the existing urban 'learned professions': the law, engineering, trade, journalism, medicine and the church. This led to the emergence of the professional intelligentsia, who were to carry out the Positivist ideals which emerged within this new political, social and economic situation.

'Positivism' was a general cultural trend and was best reflected in the literature of the time. In the 1870s the movement was clearly formed, offering a utilitarian, practical programme and calling for so-called 'organic work' and political realism which would lead to the economic and cultural improvement of the nation. Positivism propagated the idea of egalitarianism and equality in terms of law and duties. One of the principal aims was to start from the bottom of society, bringing basic education to the peasants, relieving their poverty and making them conscious that they were Polish citizens. In this process all parts of society, including women, became more visible

and accepted as participants in the struggle for independence. Education became one of the most important general issues and the need to address the issue of women's education was recognized. The Positivist movement had followers among philosophers, scientists, writers and politicians.

Within this programme the Positivist literature and press became a battle-ground for women's issues, including their rights to education, reform of the way in which they were educated, and the intellectual and social superstitions and prejudices against them. This Positivist writing had a perceptible effect on women's access to education. By the 1880s more schools for women had opened and many courses were organized. A very interesting example was the so-called Flying University which was organized in 1886 by Zofia Szczawinska. This was an underground institution which operated from private houses and often changed addresses to avoid being denounced. Although the Flying University did not provide any formal qualifications the best available academics taught there, spreading education among women. In the late 1890s women gained access to established universities, although this access was mainly open to middle-class women who took an active role in many educational activities across the three sectors. Women were carrying out the main goal of the Positivist movement, namely educating the peasants and workers—it was their national obligation. Their striving for higher education was reflected in the number of women who were awarded degrees in Western European universities (Mrozowska 1971). The most famous included Marie Curie-Sklodowska, the first woman to teach at the Sorbonne and the first woman to receive the Nobel prize. Jozefa Joteyko, after studying in Geneva and Paris, taught experimental psychology at the university in Brussels from 1898 and later on was the first woman to teach at the College de France. Teodora Krajewska received her doctorate in medicine in Geneva in 1892 and was the first woman to work in the department of human physiology there. A later example is Alicja Dorabialska, who started her higher education in Russia and completed it in Poland and in 1934 became the first woman head of the department of chemistry in Lvov.

Different political parties were established in parallel with the Positivist movement, and women were involved in the activities of these parties from the beginning. The issue of women's rights, however, was only marginal within wider political programmes. Although women fought for their political rights, particularly during the 1905–7 revolution, the Polish Society for Women's Equality being formed in 1907, there was no strong women's movement, and it was not until 1917 that a formal programme of political and economic equality was put forward. After the First World War, when Poland regained its independence, women gained equal civil rights and the right to vote.

The main political aim of this period in Polish history was to regain independence; and many other issues, including women's rights, did not gain prominence as they did in Western Europe or North America. Despite their active role in many political and social activities, women were still expected to fulfil the roles imposed on them by traditional society. Although the legal and social path for women's rights was open in 1918, the traditional Catholic society constrained women's achievements, seeing them still as mothers and wives. Equal civil rights did not change the position

of women in society, which remained largely the same until after the Second World War when a new political system was introduced.

It was claimed that with socialism and its Marxist-Leninist doctrines women obtained not only formal but also real equality in every aspect of life. In practice, the social policy of the state regarding women fluctuated in accordance with social needs and the political climate. In the first years after the war the process of industrialization demanded a larger workforce and propaganda was directed towards encouraging women to go to work. This broke down traditional perceptions of women as being confined to the domestic sphere and increased their presence in political and social life. In later years the policy on women changed and greater stress was put on the family rather than on professional work for women. These two policies were eventually combined; while women continued to work professionally the emphasis on the role of women as mother, wife and housekeeper increased. The state provided a legal model which on the one hand assumed equal participation of women and men in all aspects of life but on the other hand restricted women's participation on the grounds of protecting their 'reproductive' rights. In the socialist state women became providers, the main carers and domestic workers, creating a model of superwoman with a double burden (Corrin 1992). Despite the state claiming that they had equal rights to work, women were banned from certain jobs listed by the Council of Ministers in 1975. The list includes 90 jobs within 18 fields of production. The ban on these jobs supposedly protected women from undertaking work which requires physical strength, seen as potentially dangerous to women's health. Coincidentally, many of these jobs were the top paid jobs in the field of production (Plakwicz 1992).

Educational opportunities affected women's choice of professional activities. Over time the following pattern emerged: although more women continued their secondary education than men and an increasing number of them entered universities, more women than men failed to complete their studies. In addition, there were quotas for the number of women and men to be admitted in some subjects such as medicine or veterinary medicine, which favoured men, making it more difficult for women to enter these disciplines.

Those restrictions reflected the strong traditional undercurrent in Polish society. Despite the secularity of the state, Catholic values were strong and emphasized the traditional role of women. The government policy of equal rights to education and jobs was not upheld in real life and women's achievements were still secondary to those of men. This was, however, due to the social expectations which women faced, combining the roles of mother, wife and worker at the same time.

#### WOMEN IN POLISH ARCHAEOLOGY BETWEEN 1918 AND 1939

The development of Polish archaeology at the end of the nineteenth century was closely related to the political and social context of the time, reflecting to a large extent the ideals of the Positivist tradition in its broad cultural sense. The collecting of antiquities relating to the national past was a major concern.

The very end of the nineteenth century brought a move towards the institutionalization and professionalization of Polish archaeology. By 1918, when Poland regained its independence, some of the organizational structures of archaeology within universities, museums and archaeological societies had been established. At the same time discussion of the theoretical development of the discipline was taking place which did not much differ from trends elsewhere in Europe. Two universities were operating in the Austro-Hungarian sector, Cracow and Lvov. In 1915 Warsaw University re-opened and a new university was established at Poznan. The courses at the universities were taught in four faculties, with archaeology being included in the largest, the faculty of philosophy. The earliest activities in the field of archaeology started at Poznan University, where earlier courses organized by the Society for Scientific Lectures facilitated the introduction of proper university courses. The prehistory seminar, for example, had 20 students, all women. The high proportion of women on many courses was due to the absence of men who were still fighting on the fronts. These activities established some foundations for the future and in 1919 a group of Polish archaeologists presented a memorandum to the Ministry of Education about the need to create a structure for the teaching of Polish prehistory. This involved the creation of departments of archaeology in the universities, the organization of the monuments' conservation service and a change in the structure of the museums.

Stolpiak has divided the development of Polish archaeology in the period between the wars into four stages (Stolpiak 1984). In stage one (1918–20) the first organizational structure for prehistory within different institutions was built. In stage two (1921–8) attempts at the centralization of research and institutions dealing with prehistory were made. Stage three (1929–34) was characterized by the intensification of fieldwork. In the last stage (1935–9) a trend towards more synthetic works can be observed.

It was during the interwar years that women became a visible part of social, political and academic life in Poland. In this period the first women archaeologists were trained and started to teach prehistory at the universities. Their achievements shaped the path for women archaeologists in the postwar period despite restrictions on how far their academic careers were allowed to progress. Although we do not intend to focus on individual profiles of women archaeologists we would like to elaborate on some of those who were working in the period between the wars in more detail since they were the first women who became professional archaeologists in Poland.

In Poznan the Institute of Prehistory was created in 1919 and the first two full-time students in the 1919/20 academic year were women, Aleksandra Karpinska and Bozena Stelmachowska. Aleksandra Karpinska was employed as a technician in the Institute of Prehistory in Poznan while she was still a student. She wrote her Ph.D. dissertation on 'Barrows of the Roman period in Poland' and received her degree in 1924. Her thesis was published in 1926 in Poznan. Later she worked in the Wielkopolskie Museum, in the prehistory section and directed many excavations in Wielkopolska and Pomorze.

Bożena Stelmachowska received and published her Ph.D. in 1925 on ‘The Three Age System in Polish prehistory’. She discussed the basis for the division into Three Ages in the context of European and Polish archaeology. She was the editor of the popular archaeological magazine *From the Depths of the Centuries (Z otchłani wieków)* in the years 1926–9. She eventually gave up archaeology for ethnography, of which she became professor at the University of Toruń.

In Warsaw, at the Institute of Prehistory, as in Poznań, the first full-time students were also women. In the 1920/1 academic year the only full-time student of prehistory was Zofia Podkowinska. In 1922/3 Janina [Kaminska-] Sokolowska started her studies. Masters degrees were received by the following women: in 1928 Janina Kaminska-Sokolowska (‘Stone statues from early historical period in Poland’); in 1933 Alina Kietlińska (‘Battle axes in the territory of eastern and western Slavs from the 7th to 13th centuries AD’), Wanda Sommerfeld (‘Medieval swords in Poland’) and Zofia Wartolowska (‘Fortified settlements in the territory between the Vistula, Bug and San rivers’); in 1938 Wanda Kamieniecka (‘Roman period cemetery in Wachock’); in 1939 Lidia Fedorowska (‘Origin and distribution of Celtic culture’) and Hanna Umiaszowska-Wasiutynska (‘Medieval hoards in Poland’). Three women received their doctorates: in 1928 Zofia Podkowinska (‘Neolithic Bandkeramik culture in Poland’); in 1932 Janina Rosen-Przeworska (‘Celtic remains discovered in Poland’) and in 1939 Krystyna Musianowicz (‘Buckles—an attempt at their typology and dating’).

Zofia Podkowinska contributed to new methods of teaching. We now take for granted Podkowinska’s way of teaching, but at the time it broke the tradition and had important implications for the way Polish archaeologists learn about artefacts and interpret the way they were used in the past. Podkowinska was employed in 1922 as a ‘demonstrator’ in the Institute of Prehistory at Warsaw University. This was seen as a good opportunity to gain teaching experience. She started practical seminars in the 1922/3 academic year and introduced important changes in the way they were performed. Until then only drawings, slides and descriptions had been used to present archaeological material. She used original artefacts and raw materials to explain techniques of tool production and typology, which made the practicals much more easily understandable and interesting. She herself described it in the following way:

In the 1922/1923 academic year Professor W. Antoniewicz told me just before the seminars started that I would be responsible for them. I have to say that I didn’t like the way the professor presented them. In the first hour (a seminar lasted for two hours) the professor talked about different techniques of stone, bronze and iron tool making; techniques of pottery making, its decoration etc. All of this was illustrated by examples from books and slides. In the second hour the professor examined students on what they remembered from the previous seminar, and usually it wasn’t much. So when I learned that I would be responsible for those seminars I thought that I had to get original artefacts and raw materials and on this basis I could plan a whole year’s seminars.

(Stolpiak 1984:90)

Podkowinska continued her work after the Second World War.

In Cracow at the Jagiellonian University Mieczysława Ruxer received her doctorate in classical archaeology in 1922 with a thesis entitled 'History of the necklace in the Aegean-Minoan culture'. She was employed at Poznan University to teach classical archaeology. In 1937 she was awarded her habilitation with her work 'The Greek necklace'. She was the only woman archaeologist with an habilitation in the period between the wars. The second woman to graduate from Cracow was Helena Nebenzahl, who received her doctorate in 1930 in prehistoric archaeology with a thesis on 'Pottery from fortified settlements'.

There were many more women students taking subsidiary courses in prehistory as part of their degrees. They, along with those who took a main course in prehistory, were involved in excavations and did a lot of voluntary work. Although women could get their masters and doctorate degrees it was extremely difficult for them to get the higher academic degree, the habilitation. In some academic institutions those who pursued their academic careers beyond the doctorate found that it was difficult for them to give lectures and to hold senior positions (Mrozowska 1986). This was due to the way the process of achieving the habilitation was organized (Suchmiel 1994): the faculty board had to give the right to lecture in a higher academic institution, which opened the way for habilitation. The habilitation itself consisted of three stages. A review of the submitted work was followed by an habilitation discussion concerning the work and the subject in general. This discussion could be attended by all members of the faculty. The final stage was the habilitation lecture delivered to the members of the faculty, in which the thesis was defended. If either the first or second stages were not considered satisfactory, work on the habilitation could not be continued. The conditions of admission for the habilitation were not only based on academic criteria (a doctorate) but also on personal qualifications which were discussed and voted on before any consideration of the academic qualifications.

Women found it much more difficult to be admitted for habilitation not necessarily because of their academic credentials but because of the attitudes of referees, who were often against women having access to academic education or even working as assistants (Suchmiel 1994). Many women continued to work in archaeology, holding lower academic positions, teaching in schools or working in museums. Women who became professional archaeologists also published their work. In the period between the wars some 75 articles by women archaeologists were published. These included those by Bożena Stelmachowska (13), Aleksandra Karpinska (12) and H.Cehak-Holubowiczowa (11). These and other women also carried out their own field projects, thereby contributing to the development of excavation and survey methods from field-walking and rescue excavation to large seasonal digs. They used new techniques and collaborated with specialists from other disciplines. Many women were also involved in the work of antiquarian societies.

In the period between the wars women took an active part in building the new Polish nation. Women did achieve academic distinction and took part in the development of teaching and excavation methods. However, political independence and equal legal rights did not change the way women were seen in social, political, economic and academic contexts. The place of women continued to be defined by the



gender politics of traditional Polish society, and only a few women succeeded in breaking out of those social constraints.

### POLISH ARCHAEOLOGY AFTER 1945

After the Second World War, Polish archaeology had to be rebuilt in a different ideological system. Pre-war departments of archaeology in Warsaw, Poznan and Cracow were re-opened, and new universities with departments of archaeology were established in Torun and Wroclaw which continued the work of previous departments in Vilnius and Lvov, now incorporated into the Soviet Union, and also at Lodz and Lublin. Museums and other archaeological institutions also resumed their activities. The ways in which Polish archaeology was defining its methodological standpoint and its place within the new political context are well reflected in the publications and field projects undertaken at this time.

The interpretative framework of archaeological data focused primarily on defining archaeological cultures and their chronology. Particularly in the later decades after the war there was also, however, a wider spectrum of interpretation encompassing some of the processes of prehistory.

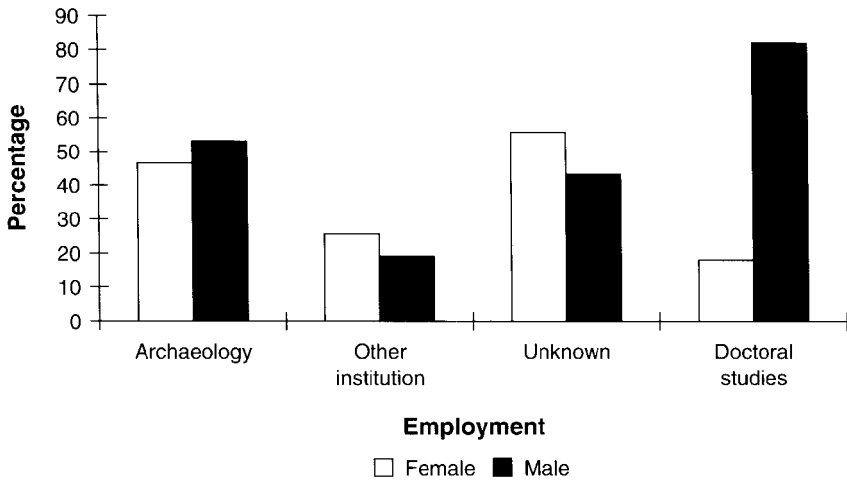
#### **The representation of women in Polish archaeology after 1945**

In 1981 a list of people who finished their studies in archaeology or were employed as archaeologists between 1945 and 1980 was published (Bialecka and Bochenek 1981). The list included information on when and where they received their masters degree, any subsequent academic qualifications, the subject of their research and their place of employment. For the purpose of this paper we have compiled data from this list concerning the categories of academic degree and place of employment and analysed it according to sex.

It is symptomatic that employment and academic distinction reflect the social divisions between women and men in Poland based on the traditional nature of the society. On the one hand, women were given full rights to education and employment, but, on the other hand, gender politics restricted women to the roles prescribed within traditional society. Although women took full advantage of educational and employment opportunities, gender politics restricted their achievement of higher academic recognition or better-paid jobs.

#### **Education and employment**

In the period between 1945 and 1980 out of a total of 1440 archaeologists 50.7 per cent were women in comparison to 49.3 per cent men. The slightly higher number of women finishing degrees in archaeology reflects to some extent the phenomenon mentioned before: that in the younger generations more women enter universities than men, especially to study the humanities. The employment figures do not follow this pattern, however, and more men found employment in archaeology while more



*Figure 4.1* The ratio of archaeology graduates in Poland according to employment between 1945 and 1980

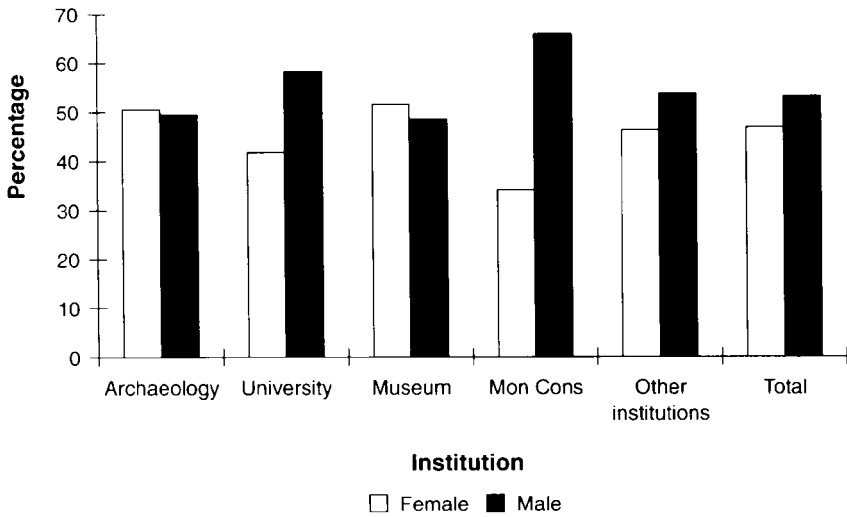
women worked outside the discipline (Figure 4.1), indicating that preference was given to men.

### Structure of employment within archaeological institutions

There are four major institutions employing archaeologists (Figure 4.2). These are: branches of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAS) where research is the primary concern; universities with departments of archaeology; institutions involved in the conservation of archaeological monuments; and various museums ranging from large archaeological museums to smaller museums with an archaeological section.

Although the representation of women within institutions employing archaeologists varies, there is no strong discrepancy visible in the total employment picture. Discrepancies between the numbers of female and male employees are clearly visible, however, when the structure of employment within particular institutions is analysed. The difference between the number of women and men employed in archaeology is more visible when looking at universities and monument conservation where the representation of women is much lower than in PAS or museums (Figure 4.2).

The fact that the lowest representation of women was within the monument conservation section was usually explained on the grounds of safety: this work involved field-walking, often alone in forested areas where women may not have been safe. The small number of women employed in monument conservation may also be explained, in our view, by the fact that it was relatively well paid, with many opportunities for additional earnings from excavations, field-walking (especially after the introduction of the regular archaeological survey of Poland) and working abroad. In addition, this job is perceived as being more suited to men than women due to the large amount of fieldwork involved. Men were seen as able to commit



*Figure 4.2* The ratio of degrees awarded to women and men working in various Polish institutions between 1945 and 1980

more time to activities outside the home, having less responsibility for bringing up children, for housework and for shopping.

### **Representation of women and men according to academic degrees and place of employment**

In Poland students have to finish a five-year course in archaeology to receive the masters degree. The division into field archaeologists and academics, present for example in Britain, barely exists in Poland as a result of the different structure of archaeological institutions and the lack of amateur archaeology. Doctoral studies are uncommon, and those who do choose to undertake them usually work at the same time, which makes the process of researching and writing up a dissertation long and drawn out. The habilitation is received after the defence of another thesis which gives the title of 'doctor with habilitation' (until recently 'docent') and the status of independent scholar. Professors are nominated on the basis of their professional output. We analysed first the ratio between women and men holding different degrees (Figure 4.3), and then compared the representation of women and men with degrees within different archaeological institutions (Figure 4.4).

This analysis shows that the higher the degree, the poorer the representation of women. Despite the higher number of women finishing degrees in archaeology, more men are employed than women. Closer examination shows that though in some institutions there are more women employed than men, women tend to hold lower positions. This is very noticeable in the PAS where there are more women with masters degrees and doctorates, while at the universities and in the museums this

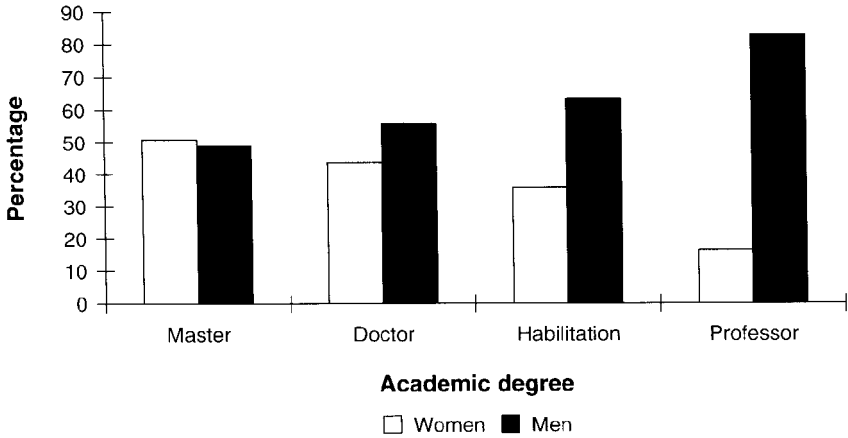


Figure 4.3 The ratio of women to men holding different degrees employed in archaeology in Poland between 1945 and 1980

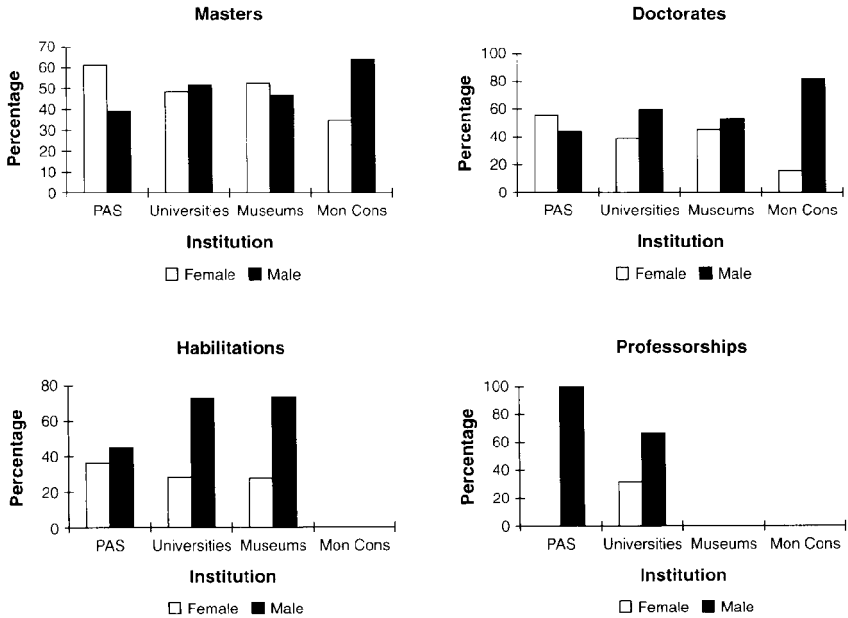


Figure 4.4 The ratio of women to men holding different degrees within the various Polish institutions between 1945 and 1980

trend manifests itself only at the masters-degree level. This may be explained by the fact that women primarily fill lower positions as younger assistants. In practice this means that, especially at the universities, women often end up with many hours of teaching per term, carry on research on behalf of staff with higher positions, and have administrative duties. This does not leave much time for women to follow their own research, thus slowing down careers already hampered by the traditional role of mothers and wives—very often without male participation in child care and domestic work. At the same time, the fact that there are almost twice as many men as women at habilitation and professorship level, with 14.6 per cent and 7.4 per cent in the PAS and universities together, means that women participate much less in decision-making concerning teaching and research, get fewer grants and have lower salaries.

The gender politics of socialist Poland gave women rights to education and employment which benefited women archaeologists. They completed their university education and entered archaeological employment in almost the same numbers as men. At the same time the traditional values of the Catholic society which Poland still was—despite its socialist government—restricted women from progressing in their academic careers and achieving better-paid jobs by stressing women's sole responsibility for the domestic sphere of life.

### **Representation of women and men in archaeological publications**

Another way of looking at the representation of women in Polish archaeology is to investigate in which journals and on what topics they published. For this purpose we chose three major archaeological periodicals: *Archaeology of Poland*, *Archaeological News* and *Archaeological Reports*. They represent different types of journals which allowed us to analyse a wide spectrum of topics. In the case of the first two, we also analysed the representation of women and men in the topic sections, while in the third we took into consideration one section only, the archaeological reports themselves. Although, as Victor and Beaudry point out, 'it is difficult to quantify the representation of women by using only raw counts' (Victor and Beaudry 1992), we felt that this analysis would provide insight into the participation of women in publishing about a variety of topics.

*Archaeology of Poland* (*Archeologia Polski*) is regarded as the leading archaeological periodical in Poland. It was established in 1957 and aims to publish articles on methodological issues and methods and to provide a forum for the discussion of contemporary topics. Each volume of the periodical has two issues. We compared the number of women and men who published beginning from volume 1 (1957) to volume 38, issue 1 (1994). This provides an excellent opportunity to see the more recent representation of women in the periodical.

*Archaeology of Poland* comprises the following sections: 1—studies (until volume 19 studies and materials) presenting more general works; 2—methods and methodology discussing theoretical issues and methods in archaeology; 3—a discussion and polemical section providing a forum for comment, views and discussion on a wide variety of topics in archaeological interpretation; 4—reviews of

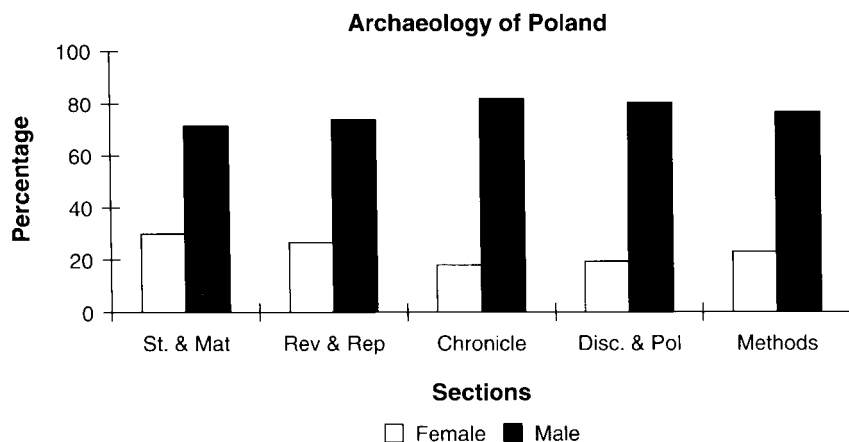


Figure 4.5 The ratio of contributions from women and men in the various sections of *Archaeology of Poland*

books and a chronicle section with reviews of conferences and other events (Figure 4.5).

The representation of women in each section is considerably lower than that of men. The highest representation of women can be observed in the studies section, the lowest in the chronicle and the discussion and polemics sections, where the highest representation of men is found. Overall only one quarter of the articles in *Archaeology of Poland* are by women.

The second journal, *Archaeological News (Wiadomosci Archeologiczne)*, is an official publication of the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw and is the major archaeological museum publication in the country. It is also one of the oldest archaeological periodicals in Poland. The employment structure within museums indicates a slightly higher ratio of women than men in these institutions (Figure 4.2). This ratio, however, is not reflected in the publications published by women (Figure 4.6). The sections of this periodical reflect the work of the museum.

*Archaeological News* comprises seven sections; 1—the studies section containing general articles concerning archaeological interpretation; 2—a materials section containing excavation reports; 3—a discoveries section which has short notes about the most recent excavations; 4—reviews of books and articles; 5—a museums and conservation section presenting various topics related to these aspects; 6—a chronicle section about the activities of the museums and conservation offices, conferences and seminars; 7—a miscellany section containing publications which do not fall into other sections. We considered volumes from the years 1957–85 to match as closely as possible our analysis of the *Archaeology of Poland* (Figure 4.6).

The pattern of publication is the same as that discussed above, with female authors disproportionately represented. Out of 1,907 articles published only one third were written by women. This trend is similar to the representation of female and male writers in the various sections of *Archaeological News*. The representation of female authors varies from the lowest in the reviews section to the highest in the materials

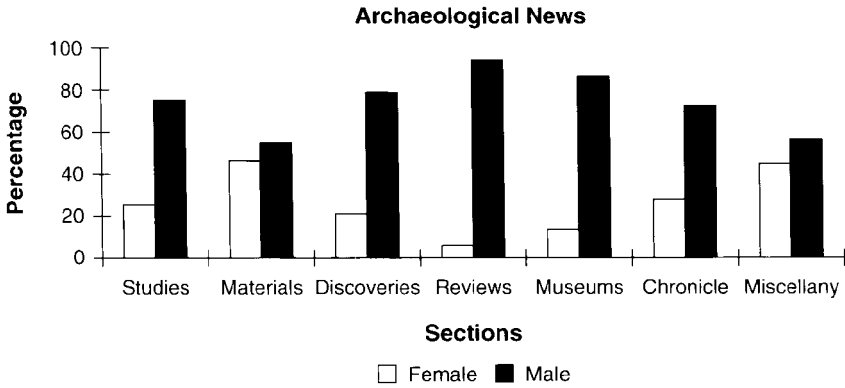


Figure 4.6 The ratio of contributions from women and men in the various sections of *Archaeological News*

section. The representation of male writers equals female writers only in the materials and miscellany section. In *Archaeological News* women represent almost a third of the authors, slightly higher than in *Archaeology of Poland*.

The last periodical taken into consideration is *Archaeological Reports* (*Sprawozdania Archeologiczne*). It was established in 1955 and is published by the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow. We analysed the representation of women and men writers in the years 1955–92. We included only the main section, concerning excavation reports, as it reflects women's involvement in fieldwork.

Of the 1,042 articles published in this section, 42.8 per cent are written by women. Analysis of the representation of women and men in each year shows that it fluctuates from very low in 1957 to high in 1974. Overall, however, the *Archaeological Reports* has the highest representation of women writers of the three periodicals compared here.

The representation of women authors in archaeological publications shows the same trend as in employment and academic degrees. Though *Archaeology of Poland* and *Archaeological Reports* are published by the branches of PAS where more women than men are employed, this is not reflected in their publications. Women comprise only one quarter and one third of authors respectively in these two periodicals. *Archaeological News* reflects an even bigger gap between the structure of employment and who publishes.

This publication structure reflects the same pattern as in education, employment and academic degrees, repeating the low representation of women. In the gender politics of socialist Poland the role of women is still strongly restricted by the traditional Catholic understanding of the place of women in society.

### Social perception of women's roles

The results of these analyses pose the often repeated question of why women are under-represented at the level of higher academic degrees and in publications. In

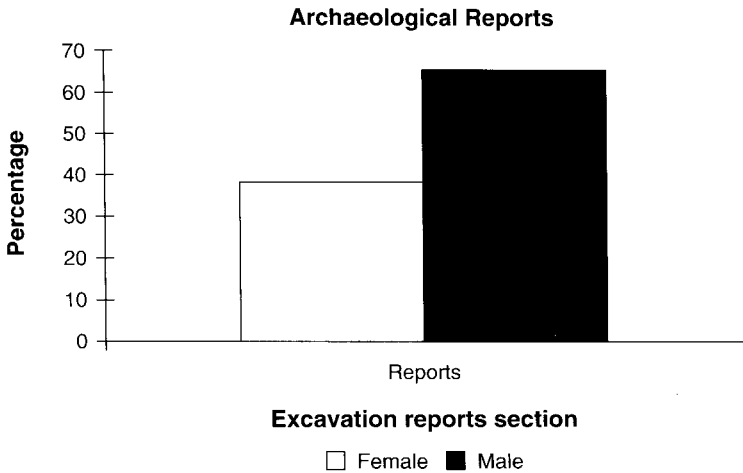


Figure 4.7 The ratio of contributions from women and men to the *Archaeological Reports*

order to answer this we must examine the social perception of women's roles and gender politics in Polish society. The tangled and complex history of the Polish state created very strong images of women. On the one hand women were actively involved in defending the country through the centuries and the image of the woman patriot was created, while on the other hand women were seen as the embodiment of moral virtues and family duties. These images were reinforced by legends, literature and the arts, where women were praised as the source of patriotic and romantic inspiration. Religion also played an important role in reinforcing the image of woman as mother.

After the Second World War new ideas about the role of women in society evolved. As we mentioned earlier, this resulted in a double burden of work and domestic duties for women. New political circumstances brought formal equality for women but in reality the traditional gender roles in society were not questioned. Equality propaganda stressed women's right to work while at the same time the media continued to portray women in their traditional roles. As a consequence women were perceived as less valuable employees and less capable of performing higher-status jobs. There was no active women's movement in Poland to promote women's issues, especially those concerning equal opportunities. Even today, as our study confirms, the social perception of women's and men's roles at work still reflects their traditional gender roles.

### **Women's contribution to archaeology**

The question of who should interpret the past and to what extent women are concerned has not been put forward in Polish archaeology. Women's contribution has never been recognized as important or instrumental in the development of the discipline. It is assumed *a priori* that men are the leading figures in the interpretation



of the past. Neither women nor men question the social construction and gender politics of such a status quo.

At the end of the nineteenth century under the partition of Poland women played an active part in keeping alive the traditions and heritage of the Polish nation by participating in and providing education. After Poland regained its independence women became archaeologists, working towards creating an awareness of national heritage on which the history of the state could be based. Since 1920, when archaeology courses were set up in Polish universities, women have been involved in the development of archaeology in many different forms. They were the first students at universities to read archaeology. They actively participated in fieldwork and teaching whenever it was made possible for them. All women who received degrees contributed greatly through their masters and doctoral dissertations, articles and other publications to the understanding and interpretation of the past.

After the Second World War women were, in theory, able to teach and to occupy all positions within the academic and institutional structures of archaeology. However, when we look at the representation of women in archaeology in terms of publications and degrees awarded we find that they are in practice still in the minority and their contribution remains more obscure. This situation is replicated in the structure of employment.

Women constitute nearly half of the total number of archaeologists employed in Poland. In the museums and PAS they constitute more than 50 per cent of the archaeologists employed and yet their contribution is not recognized. In the museums not only do they propagate prehistory by organizing exhibitions and working with the public, but they also conduct research and take part in or direct field projects. Field projects are an important aspect of work in the PAS, reflected by the high number of women publishing in *Archaeological Reports* and more generally in the material sections of archaeological periodicals.

Women publish more than ever before. They produce interpretations of the past of major importance. Their work, however, is implicitly looked on as being of lesser significance than that of their male counterparts. When we look at the publications on the history of Polish archaeology women's works are not discussed and quoted in the same way as those of their male colleagues. Though the list of women's publications is long and varies from general works to small articles, as is reflected in the bibliography of Polish archaeology, the implication is that women are present in archaeology but do not make a worthwhile contribution. Women work within the same interpretative framework as men, and they tend not to question social and economic aspects of interpreting past societies in which women's roles reflect the modern situation. Moreover, they do not question the social perception of women's role in contemporary society.

## CONCLUSION

The social context of a traditional society where Catholic values and norms are very strong with regard to the role of women and gender politics has not changed significantly since the second part of the nineteenth century. Women gained more

responsibilities in post-war Poland but the expectation that women should be mothers and wives did not change. The social constraints which see family life as women's priority continue to influence their professional achievements. With the political and economic changes of recent years, these so-called 'traditional' values have been energetically promoted by large numbers of politicians as offering a 'safe' outlook on life. In addition, women have been the first to carry the brunt of redundancies. The future is uncertain and the social costs of being one of the fastest-growing economies in Europe cannot be foreseen. The strength of the Catholic church has been restored, although the social legacy of the socialist era is also very strong. The role and rights of women are discussed not only as a part of the debate over the abortion law, but also in terms of the right of women to determine their own future. For the first time independent women's voices can be heard. They call for more equal participation in political, social and economic spheres of life, at the same time predicting a more equal share in the domestic sphere for men.

In this context Polish archaeology is constrained not only by interpretative factors but also by the politics of gender: it has to open itself to new interpretations of the past, just as the country has been opened to an uncertain future; but it also has to question the role of women as active participants in creating interpretations of the past. Fundamental changes within Polish culture are required in order to create the context in which women and men will have the same time available for writing and the same opportunities to publish and will receive academic recognition to the same extent. Only through such changes will the past become a heritage richer and more diverse than it is today.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank Marie Louise Stig Sørensen and Margarita Díaz-Andreu for inviting us to take part in this publication and for their suggestions. We would also like to thank Simon Kaner for his help and support.

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# WOMEN ARCHAEOLOGISTS IN RETROSPECT

## The Norwegian case

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### THE PRESENT SITUATION

The history of women archaeologists in Norway is a short one. The first woman entered the discipline in the early 1930s. That is 50 years after the first woman was admitted, in 1883, to attend lectures at the University of Kristiania, later known as Oslo (Agerholt 1973:60), and 60 years after the first chair in archaeology was instituted (1874). Today the ratio between female and male archaeologists in paid jobs is approximately 1:1, and has been so for the past 20 years. Until the 1960s, however, women were in a minority in the discipline. In the 1970s most women archaeologists held temporary jobs, and there were no women in leading positions in cultural heritage management, in university faculties or in the museums. This, however, has changed radically during the past decade, so that, in the early 1990s, out of 11 professors in archaeology, five are women, and there are two women among the five directors of archaeological museums.

This is an unusual situation in the Norwegian academic world. Although women are fairly well represented in some other humanistic disciplines and in some of the social sciences, there is no other academic discipline where women make up even approximately such a high percentage as in archaeology (Table 5.1).

How and why did this situation emerge? What factors triggered the present favourable ratio for Norwegian women archaeologists? There are no simple and straightforward answers to these questions. Explanations should be sought in a variety of interlinked factors, ranging from general, social and political conditions, to the particular development within the discipline itself. Not least, the women archaeologists themselves are vital for understanding the Norwegian case.

### AIMS AND APPROACHES

In the following discussion we will focus on the group of Norwegian women archaeologists whose formative years within the discipline were in the period 1930 to 1960. They were the very first professional women in the discipline in Norway (Table 5.2).

*Table 5.1* The percentage of women in permanent academic positions in the various faculties of the University of Bergen in 1994. These figures are representative for the situation in academic disciplines in Norway in general

<i>Faculty</i>	<i>Professors</i>	<i>Lecturers</i>
Arts and humanities	19.0	41.0
Science	4.1	9.3
Medicine	11.3	18.4
Odontology	5.0	30.0
Social science	14.3	25.0
Law	9.1	17.7
Psychology	12.5	30.6
Others	0	25.0
TOTAL	10.3	23.3

*Source:* statistics of equal opportunities prepared by the personnel department at the University of Bergen.

*Table 5.2* The first ten women archaeologists in Norway. They have all worked within the discipline, although not all have held permanent positions

	<i>Year of Magister Artium degree</i>
Eva Nissen Meyer (later Eva Nissen Fett)	1933
Wencke Slomann	1945
Charlotte Blindheim (née Undset Thomas)	1946
Elizabeth Skjelsvik	1953
Eldrid Straume	1956
Guri Dybsand	—
Gerd Stamsø Munch (née Stamsø)	—
Irmelin Martens	1958
Anne Stine Ingstad (née Moe)	1960
Ellen Karine Hougen (née Thune)	1962

These women have had a strong, but hitherto unacknowledged, influence on Norwegian archaeology. A major impact has been their function as role models for the generations of women who came after them. They set very high standards for archaeological documentation and for cataloguing artefacts. They demonstrated that it is possible to combine active fieldwork with family commitments and the care of young children, long before anyone even dreamed of demanding that the husband share domestic work. During their professional careers seven of these women raised from one to four children. Whether they also did a different kind of archaeology from that of their male colleagues is a very interesting question, upon which time and space allow us merely to touch. The fact that they were there, as an established part of the archaeological community, was a tremendously important signal to successive generations of young female students.

The three decades in question represent a period of dramatic changes, in society in general, and for women archaeologists in particular. Our main concern here is to highlight the social background and intellectual and academic milieu of the early

women archaeologists. In doing this we will also focus on the women themselves, their life histories and professional careers.

### A PERIOD OF CHANGE

During the 30-year period from 1930 to 1960 Norwegian society witnessed major social, political and technological changes. The depression of the 1930s, followed by the German occupation during the Second World War and subsequent post-war rebuilding, transformed the country from a society of farmers and fishermen, ruled by conservative ideals, to an industrialized social democratic welfare state. One of the most important factors in all this was the political influence of the labour movement. In 1935 the first Labour government of any duration was formed, after a settlement with *Bondepartiet* (the Farmers' party) (Furre 1971:208–9). During the Second World War the Labour government functioned in exile in England, and after the war there was a landslide for the left-wing parties, ranging from social democrats to communists. From 1945 to 1965 the social democratic Labour party was in power, most of the time based on a majority in Parliament, or supported by the Socialist party (a left-wing splinter of the Labour party itself). Thus, including the years in exile, Norway had a continuous Labour government for the whole 30-year span in question.

Norway has never been a society rigidly divided by class in the European/British sense. The social structure of the nation was based on the farmers (mostly small-scale), not the nobility (which was abandoned by law in 1821 (Bergsgård 1964:84)). From its first time in power, in 1935, the Labour party had to take this into consideration, and integrate the interests of the autonomous farmers in its ideology. Thus, a particular brand of social democracy emerged, combining the age-old, slightly nationalist values of the farmers, with the ideology of internationalist, socialist, industrial workers. The bond that held them together was a special kind of (often non-religious) pietism, where hard manual labour, love of nature, linguistic liberalism (language being the most obvious class symbol in modern Norway) and temperance were important aspects, sometimes combined with a heavy dash of anti-intellectualism. What frictions there were within the system seem often to have been between urban and rural values.

Under this regime, which is still thought of with love and respect, the country was rebuilt after the war, materially as well as spiritually. An industrialized welfare state emerged, based on ideals like expansion and solidarity, built into a social democratic ideology. Its success and popularity were as unquestionable as its basic values: men are the bread-winners, women work within the domestic sphere. The feminine mystique' (Friedan 1967) thrived as well in this environment as in post-war, capitalist North America. So, even if some women during these years took up work outside the home, they were the exceptions. Women in academia were rarities—even more so when seen from the outside than from within, where they could be judged by their academic merits.

Table 5.3 The number of professional archaeologists in Norway, with the number of women given as a percentage of the total

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of professionals (approx.)</i>	<i>Percentage of women</i>
1940	14	7 (1 female Mag. Art. degree)
1950	16	18
1960	18	20
1970	45	30
1984	150	40
1992	210	49

### THE STRUCTURE OF NORWEGIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Up until the 1970s archaeology in Norway almost exclusively dealt with Norwegian and Nordic archaeology. After the Law of Antiquities was passed in 1905, five archaeological museums were given the responsibility for administering the law in their respective regions. These are the present University Museum of National Antiquities in Oslo, the Museum of Archaeology in Stavanger, Bergen Museum, Museum of National History and Archaeology in Trondheim and Tromsø Museum, of which four are incorporated in the universities in their respective regions (Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim, Tromsø).

Until the late 1950s the discipline was exclusive, with only a few professional jobs. From 1940 to 1960 the number of professional archaeologists remained fairly constant, with only a minor increase from 14 to 18. From one single woman in the discipline in the 1930s, the number of women in permanent positions or on long-term contracts increased to about 20 per cent in 1960 (Table 5.3).

Archaeology was not only an exclusive, but also a prestigious discipline. Most of the professionals belonged to the establishment, some with substantial private means which enabled them to carry out research projects far beyond the funding that they received through their archaeological employment. This applies to men and women alike.

Up until 1990, when major alterations in the Law of Antiquities were enacted, the archaeological institutions in Norway represented an unusual combination of law enforcement, administration, bureaucracy, fieldwork, museum work, university teaching, and research. All the permanent positions were at the five regional archaeological museums, and were associated both with museum and legal heritage work, in combination with research. Before the Second World War, the only teaching in archaeology was performed by the professor at the University of Oslo, in addition to his other duties as director of the University Museum. When the University of Bergen was established in 1946, as the second university in Norway, a similar structure emerged there.

### WOMEN ENTER THE STAGE

The fact that archaeology in Norway was based in the museums and encompassed all aspects of work related to the discipline, may, to a certain extent, explain why

relatively many women archaeologists were allowed into the discipline. There is no tradition in Norway of amateur archaeologists. This is probably due to the very structure of Norwegian archaeology, where the five regional archaeological museums were not only administrators of the Law of Antiquities, but also museums and teaching institutions. This may have paved the way for women, and made it easier for them to be accepted in the discipline. Since there was no room for women as interested amateurs, they had to become professionals. It is interesting to notice that in 1941 the student female/male ratio in archaeology was 6:2 (Hagen 1990:20).

Another factor that may also, in part, explain why women were allowed into the discipline, is that museum work was a fairly low-paid occupation, compared, for example, to the wages of high-school teachers. This kind of work, therefore, was considered suitable for women, who, when single, had only themselves to care for, or, when married, had husbands who were the 'genuine' bread-winners.

After World War II the most important factor behind the increase in the number of female archaeologists was the demand for an archaeological labour-force to deal with destruction caused by the extensive post-war rebuilding and exploitation of land. At the same time surveying related to the national ancient sites and monument register accelerated. This period, characterized by major land development, was accompanied, in 1951, by a revised and more restrictive Law of Antiquities. As a consequence, fieldwork (surveys and excavations) expanded. In particular, the large hydro-electric-power projects which were undertaken in the mountain areas during the 1950s were major consumers of archaeological labour. During this period of increased archaeological activity, women were accepted into the discipline in greater numbers, and perhaps with more enthusiasm, than previously. They were engaged in the large projects, a fact that was important to their self-esteem. Through their subsequent work with cultural heritage management, the women eventually gained authority, and became role models for younger women and female students. Traditionally, archaeology had been a purely academic profession, but this, to a certain extent, changed during the post-war era. Many female candidates found their first jobs in an environment where the craftsmanship, just as much as academic qualifications, was emphasized. Women thus entered the discipline at a time of turbulence and change, in society and politics as well as in the university system and in archaeology itself. In retrospect it is easy to see that the changes that took place in society, not to mention the changes that did *not* after all happen, were important to early women archaeologists and their working conditions.

### THREE PIONEERS

The three earliest women archaeologists in Norway represent three different prototypes in terms of professional careers and life histories, aspects of their biographies which in our opinion are inseparably linked.

The first female archaeologist in Norway was Eva Nissen Meyer (later Eva Nissen Fett). She earned her Magister Artium degree in 1933 for the dissertation 'Relieffspenner i Norden' (Square-headed brooches in the Nordic area (Meyer 1935)). This thesis, in which she applied a Montelian approach, is a classic. She





*Figure 5.1* Eva Nissen Fett recording rock art in southwestern Norway in the summer of 1940 (photo: Per Fett)

never held a permanent position in archaeology. However, after she had earned her degree, she was acting curator for three years on behalf of the professor in Bergen, Johannes Bøe, doing both museum-work and fieldwork (Figure 5.1). Just prior to World War II she married a fellow archaeologist, Per Fett, and eventually raised four children. During her years as a housewife she did a good deal of archaeological research 'at the kitchen table', as the Norwegian expression goes. For several years, from 1968, she acted as external examiner in archaeology at the University of Bergen. Much of her research focused on settlement archaeology in various local communities, covering the time-span from the Early Stone Age to the Viking Age,

work which she conducted as a freelance (Fett 1962, 1968, 1970, 1972; Fett and Fett 1953). She was the first female archaeologist in Norway to work with rock art, and together with her husband she conducted very important research on this subject (Fett and Fett 1941, 1979). As a researcher she combined an excellent command of traditional archaeological methods with an integrated approach emphasizing the interconnectedness of various aspects of human life. This is particularly evident in her works on prehistoric religion (e.g. Fett 1942; Fett and Fett 1979).

When asked in an interview whether she ever saw herself and her husband as competitors, she answered in the affirmative. In 1935 a position as research assistant was established at the museum in Bergen. It was more or less created for her future husband, and since they were engaged to be married at the time, she did not apply. 'But had we not been engaged', she said, 'then I would probably have applied' (Bergsvik 1988:23).

The second woman in Norway who, in 1945, earned her degree in archaeology was Wencke Slomann. As a refugee in Sweden during World War II she wrote her dissertation, 'Medelpad og Jämtland i eldre jernalder' (Medelpad and Jämtland in the Early Iron Age (published in 1950)). Slomann was the very first woman in Norway to hold a permanent curatorial position, which she held for 40 years, from 1966 as chief curator (Figure 5.2). She never married, and had no children, but for several years she had other demanding family obligations. Besides doing curatorial work, including fieldwork, excavations and surveying, as well as administering the Law of Antiquities, she was for many years also the museum librarian at the University Museum in Oslo. She compiled two Norwegian archaeological bibliographies, covering the years 1936–56 (Slomann 1959) and 1956–63 (Slomann 1964), partly based on annual compilations prepared by Charlotte Blindheim and published in the Norwegian periodical *Viking*. In addition she edited books and journals, including nine years on the editorial board of the periodical *Norwegian Archaeological Review*. Slomann was a very knowledgeable and learned person, and she was a much sought-after tutor, for students as well as colleagues—male and female (Sjøvold 1986; Christensen 1990). Her main research interest was the Early Iron Age, and she did important studies on typology and chronology (e.g. Slomann 1954, 1956a, 1956b, 1961a, 1961b, 1970, 1971a, 1971b, 1972, 1973, 1977). She had a wide network of contacts in archaeological milieus on the continent, and she was for several years the Norwegian board member of the Sachsen Symposium. When, in the early 1980s, asked by two of the authors of this paper about her experiences as a woman archaeologist, she merely stated that she had never felt discriminated against.

The third woman in Norway to complete her education in archaeology, was Charlotte Undset Thomas, who, as Charlotte Blindheim, earned her Magister Artium degree in 1946 for the dissertation 'Drakt og smykker. Studier i jernalderens drakthistorie i Norden' (Costumes and jewellery. Studies in the history of costumes in the Nordic Iron Age (published 1947)). This subject was not approved by her professor, who had wanted her to write a thesis on megaliths, and consequently he more or less lost interest in her as a student (Uleberg and Harby 1992). The very same year as she earned her degree, she was appointed curator at the University Museum in Oslo. She married in 1945, and she earned her degree before her



*Figure 5.2* Wencke Slomann excavating at Kaupang in 1956 (photo: Charlotte Blindheim)

husband, Martin Blindheim, an art historian who eventually became curator at the same institution as herself. She was thus the bread-winner for a while, a situation she herself has described as a most useful experience (Blindheim 1993).

Charlotte Blindheim was the first woman archaeologist in Norway to direct a large-scale excavation project, that of the Viking Age market-place of Kaupang in Vestfold



*Figure 5.3* Women and children at the Kaupang excavation in the 1950s; Charlotte Blindheim to the left (photo: private collection of Charlotte Blindheim)

county. The fieldwork, which started in the early 1950s, continued for 17 years, and at its time this project was one of the largest in Norway. Blindheim even raised the money for it herself.

She was determined to continue her fieldwork even when having young children to take care of (Figure 5.3). She is convinced that her stubbornness in this matter paved the way for other women archaeologists who wanted to combine child care with fieldwork. She was the first member of the faculty of arts and humanities at the University of Oslo who got maternity leave, when her second child was born in 1951. When, some years previously, she was expecting her first child, she did not dare to inform the professor that it was actually her lawful right to have maternity leave (Blindheim 1993). The professor, most generously in his own opinion, granted her some weeks leave of absence in connection with the childbirth!

In a retrospective article Charlotte Blindheim sums up her experiences in the following manner:

In principle, I think that the less we make the question of women's rights an issue in our professional lives, the better. There are fundamental differences in men's and women's approaches to the profession, simply because the two sexes are different.

(Blindheim 1993:64, translated by the authors)

However, she adds that there was a costly price to pay, adjustments and compromises to be made on the way. She is probably correct in stating that the fact that she was a student during the war drew attention away from gender to the more important question of patriotic stand. As to academic rewards, she seems to have accepted the fact that women tend to fall behind (Blindheim 1993).

Charlotte Blindheim's research concentrated on the Viking Age, with a bibliography of more than 100 titles and 1,600 pages (Stensdal 1987). 'The epitome of Norwegian Viking Age' is the characterization given to her by David Wilson (1987:10).

## THE SECOND GENERATION

What strikes us when looking back at the early women archaeologists is the tenacity with which they insisted on doing archaeology, and their determination to explore and participate in all aspects of the discipline. This was the case with the three pioneers, and it was also the case with the next generation (Table 5.2).

Unlike those of early Swedish women archaeologists (Gustafsson 1993:10), the social and academic backgrounds of the early Norwegian women archaeologists have certain common characteristics. They came from upper-middle-class families, their fathers held important positions in society, and their mothers were housewives. Those who married, married men from the same class. Another common denominator is that they were very well educated. The majority were A-level students when they entered the university. Not only did they earn their *Magister Artium* degrees in archaeology—a degree which is approximately equivalent to an American Ph.D.—but they even did additional subjects (*Cand. philol.*, a degree roughly corresponding to a Master of Arts degree), as a safety measure in order to qualify as high-school teachers in case they did not get the opportunity to work as archaeologists.

However, all the women of the generation following the pioneers did get jobs within the archaeological establishment. They started their careers doing all sorts of odd and temporary jobs, ranging from curatorial work to excavations and surveys, but eventually most of them got permanent positions, and in recent years a couple of them have even been appointed professors. Anne Stine Ingstad was in 1977 granted a special life scholarship from the state (*statsstipendiat*).

In the 1950s a fairly large group of female students started and completed their archaeological education, the majority at the University of Oslo. For a while female students outnumbered male. It is worth noticing that these students had two of the pioneers as living role models in their daily surroundings (Slomann and Blindheim). One would assume that this made the female students a strong, confident and competent group. Nevertheless, their male tutors, who were curators at the University Museum, rather patronizingly referred to the female students as 'the Girls'.

Several of the 1950s generation of women archaeologists came to be in charge of large research programmes, which went on for years. Thus, for more than 10 years Irmelin Martens was the director of the large investigations in the south Norwegian mountain area in connection with hydro-electric-power projects (Martens and

Hagen 1961). Although she had not yet earned her *Magister Artium* degree at the time, she was considered by her superiors to be fully competent and the only available candidate for the job.

Besides working on cultural heritage management—as one of three covering the whole of northern Norway—Gerd Stamsø Munch did some important first excavations on farm mounds (e.g. Munch 1966), and also on early Christian burials (Munch 1988). During the 1980s she directed the Inter-Scandinavian research project on a chieftain's farm site in Borg, Lofoten (e.g. Munch et al. 1987). With her international team, Anne Stine Ingstad spent eight seasons at L'Anse Aux Meadows, excavating the Nordic settlement sites (Ingstad 1970b, 1971, 1975, 1977), after having first done extensive surveying along the coast of Newfoundland, together with her husband, the writer and explorer Helge Ingstad.

As field administrators the female archaeologists were both strong and competent. They set standards for the work, in the field as well as in the written reports, which are seen as exemplary today. It does not seem far-fetched to discern the role-model effect of Charlotte Blindheim and her year-long Kaupang project in the work, demands for quality and style of leadership of the women of the 1950s.

Some of the women of this second generation were engaged in jobs which they, to a large extent, had to create themselves. This is the case with work associated with the surveying of ancient sites and monuments after the revision of the Law of Antiquities in 1951, a job which from 1963 onwards was held by Elizabeth Skjelsvik at the University Museum in Oslo. It is also the case with the teaching of archaeology after major reforms in university education in the late 1950s. These reforms demanded a totally different educational structure, and one of the first to establish new curricula within the revised system was Eldrid Straume, at the University of Oslo. She also established, together with Ellen Karine Hougen, the first so-called school-excavation for students in archaeology at the University of Oslo. Ellen Karine Hougen later became the first museum-lecturer in archaeology in Norway (lecturer in charge of the museum educational programme).

Looking at the situation for the first two generations of women archaeologists in retrospect, it is obvious that they did many of the same jobs as their male colleagues. However, it is also clear that they also did much work which the men shied away from, such as general curatorial chores, which were not included in publications. Put another way: there were dishes to be done, and the women archaeologists were the ones who did them—for themselves as well as for their male colleagues. Like dish-washing at home, this work is invisible until the day it ceases to be done.

## WORKING CONDITIONS

What were working conditions like for the first women archaeologists? They often worked in the countryside, doing 'unfeminine' things like digging in the soil and issuing orders to men, thus challenging contemporary gender ideology. At the same time, socially, they represented upper-middle-class urbanism, liberalism and academic life, all values that were alien to the public life of the countryside. The women, both antiquarians and field archaeologists, also represented potential

conflicts with the farmers' immediate interests. Professionally, they represented authority based on a discipline that played an important part in the nation's ideology, its past and the land rights. Judicially, they represented a threat, since their recognition of prehistoric sites sometimes imposed restrictions on the farmers' right to exploit their own property. With so many potential sources of conflict to contend with, no wonder that neither the women archaeologists themselves nor anyone else focused especially on their gender.

Even today, archaeological lore is full of stories of districts where work has been made difficult because of the way one or other woman archaeologist has related to the local population. This concerns not the first generations of women in the field, but a great number of those who came after. What this tells us, is not that women archaeologists are more difficult or incompetent than their male colleagues, but that there is a very strong resistance in rural communities to females in positions of authority. If one assumes that this was even more pronounced before 1960, it becomes evident that simply doing the job was made more difficult for women than for men. When she returned to the museum, a woman would be evaluated not only for her academic merits, but also for the response she evoked in the public. Very often it must have seemed to everyone as if men were simply 'better' at the job than women were.

In addition to being men and carrying recognized male authority, male archaeologists often had a different social background. While we have not made a systematic investigation of this, even a cursory survey discloses that male archaeologists were recruited from a wider range of social milieus. Quite a few of them were in fact farmers' sons, which gave them the advantage of knowing and being accepted into that environment when they came back as persons of authority. Quite often they would also share what one could call the ideological research aims of this society. It may not be entirely an accident that, in the 1930s, Norwegian archaeologists, with support from the Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, decided that prehistoric farming was to be the prime research aim for the next decade (Hagen 1953).

#### ACADEMIC VISIBILITY

Regarded as separate groups, female and male archaeologists at the time seem to have had different characteristics. It can be assumed that the same background that gave some male archaeologists an advantage when working outside the universities, made them feel at a disadvantage in academic environments. The women, on the other hand, were all based in upper-middle-class security, and thus in some ways better prepared for the academic world. With respect to academic careers, however, it is unquestionable that the women did not climb the hierarchical ladder as fast and to the same level as their male colleagues. Until the mid-1980s none of them reached a top position within the discipline. A few worked as deputy directors, but mostly as informal stand-ins for professors or directors. To a certain extent, this was related to the fact that only few of these women went for a Dr. philos. degree, which is the highest academic degree in Norway, roughly equivalent to the German Doktor

Habilitation. Traditionally, this degree, which was considered a prerequisite for obtaining top positions within academia, was earned rather late in life, often after one had passed 50 years of age.

The first woman archaeologist who earned her Dr. philos. degree, in 1978, was Anne Stine Ingstad for her research on the Norse settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows (Ingstad 1977), 71 years after the first male archaeologist earned the degree. Twice as many men as women educated during the 30 years in question earned the Dr. philos. degree. All the men held permanent positions, all had wives catering for their domestic needs. It thus appears to have been easier for male archaeologists in permanent positions to concentrate on a doctoral dissertation than it has been for the women archaeologists (Mandt and Næss 1986).

The male archaeologists were the ones who were most visible in the media. They were also in authority in the traditional academic fora in Norway. This is, for example, the case with the prestigious Academy of Science, to which the first Norwegian woman archaeologist, Anne Stine Ingstad, was elected only in the late 1980s. It is thought-provoking that a Swedish woman archaeologist, Hanna Rydh, was as early as 1934 elected to the Norwegian Society of Science (Norske Videnskabers Selskab) in Trondheim (Gustafsson 1993: 18). Several of the early women archaeologists have been long-standing members of foreign academic societies. Thus, Wencke Slomann was, from the 1950s until her retirement, the Norwegian board member of the Sachsen Symposium, Charlotte Blindheim was elected to the Viking Society, and Eldrid Straume to the Deutschen Archeologischen Institut. Some of the women have also been awarded academic honours. Thus, Anne Stine Ingstad was conferred honorary doctor's degrees both at the Memorial University, St Johns in Newfoundland and at the University of Bergen. Both Wencke Slomann and Charlotte Blindheim have got their festschrifts. In the one celebrating Blindheim's seventieth birthday, the first name to appear on the *tabula gratulatoria* is that of His Majesty King Olav V.

The women archaeologists were not content to define themselves academically through museum-work and fieldwork exclusively; they also made themselves visible through publications and by participating in national as well as international conferences. Many of them were members of the editorial boards for archaeological periodicals, although they seldom functioned as sole editor. We have made a brief and somewhat superficial comparison of the publications of the female and male archaeologists educated during the period 1933–62, in total 10 women and 13 men. The available bibliographies (covering the time-span 1934–90) show that the 10 women are responsible for around 350 titles, covering more than 7,000 pages. More than 30 of the title entries contain over 50 pages, while the rest vary down to two to three pages. The bulk of the women's production appears in periodicals, published either by the institutions where they worked, or by local history societies. The women were more frequent contributors to periodicals for local history than the men. When it comes to international periodicals, including conference reports, the bibliographies show 50–60 titles by male archaeologists, compared to about 40 by women. However, only two to three men are responsible for around 50 per cent of the men's titles. In addition to the publications included in the bibliographies, there is



a hidden productivity of at least the same dimensions: namely acquisition catalogues which were often published anonymously, and field reports which were not published, but incorporated into the museum's topographically organized archives.

Academic visibility, in the manner that apparently counts, is a question of publishing in well-known periodicals. This, of course, is an *a posteriori* evaluation, meaning that most probably the pioneers in question did not realize that these were to be the parameters of academic merit. As the years went by, however, field reports and museum catalogues came to count for very little compared to when men ruled the field, whereas papers based on such documentation are considered to be of academic merit, even if the basic documentation (the dishwashing) is missing. Women, then and now, tend to behave like nice girls and do first things first. Only slowly are we learning that it does not always pay. If you are extremely unlucky you find that others use your primary documentation for their own merit.

#### A DIFFERENT ARCHAEOLOGY?

A most intriguing question is whether women archaeologists do a different archaeology from that of their male colleagues. Do they ask different questions? Are their theoretical and methodical approaches different from those used by male archaeologists? Within the context of this paper we have only been able to touch upon this problem.

As to the content of the production of female and male archaeologists educated during the period 1933–62, it is evident that the men had a more widespread repertoire, covering a wider array of subjects and periods than their female colleagues. It is the men who have written the general over-views on Norwegian prehistory (except for Straume 1973), in which all time-periods are included. The women, on the other hand, have to a large extent focused on topics from the Iron Age in their first major works (their *Magister Artium* dissertations), as well as in later publications. This fascination of women archaeologists with the later periods of prehistory does not characterize only the earliest women in the discipline, but has been a trend up until today, leading Synnøve Vinsrygg (1987) to ask whether it is easier for women archaeologists to identify with the later periods, where the remnants of female activities appear to be more clearly identifiable than in the Stone Age material.

Thus, while the first six women wrote their *Magister Artium* dissertations on the Early or Late Iron Age (Blindheim 1947; Martens 1969; Meyer 1935; Skjelsvik 1953; Slomann 1950; Straume 1961), the first dissertations on Stone Age subjects written by women did not appear until 1960 and 1962 (Hougen 1962; Ingstad 1970a). The women's point of departure was archaeological material from Norway (or earlier Norwegian territory, as in the case of Slomann), but their research often led them outside the national domain. They were all very well acquainted with current research elsewhere in northern Europe for the period with which they dealt.

Even late in their careers most of the early women focused primarily on Iron Age research, remaining the experts within their respective fields in Norway: Wencke Slomann on the Early Iron Age, with emphasis on foreign influences (Stensdal

1986); Charlotte Blindheim on the Viking Age and early urbanism, as well as on costumes (Stensdal 1987); Irmelin Martens on traditional iron processing (Martens 1969); and Eldrid Straume on imported Early Iron Age glass (Straume 1984, 1987). Unlike her contemporaries, Eva Nissen Fett did not specialize in a certain period or source category. She developed instead her own personal research approach, discernible both in her studies on settlement history (Fett 1962, 1968, 1970, 1972; Fett and Fett 1953), and in her work on rock art and prehistoric religion (Fett and Fett 1941, 1979).

The research of these early women is characterized by a profound and meticulous processing of the empirical material, most often based on their own surveys and excavations. They were primarily concerned with the presentation of the empirical data, while theoretical discussions are rare or absent. In this respect, however, they do not differ from their contemporary male colleagues. Another common denominator for the early women archaeologists, which may be considered a drawback, is that they are very careful, sometimes even hesitant, when it comes to drawing conclusions.

#### WOMEN ARCHAEOLOGISTS IN THE MALE WORLD

One would assume that the large number of women archaeologists in Norway would have made women clearly visible in the discipline. However, this is not the case. What strikes us with amazement is that we ourselves—who constitute only the fifth generation of women archaeologists—have not really seen our female predecessors, in the sense that we have not fully acknowledged the importance and impact of their work. In the late 1970s we were primarily concerned with questioning and challenging the male bias in science, and somehow we overlooked, or took for granted, those women who had paved the way for us. Perhaps we saw them with the eyes of our male tutors. One of their male colleagues once commented on one of his (and our) most learned and knowledgeable colleagues that what was lacking in her scientific production was this *Magnum Opus* (that is the *Dr. philos.* dissertation), which would have given her the formal academic recognition she might have deserved. He did not say, 'which she did deserve', thus implying his doubts about her qualifications, and leaving an opening for his full control.

In the early 1980s it was stated by one of our female colleagues, Heid Gjøstein Resi, that male-dominated society has much to answer for where the treatment of women is concerned (Resi 1986). Transferring this general statement to the situation of women archaeologists and our lack of self-confidence, she argued that surprisingly many women need constant and explicit support from colleagues in order to manage to complete a major scientific dissertation: women need to be encouraged in order to believe that they have something valuable to contribute. It is typical of the situation that when women archaeologists have summoned up the courage to apply for professorships, they have generally been found to be qualified for these positions.

Owing to the large number of women archaeologists in Norway for more than two decades, it may well be that the women—at least in part—have functioned in a separate framework from the men, a framework perhaps not consciously recognized

by the women themselves. When the young generation have looked to the women who went before them, they have perhaps wanted not only to be equal, but to surpass them. We would like to use a somewhat unorthodox analogy to illustrate our point. In the canine world bitches and dogs each operate within their separate rank systems. The climbing of the hierarchical ladder goes on within the systems, not between them. It is therefore uncommon for the females and males of the canine species to compete—and fight—about rank between themselves. This comparison cannot, of course, provide a complete account of human academic relations, but it may perhaps explain some of the agents at work, in particular in a discipline where there are—and for a number of years have been—many women. It may also illustrate another point, which we have not had scope to develop here, namely the subtle undercurrents which are at work in a male-dominated society. It is as if, in order to undermine women's positions and authority, the men close rank and shut the women out.

Characteristic of the early women in Norwegian archaeology is an uncompromising quest for knowledge and an adherence to the formal rules laid down for scholarly work. Women have thus set new and higher standards, for example for field documentation and museum work. As a group they seem to have been guided more by ideals than by a search for personal gain. Or is it that they tried to live up to these ideals in the belief that they alone form the basis for competition in the academic world? If so, it may have been a case of bad judgement on their part. To us it seems that the work invested by the early women has been of much greater importance to the development of archaeology than has ever been reflected by the recognition they have gained within the discipline.

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## SPANISH WOMEN IN A CHANGING WORLD

### Strategies in the search for self-fulfilment through antiquities

*Margarita Díaz-Andreu*

Complete or virtual absence of women is a common characteristic in all histories of archaeology, and Spain is no exception in this respect.<sup>1</sup> Yet in this chapter alone more than 30 women archaeologists are mentioned. Women have been excluded from the dominant discourse, have been almost eliminated from the narration of the development of a discipline, have been hidden, considered as unimportant, almost non-existent. Selection means judgement, judgement made in a specific socio-political climate. We need, therefore, to reflect on what facts have been selected to make women disappear from histories of archaeology: evidence based on publications and participation in open debates<sup>2</sup>—areas in which women, it is true, have until recently been little involved. However, women's absence from the public sphere should not be taken to imply that their contribution to the discipline has been insignificant; their absence from histories of archaeology is unjustified.

This chapter seeks to redress the lack of information available about women's role in Spanish archaeology, particularly in its early days, by means of an examination of how and in what circumstances they were incorporated into the profession, their expectations and the reality which confronted them, and the contribution they made to archaeology and the recognition they achieved. The changing nature of their role up to the present will also be analysed.

#### WHERE WERE THEY? ANTIQUITIES AND WOMEN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

No women worked as professional archaeologists in Spain during the nineteenth century. This is hardly surprising. Although in theory women were allowed into university from 1868, in practice they were hindered from doing so until 1910 (Capel Martínez 1986:342).<sup>3</sup> As women were denied access to the Escuela Superior de Diplomática (ESD, School of Advanced Diplomatic Studies), the centre where archaeology was taught, they were unable to take the state examinations for admission to the Cuerpo Facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Anticuarios (Corps of Archivists, Librarians and Anti-quarians).<sup>4</sup> As a result, they could not work in any archaeological museum. Although, therefore, there were no women archaeologists in nineteenth-century Spain, we must pause to survey the evolution of the discipline in this period, and at the end of the previous century, in order to understand the processes which would later enable them to join the profession.



At the end of the eighteenth century a substantial change took place in the political sphere which contributed, on the one hand, to the emergence of archaeology as a profession, and on the other, to women's incorporation into the world of work. This was the creation of the modern state and its essence, the nation. Interest in ancient ruins and objects had been aroused during the European Renaissance. However, this was only taken up professionally throughout Europe in the nineteenth century. Then, the new political ideology of nationalism required the development of disciplines which could help to legitimize it, as well as the creation of bodies of experts who upheld the new political system institutionally. Moreover, the new context generated by the consolidation of the modern state also created the space in which women could demand a series of rights they had previously been denied. In the nineteenth century everything had to be regulated (see for example Nielfa 1995), and women were initially apportioned a variety of rigid roles. These, instead of liberating them, restricted their field of action. Despite this bleak scenario, the new political system contained the germ of the future development of women's equality, as on the one hand it secularized society, and on the other, it was conceived around the notion of the individual.

Nineteenth-century Spain still laboured under the burden of the crisis provoked by the disintegration of its empire which had begun centuries earlier. The definitive loss of the last imperial possessions at the end of the century, combined with economic under-development caused by limited industrialization, prevented a powerful bourgeoisie from emerging. This fact increased the number of obstacles to the consolidation of political nationalism and to the creation of a modern state of the kind being constructed in the more powerful European countries, which in turn explains the late transformation of the position of women that separated Spain from many other European countries. Secularization of Spanish society also contributed to the idea that for the first time it was necessary to prepare women for work in case they found themselves in the undesirable situations of spinsterhood or widowhood. The church was no longer considered the only alternative; work was a lesser evil than before, a means of cushioning the blow for women who found themselves in these predicaments. It was now also thought that a good mother and wife had to receive an education in order to help her children in their education and to be a good companion for her husband. All over Europe, the first step taken towards the integration of women as active members of society was to give them access to education. The important place that education occupied in the bourgeoisie's new scale of values was crucial in this respect. Originally, and in accordance with the restrictive ideology developed in relation to women, they were only allowed to receive an education, in Rousseau's words, in order to 'educate [the man] when a child, care for him when old, advise and console him, make his life pleasing and calm', in order that the husband would find 'someone to whom he could confide his secrets and engage in rational conversation' (Rousseau 1763 quoted in Capel Martínez 1986:313).

However, during the nineteenth century more liberal intellectuals began to recognize the need not merely to educate women, but also to prepare them for work. It was in this context that in 1869 a centre was founded in Spain by members of the circle which would go on to establish the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (Institute of

Free Education), an Escuela de Institutrices (School of Women Teachers), and a little later, in 1871, the Asociación para la Enseñanza de la Mujer (Association for the Education of Women). This was intended to ‘furnish young women with the essential notions of a woman’s intellectual, moral and social culture, and to prepare those who are to devote themselves to teaching and education’ (Article One of the statutes, quoted in Cacho Viu 1962:277), as well as for other ‘professions, besides teaching, to which (each woman) is called by her particular aptitudes’ (Manuel Ruiz de Quevedo cited in Capel Martínez 1986:333). This institution was similar to others then in existence throughout Europe.<sup>5</sup> In Spain, the first professions to open their doors to women from the mid-nineteenth century onwards were primary-school teaching and nursing. School teachers played a crucial role in the subsequent development of the working woman, inspiring later generations to go on to higher education (as in the cases of some archaeologists described below). The first woman to attend a Spanish university, Concepción Arenal, who studied in Madrid in the middle of the century, is said to have attended classes dressed as a man (*Enciclopedia* 1930 (6):27). In 1882 Martina Castells became the first woman to qualify as a doctor of medicine, whilst only in 1929 did Pilar Careaga become the first woman to obtain a degree in engineering (Capel Martínez 1986:187).

As for archaeology, we have already seen that in the nineteenth century there were no women employed in the profession. The only institutions in which they were then able to work were archaeological museums, or the Advanced School of Diplomatic Studies which from 1856 was responsible for training those who would join the museum service. Yet, for the reasons outlined above, women were found in neither. However, the progressive feminization of the professions of archivist and librarian which was apparent at the end of the century indirectly affected archaeology, since joint examinations were held for the three professions.<sup>6</sup>

The growing interest in antiquities during the nineteenth century prompted some noblewomen to begin collecting ancient objects. In the second half of the century, for example, the Marchioness of Casa-Loring started a private museum in her estate, La Concepción, near the city of Málaga (Rodríguez Oliva 1991:101). Enterprises of this type were rare and usually short-lived and did little to advance the cause of women’s employment. They reproduced traditional conceptions of gender and class by situating cultural interests firmly in the private sphere and were not accompanied by demands for the state to establish equal opportunities for women in terms of access to the profession. In Spain, these initiatives did not even give rise to the almost heroic activities of some upper-class women in countries then in the midst of imperial expansion (Spain was undergoing the reverse of this process). These women, as in the case of the Frenchwoman Jane Dieulafoy (Gran-Aymerich and Gran-Aymerich 1991), risked their money and even their lives in order to seek out information that would lead to a greater understanding of the ancient world.

Therefore, although in the nineteenth century there were no female professionals in Spanish archaeology, the seeds of all subsequent developments had already been sown; first, women’s access to education; second, the acceptance, if at first only reluctantly, of the employment of women in the liberal professions, starting with teaching; third, the appearance of special courses for women on archives and libraries, which were

partly intended to prepare them for entry to the museum service. And it would be in these last two areas, teaching and museums, that women in the twentieth century would begin to work as archaeologists.

#### THE FIRST WOMEN: THE TWENTIETH CENTURY UNTIL THE CIVIL WAR

The School of Advanced Diplomatic Studies closed in 1900 and from that time all those who wished to study the ancient world had to do so at university, in the faculties of Filosofía y Letras (philosophy and arts). Despite this change, only some years later would the presence of women at university be anything less than exceptional. In the case of philosophy and arts, whilst only one female student was registered in the whole of Spain for the academic year 1909–10, by 1927–8 there were 441 women on the course, by then the second most popular choice among women undergraduates (Capel Martínez 1986:474). What had happened in the intervening period to bring about such a significant change? It seems that the most important factor had been the removal in 1910 of the restrictions which hindered women's access to higher education. The expansion in philosophy and arts was also motivated by the opening up of more employment opportunities for women, first in archives, libraries and museums, where they obtained posts from 1913, and then as teachers in secondary and further education. Equally, it is important to highlight the economic hardship caused by the First World War which provoked inflation and the impoverishment of the middle class. This helped extend the idea that women's work was necessary, as long as it was only transitory and of the appropriate kind (Capel Martínez 1986:474).

Economic hardship and the activities of bodies such as the Institute for Free Education led to a change in social attitudes, particularly amongst women. As illustrated by the responses given by three-quarters of those questioned for a survey carried out in Madrid in 1923, women students no longer saw marriage as their sole objective in life, but now also considered education to be a means of preparing a future for themselves. Other motives for studying were also mentioned: 'the wish for cultural improvement, the wish to better a qualification already held, usually that of a school teacher; the existence of a favourable family situation and the emulation of those who had already taken this step' (Capel Martínez 1986:471). In the 1930s there was a further major increase in the number of women studying in Spanish universities, since

the academic hurdle of the school-leaving examination became increasingly less problematic; the reticence towards the presence of women which existed in the upper reaches of academia was gradually transformed into a certain permissiveness as a consequence of the external influx, the spread of egalitarian ideas, the greater prestige of university education and, ultimately, the increasing pressure from women whose awareness of themselves and their position in society was growing during these years, and amongst whom feminist tendencies were beginning to appear.

(Capel Martínez 1986:471)

Although this last factor was not explicitly mentioned by those archaeologists I have interviewed (see acknowledgements below) and who were studying during this period, its undoubtable indirect importance is indicated by the fact that several of these women studied in very advanced liberal institutions such as the Instituto Escuela (Institute-School) or lived in the Residencia de Señoritas (Residence for Young Ladies). Both institutions were associated with the liberal Institute for Free Education, the first as a school—attended by the future archaeologists María Braña de Diego and Francisca Ruiz Pedroviejo (Oliveros Rives, pers. comm.)—and the second as a female hall of residence where university students from outside Madrid could live, as in the case of María Luz Navarro Mayor (pers. comm.).

In any event, not all women who studied went on to work in the profession. For some this was not even their objective in going to university, since they only saw it as a source of social prestige or, as someone ironically commented in 1926, as a means of broadening their cultural knowledge or passing the time (Capel Martínez 1986:474). Many women students married after graduation and were prevented from pursuing a career by family responsibilities. In most cases, they did so willingly, accepting the dominant ideology which made them believe that a woman's place was in the home, looking after a family. However, a number of women did work after their studies, several taking up archaeology.

Women were attracted to archaeology for a number of reasons. In some cases, like that of María Luz Navarro, who was the daughter of a pioneering woman teacher, the experience of having a mother in the liberal professions who encouraged them to do the same led them to choose museums, one of the possible options (Navarro Mayor, pers. comm.). Others, like Encarnación Cabré Herreros, were influenced by having an archaeologist in the family. Another group came to the discipline as a result of an event which was to be a milestone in Spanish archaeology. This was the Mediterranean study cruise organized in 1933 by the staff and students of the faculties of philosophy and arts, a number of other working archaeologists as well as architects from Madrid and Barcelona. There were large numbers of women then studying in the various faculties of philosophy and arts and many of these were able to go on the cruise (Figure 6.1). These included the (in general future) archaeologists María Braña de Diego, Encarnación Cabré Herreros, Dolores Enríquez Arranz, María Luisa Galván Cabrerizo, María Luisa Herrera Escudero, Clarisa Millán García de Cáceres, María Luisa Oliveros Rives and María Luisa Vázquez de Parga Iglesias, as well as Felipa Niño Mas (Oliveros Rives, pers. comm.). In at least one case, that of María Luisa Oliveros, it was this cruise which made the woman decide to devote her professional life to archaeology (Oliveros Rives, pers. comm.).

Some women students, therefore, went into the profession after obtaining their degrees. An increasingly common figure in this period was that of the post-graduate scholarship holder. Among those associated with the Centro de Estudios Históricos (Centre for Historical Studies) was Encarnación Cabré Herreros, who worked there with a grant under Manuel Gómez-Moreno y Martínez between 1937 and 1939, that is, at the height of the civil war. Other women found employment in the fields



Figure 6.1 Participants in the Mediterranean study cruise in Alexandria in 1933

relating to antiquity for the first time in this period, most of them in museums. Between 1913 and 1926 12 women passed the examinations for admission into the Archive, Library and Museum Service (*Escalafón* 1927), of whom the first, in 1913, Angela García Rives, chose the library section. The first female museum curator appears to have been Pilar Fernández Vega.<sup>7</sup> In 1930 Felipa Niño Mas and Joaquina Eguarán Ibáñez (the first female student at the University of Granada (Cabanelas 1981:465)) passed museum examinations, and the following year they were joined by Concepción Blanco Mínguez and Ursicina Martínez Gallego. They were assigned a curatorial post in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional (MAN, National Archaeological Museum) (Felipa Niño Mas) and as directors in the provincial archaeological museums of Granada (Joaquina Iguarás Ibáñez), Cádiz (Concepción Blanco Mínguez) and León (Ursicina Martínez). Niño Mas played a decisive role in preserving the MAN's collection of coins at the beginning of the civil war when she opposed the officials responsible for enforcing the government decree ordering the seizure of all coins; she hid the most important pieces (Alfaro Assins 1992: 164). These five women were the first professional archaeologists in Spain. It is worth mentioning that two of them got married and had children, but did not abandon their work until their retirement in the 1970s. A very different attitude was to be seen, however, in women educated from the 1940s under the conservative ideology of francoist dictatorship. They, as we will see, either never married or they abandoned their jobs on getting married and having children.

Professional careers in universities seem still to have been closed for women. Although this period (the three first decades) saw the first women appointed to poorly paid and temporary posts as assistant and auxiliary teachers in philosophy and arts faculties, this development did not yet directly affect archaeology (Capel Martínez 1986:499). Even though Encarnación Cabré Herreros taught during the academic years 1933/4 and 1935/6, she did so on a course on 'the History of Greek and Roman Art' for the art department of the University of Madrid.<sup>8</sup> Nor, however, were there many male archaeologists in the universities. In prehistory, the branch of the discipline most obviously requiring a knowledge of archaeological techniques, there were only two permanent lecturers between 1916 and the end of the civil war in 1939, Pere Bosch Gimpera in Barcelona and Hugo Obermaier in Madrid. Nor were there any women in the larger departments of ancient and medieval history in which, moreover, field archaeology was almost entirely ignored.

The incomplete nature of women's incorporation into professional archaeology in this period can be seen from the fact that they scarcely took part in excavations. However, research in the archives of the Higher Council for Excavations and Antiquities (1912–39) has highlighted that from 1914 a number of non-professional women were granted permission to excavate in this period.<sup>9</sup> Women students were not even considered for summer excavations and were thereby excluded from the camaraderie which these created between students and lecturers, in particular between Hugo Obermaier, Professor of the History of Primitive Man at the University of Madrid, and his students. Women were thought to be 'a disruptive and undesirable element' on excavations (Oliveros Rives, pers. comm.). The only exception was Encarnación Cabré Herreros, due to the fact that her father, Juan

Cabré Aguiló, was the archaeologist who carried out most fieldwork in Spain in this period. She had her first, albeit fleeting, contact with excavating when at the age of just 10 she accompanied her father on an official inspection of the archaeological sites in the northern region of Cantabria. She went on to help her father in his laboratory and from 1927 also took part in excavations, eventually becoming co-author of the written reports of their results. She published a book and more than 20 articles between 1929 and 1956 (Baquedano Beltrán 1993:58).

During the first three decades of this century Spanish academia opened up to the outside world, and the foreign study scholarships awarded by the Junta de Ampliación de Estudios (JAE, Council for the Enhancement of Studies) played an important role in this development. A number of women archaeologists were amongst the beneficiaries, including Teresa Andrés Zamora, a second-level civil servant in the Corps of Archivists, Librarians and Archaeologists<sup>10</sup> who obtained an eleven-month scholarship to study in Germany in 1932 (Capel Martínez 1986:501, 577), and Encarnación Cabré Herreros who in 1934/5 attended a course in prehistory and ethnography at the universities of Berlin and Hamburg (Baquedano Beltrán 1993:54; Díaz-Andreu 1996).

Encarnación Cabré Herreros is also the only woman known to have begun work on a doctoral thesis in this period, opting for weaponry ('Iron Age swords and daggers in the Iberian Peninsula'), a subject which we have to suppose was then considered very unfeminine. She also participated in conferences such as the Fourth International Congress of Archaeology which was held in Barcelona in 1929 (Baquedano Beltrán 1993:55–6). As a footnote, mention may be made of the report of a paper delivered to the Royal Academy of Jurisprudence and Legislation in 1928 by a woman, Concepción Peña Pastor, and entitled 'Divorce in the Ancient World' (Capel Martínez 1986:566).

To sum up, the first three decades of this century were a period in which a significant number of women began to take degrees which gave them access to paid employment in archaeology. However, in reality this still only happened in a few cases, above all in archaeological museums which were the places in which women were first integrated into professional archaeology. It should also be emphasized that in this period, neither for men nor women did archaeology imply work on excavations (prehistory being an exception). Archaeology was still understood in the nineteenth-century sense as the discipline 'which studied the works of art and industry defined exclusively in terms of their age' (Peiró Martín and Pasamar Alzuría 1991:146). It was still closer to the study of art, and ultimately of objects, than to the integral study of ancient societies which requires fieldwork. For this reason, neither before nor after the civil war did the majority of women educated in this period consider it essential to take part in the few excavations carried out in Spain.

#### WOMEN UNDER THE FRANCOIST DICTATORSHIP

The imposition of a conservative military dictatorship in the wake of Franco's victory in the civil war represented a major setback to women's integration into the world of labour. Whilst previously there had been contradictory views of a woman's place in

society, after the war attempts were made to impose a single, highly conservative idea of this officially backed by the Sección Femenina (SF, Women's Section), a group formally integrated in the Falange, the Spanish version of a fascist party, and later in the only permitted party, the Movimiento Nacional (National Movement) (Gallego Méndez 1983). Nevertheless, it is necessary to emphasize that, despite the reactionary ideology it propagated in relation to women, the SF was inevitably a product of its own times, and simply by organizing women, by creating a body which represented them, it dragged them away from the essence of their traditional role. That is to say, it was responsible for the 'political socialization of women' (Gallego Méndez 1983:16).

As a consequence of this and despite the dominant ideology, the number of women going to university continued to rise after the civil war. This followed a tendency which, as seen above, had begun during the first three decades of the century. However, the rate of increase now began to slow down. As in the pre-war period, women studied philosophy and arts for a number of different reasons: to take a degree which would enable them to find what was considered feminine work, such as primary- or secondary-school teaching, or simply to acquire some culture. In the case of archaeology we again find women whose choice was influenced by their family environment, notably Matilde Revuelta Tubino, who was related to Francisco Tubino y Oliva, a pioneer in Spanish prehistory.

As already noted, many women students always saw their university studies simply as a means of preparing themselves better for their future as upper-middle-class wives and mothers. Others, however, intending to work, were forced to abandon their plans on getting married—a step backwards in comparison to the previous period (in which, as we have already seen, even under the dictatorship women such as Concepción Blanco Mínguez and Ursicina Martínez Gallego continued working after they got married and had children). However, women who studied after the war either did not ever work after getting married and/or having children or stopped working. Among the former we might include Matilde Font, wife of the archaeologist g gr Miquel Tarradell, who, although never employed as an archaeologist, helped her husband with his laboratory work (Mercè Roca, pers. comm.) and figured as his co-author in a number of articles.<sup>11</sup> Among the women who were forced by their family obligations to abandon their jobs immediately or soon after getting married were Encarnación Cabré Herreros (Baquedano Beltrán 1993) and María Luz Navarro Mayor. The latter left her post in the Museum of Gerona on her marriage at the end of the 1940s (Navarro Mayor, pers. comm.). Mercedes Muntanyola also stopped working when her husband, Pedro Palol Salellas, was appointed to the chair of archaeology in Valladolid in 1957, thus obliging the family to move from Barcelona. Both Navarro Mayor and Muntanyola returned to work when circumstances permitted years later, the fact that her seven children were by then grown up being a particularly important consideration in the case of the latter. Encarnación Cabré Herreros, who did not return to work after the civil war, began to publish again in 1975, this time working in collaboration with her son, Juan Morán Cabré (Baquedano Beltrán 1993:59).



Amongst the women awarded scholarships, at least two were associated with Antonio García Bellido's department of archaeology in the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC, Higher Council for Scientific Research) in 1942, namely Carolina Martínez Munilla and María Montáñez Matilla (Pasamar Alzuría 1991:178).<sup>12</sup> Others obtained grants to study abroad, as in the case of María Angeles Mezquíríz Irujo, who was given a scholarship to go to Italy to the Istituto di Studi Liguri (Institute for Ligurian Studies) around 1950.

Museums continued to be the destination of the majority of women joining the profession. In fact, more women than men passed the relevant state examinations during the 1940s (70 per cent of the total were women) and 1950s (56 per cent). The downward trend continued, however, and in the 1960s women accounted for only 20 per cent of those entering the museum service.<sup>13</sup> Women seem to have represented a clear majority, however, among those in museums at a lower level. The data indicate that in 1944 four out of five auxiliary posts in museums were held by women (*Escalafón* 1944). Whilst this last figure may not appear surprising, given the normal relationship between low-status work and female employment, the high proportion of women curators is harder to account for, above all in this period and political context. A number of explanations can be put forward. First, above all in relation to the 1940s, it should be remembered that the women admitted to the service had been educated largely or entirely in the unquestionably more liberal regime existing before the civil war. Hence they benefited from the inspiration of the ILE which the younger women lacked. Second, and perhaps more importantly, the low salaries paid to museum staff after the war contributed to the profession's loss of prestige. When in the 1960s this changed, and salaries rose, the profession again attracted more men. Moreover, it is significant that despite the large proportion of women employed in the service, very few women were appointed directors of national museums. One exception was Pilar Fernández Vega, although political connections at a high level could explain this anomaly. She served as director of the newly created Museum of America from 1941. As mentioned above, it was more common to find women at the head of provincial museums, as they were the only qualified people working in them.

There are events which at first sight appear to confirm the existence of an unfavourable climate for women in the 1960s, but which on closer examination illustrate the complexity of the situation in the profession. One such incident was the appointment in 1968 of a new director of the National Archaeology Museum and the request for a transfer subsequently made by 10 women employed there—that is, more than half the women working in the museum. However, these events must be understood within the context of the changes produced in archaeology. These 10 women, all of whom had studied before or immediately after, the civil war, still had a nineteenth-century vision of archaeology as art. The new director, Martín Almagro Basch, who in fact belonged to the same generation but who during his academic career had renewed his views, sought to revitalize the museum by applying a vision of archaeology understood as history inferred from the material remains of extinct cultures and needed people with new perspectives to carry out his project. What this incident reflects, therefore, is the women's inability to respond to this innovation, undoubtedly due to the fact that they had no experience of archaeological research or

excavations. In reality, in museums they were responsible for the often huge tasks of making inventories of the collections, helping in the organization of exhibitions, cataloguing libraries and so on. To some extent, therefore, they transferred their traditional domestic role to the museum, conceiving their professional work through the mental framework in which they had been brought up. That is to say, they interpreted their function as being responsible for arranging the museum, keeping it clean and tidy. As in the home, the public sphere was a male preserve. They believed that research was incompatible with their family life, as it would give them a double working day (Navarro Mayor and Oliveros Rives, pers. comm.). However, the fact that they did not publish, or that they only rarely did so, means that they have now been forgotten, whilst we remember only the great scholars, all of whom were men. Nevertheless, in this respect too there were exceptions, such as Concepción Fernández-Chicarro y de Dios, the director of the Archaeological Museum of Seville, who maintained an active professional life, organizing excavations, exhibitions and writing articles (about 65 articles between 1945 and 1958) (Ruiz Cabriada 1958:296–300).

Women archaeologists also began to find a role in the universities after the civil war, although at first only in an unpaid capacity. Two women, Clarisa Millán García de Cáceres and María Luisa Herrera Escudero, helped Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla with the Primitive History Seminar in the University of Madrid, whilst by the 1940s Olimpia Arocena Torres<sup>14</sup> had been appointed to the lowly position of lecturer (*adjunta de cátedra*) (Martin 1995:14) and in 1953 María Angeles Mezquíriz Irujo was given a similar position. In 1965 Ana María Muñoz Amilibia did better when she was appointed as assistant lecturer at the University of Barcelona. She was later followed by other women such as Milagros Gil-Mascarell Bosca in 1968 and Carmen Aranegui Gascó in 1970.<sup>15</sup> All these women (except the first two) were archaeologists in the modern sense of the word, and they were involved in fieldwork.

A final point which should be highlighted is the relationship between women's personal and professional lives in this period. I have already referred to the fact that many stopped working on marriage or the birth of children. As they often had large families (five or more children were frequent), they were prevented from working for many years. On the other hand, it is striking how many women archaeologists remained single (Isabel Ceballos-Escalera Conteras, Concepción Fernández-Chicarro y de Dios, Clarisa Millán de Cáceres, Felipa Niño Mas, Francisca Ruiz Pedroviejo, and others), often as a consequence of the civil war. The death of many men left young women responsible for their younger siblings or other relatives, and in post-war Spain it was not easy to find, amongst the small number of men who remained, a husband who would accept a wife with additional responsibilities besides those of her new family. In these circumstances many women decided not to marry, as in the case of María Luisa Oliveros Rives (who first married later in life) (Oliveros Rives, pers. comm.).

An aspect not overtly expressed is that of sexual harassment in this period. I know positively of a woman who some years after the civil war had to ask for a transfer from the museum where she was working because of the continual advances of the male director. This was not common, but comments on looks and dress were frequent, as

they were in all spheres of Spanish life. Other facts refer to bans on certain clothing for women, and I have heard cases (occurring about 20 years ago, but I suppose that the situation had previously been worse) in which women were obliged to leave the library of the National Archaeological Museum because they were wearing sandals. There is even an account of men discussing the bra of a woman student in the library of a department of prehistory. The examples are innumerable, and I myself have experienced some of this in the past. Although it is true that in this respect Spanish society has improved a great deal in the last decade, women still complain about it (see next section).

This period could, therefore, be considered in many ways a continuation of the preceding one, although the rhythm of change slowed down in accordance with the political situation during the most intransigent years of the conservative military dictatorship between 1939 and 1975. The presence of female students in the faculties of philosophy and arts was no longer exceptional and they were now joined by women from poorer backgrounds. Not all intended to work after graduating, but more now managed to find employment. As had been the case before the war, museums provided most opportunities for those wishing to work in the archaeological field. These were women who had a real vocation and who carried out tasks of great importance but who with the passing of time have been lost in anonymity. This was partly a consequence of their failure to promote themselves through publications, participation in conferences, and other public activities. On the other hand, it was also in this period that women began to obtain junior posts in universities, although it was only in 1965 that the first woman obtained a better-paid position as an assistant lecturer. However, whilst they were able to overcome the obstacles which existed in the world of work, they were less successful with respect to the traditional conception of family life—so much so, that these women can broadly be divided into two groups: those who remained single or married very late and had no children and those with a large family who stopped working. This bipolarity indicates the close relationship which still existed between their personal and professional lives, a characteristic which, along with others, would change radically in the following and final period.

#### THE LAST THREE DECADES, 1960s TO 1993

The profession has changed enormously over the last three decades. Women have progressed from being rare exceptions before the civil war and a minority in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s to the current situation in which they now make up more than 40 per cent of the archaeologists working in Spain. Nevertheless, it remains true that real equality is a long way off, as men still hold most of the top posts in the profession.

The first factor contributing to this change has been the great increase in the number of women studying in university faculties related to the field of archaeology, philosophy and arts, geography and history and, more recently, humanities. There are a number of reasons for this influx, and it should not be forgotten that social prestige remains an important consideration. It is now difficult to imagine an upper-

middle-class woman without a degree, whilst for those from more modest backgrounds a university education is a means of upward social mobility. Women tend to choose courses in the humanities, literature, art, philosophy, history, etc., which still usually lead to careers in those fields in which women first began to work at the beginning of the century: teaching, archives, libraries, museums and the civil service in general. This preference for degrees with limited prospects rather than for those such as engineering which are normally considered to be masculine, reflects the persistence (among both men and women) of a conservative attitude towards women's role in society.

Female employment has expanded enormously over the last three decades. In 1986 some 45 per cent of all women aged between 25 and 39 were working (*La mujer* 1990:23). Archaeology too has been affected by this enormous change. A high proportion of the staff of what are by now traditionally female strongholds, museums, are women. The decline in the number of women passing the state examination for the museum service which began in the 1950s continued during the decades that followed, so that by the 1970s only 20 per cent of those joining the service were women. However, since then this trend has been reversed. Women account for 69 per cent of appointments made at the level of museum curator, a proportion maintained over the years 1990–3.<sup>16</sup> The most striking case is that of the National Archaeological Museum where of the 13 curators employed in 1993, 11, that is 85 per cent, were women. All except one of these people joined the MAN in the 1980s or 1990s. Beneath them in the museum hierarchy were the 12 assistant curators, all of whom were women who joined the MAN (now called by some the WOMAN) in the 1990s. It should also be noted that since 1991 the MAN has had a woman director. Seventeen male directors were needed before the eighteenth could at last be a woman.

The situation in the universities has also been transformed. In the 1960s, it became the norm for female students to participate in archaeological excavations. As a result of this, women started to figure among the disciples of certain professors, and hence began to be considered as candidates for lectureships. Therefore, when the universities started to expand, rather timidly in the 1960s and 1970s and much more rapidly in the 1980s, women were actively involved in competition for new posts created to meet the urgent demand for new lecturers. This situation has to be understood in terms of the different perception of gender in Spain from that in other countries. As Gero (1988:41) pointed out in the case of Mexico, it seems that factors other than gender are of key importance in particular countries. I do not consider class as important as she does, but rather I point to group membership, to patronage. Through patronage, when a job becomes available, a professor supports only his/her own students in order to increase his/her influence. Gender is considered of secondary importance, as priority is given to the degree of fidelity with which a particular student of whatever gender follows his/her patron's orders. If the number of female students is large, the possibility of faithful followers among them increases. It does not mean that men are not given, in the end, a certain priority, but they can only be successful if they show a willingness to subjugate themselves to the system. A third of those appointed in the 1970s and still at work are women, a figure which remains

the same in the following decade and which in the 1990s has risen to 40.5 per cent.<sup>17</sup> Currently in archaeology, women account for 44 per cent of permanent lecturers and 31 per cent of professors. However, in 1989 only 17 per cent of the heads of departments teaching prehistory and/or archaeology were women (*Guía* 1990). These figures show that whilst the situation has greatly improved, there is still much to be done. In the 1980s new opportunities arose in the administrative field in archaeology. Currently, at least four of the people responsible for archaeology in the autonomous regional governments are women. Taking as an example the autonomous government of Galicia, a country in the northwest part of Spain, five of the eight archaeological units have women members, and four out of seven working independent archaeologists are women.<sup>18</sup>

This period has also seen the incorporation of women into archaeological research. This can be illustrated through a brief examination of two national specialist journals, *Ampurias* and *Archivo Español de Arqueología* (Figure 6.2.). In both cases there has been a progressive increase in the proportion of contributions by women. These now account for 30 per cent of the total, although this figure still does not correspond to the representation of women now in archaeology (over 40 per cent). However, 82 per cent of the answers to a questionnaire I distributed among women archaeologists in Spain in 1993<sup>19</sup> denied any sort of discrimination in the distribution of research funding or in a journal's decision to accept or reject an article. But even without discrimination in this sphere, women still do not write, and therefore we can infer that passivity in relation to the public realm is still the case. I do not want, however, to suggest that there is absolutely no discrimination. Among the replies of women archaeologists questioned in the survey about this issue, a number indicated that they had faced greater difficulties than their male colleagues when seeking promotion and that their work was undervalued, something particularly remarked by women married to archaeologists. Finally, some answers underlined that comments about women's personal appearance continue.

One factor which radically distinguishes this period from the preceding one is the family situation of these women. Previously, older single women or married women with a large family were the norm. However, the survey mentioned above reveals that, since the 1970s, women archaeologists generally marry late (only a few never do so), and that they have two children at most. This is a crucial factor in any explanation of women's incorporation into professional archaeology.

During the last three decades the position of women has improved significantly, even if much remains to be done before they achieve full equality with men. More women than ever before are now working in archaeology, even though still not in the same proportion as female archaeology undergraduates. The problem is not merely one of discrimination, which does exist, but also of the limited aspirations of women themselves, as well as their sometimes restricted capacity to face up to the difficulties they meet in their professional lives. They have, of course, been neither educated nor mentally prepared to do so.

The incorporation of women into Spanish archaeology has not significantly affected the nature of research in the discipline, since the new women archaeologists have adopted the dominant intellectual concerns of the groups with which they work.

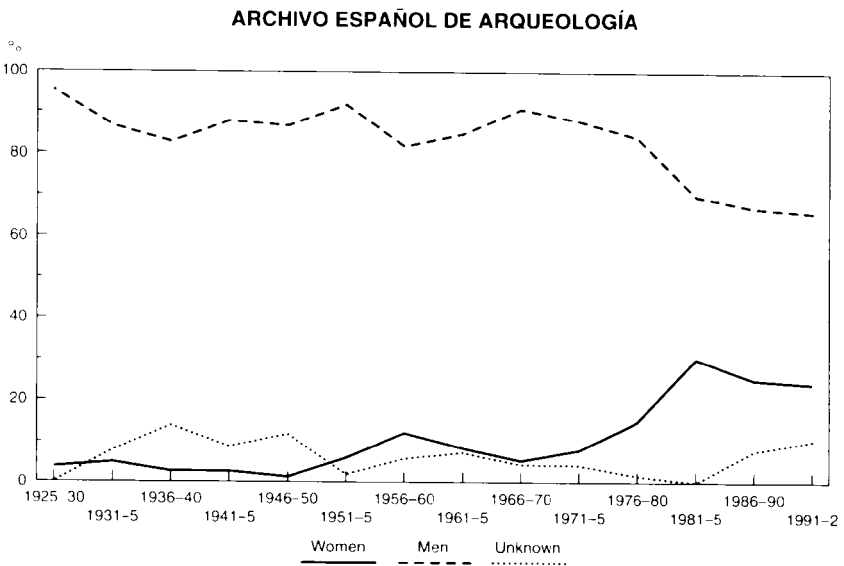
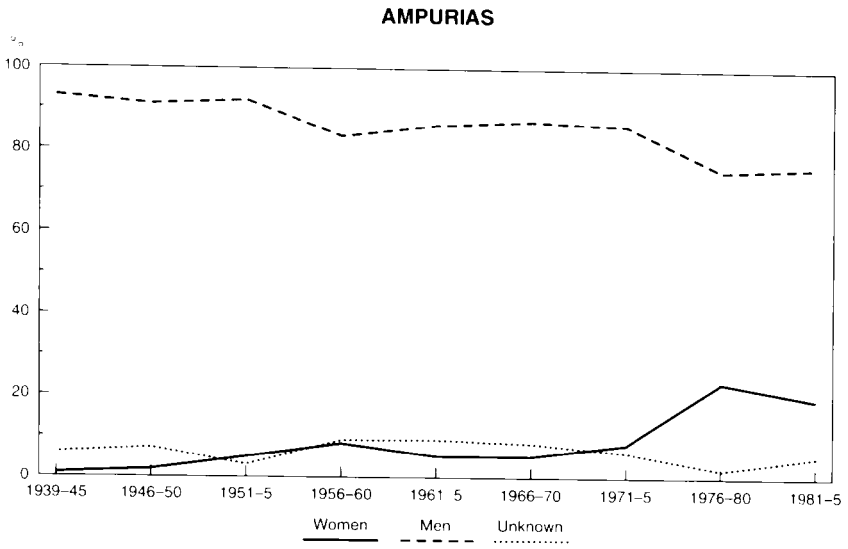


Figure 6.2 Percentage of male and female contributors to the journals *Ampurias* and *Archivo Español de Arqueología*

There is perhaps just one exception: research on women and gender in the past and in the profession, a subject in which the vast majority of the few studies that have been carried out are the work of women.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It would have been impossible to write this article without the information provided by a large number of women. Apart from those who answered the questionnaire, I would especially like to mention the retired archaeologists Ursicina Martínez Gallego, María Luz Navarro Mayor, María Luisa Oliveros Rives, Concepción Sanz-Pastor, and Ana María Vicent; and Pilar Torrecillas Blanco (Concepción Blanco Mínguez's daughter), María Paz García-Bellido and Mercè Roca among those still working. I would also like to thank Rosa María Capel Martínez for her clarification of a number of questions concerning the history of women professionals in Spain; Alberto Bartolomé Arraiza, director of the Museo de Artes Decorativas (Museum of Ornamental Arts), for information he gave me about Pilar Fernández Vega; María Jesús Tellón Nieto, from the Servicio de Arqueología of the Consellería de Cultura of the Xunta de Galicia, for the information about archaeological units in Galicia, and the Consejo de Universidades (Council of Universities) and the Ministry of Culture for the data they provided.

#### NOTES

- 1 The few studies of the history of Spanish archaeology (Ayarzagüena 1992; Cortadella i Morral 1992; Díaz-Andreu 1993; Jiménez Díez 1993 and Ripoll 1993) mention dozens of men but no, or very few, women (but see Díaz-Andreu and Sanz Gallego 1994).
- 2 'The detailed history of prehistoric scholarship has yet to be written. This present book is no more than a discussion of some of the significant discoveries and developments of the last hundred years. I have had to select what is to be included, and shall be accused of treating some subjects superficially and others in too great detail. I have thought that a personal emphasis on what seems to me important was better than a catalogue of discoveries and details, and I have particularly stressed the development of changes in the conceptual basis of archaeology' (Daniel 1975: 10).
- 3 The facilities provided for women in 1868 only lasted until 1880, when a law established that women had to obtain the express permission of the authorities in order to be admitted to university. As this restriction was only abolished in 1910, there were very few female graduates, 15 between 1880 and 1900 of whom three studied philosophy and arts (Capel Martínez 1986:342).
- 4 The Corps of Professional Archivists and Librarians, created in 1859, was expanded in the wake of the opening of the National Archaeological Museum and the different provincial archaeological museums in 1867, to become the Corps of Archivists, Librarians and Antiquarians (Marcos Pous 1993:25). The creation of archaeology as a profession in Spain can therefore be dated to 1867.

- 5 These organizations were, for example, the National Union for the Improvement of the Education of Women, founded in Great Britain in 1871, and the Association for the Advanced Education of Women created in Germany in 1872, whilst similar experiments were tried in France (Capel Martínez 1986:318, note 27).
- 6 In 1894 a course for female librarians and archivists was held under the aegis of the Association for the Education of Women (Capel Martínez 1986:334). This initiative came two years after these two professions had been defended as being suitable for women at the II Pedagogical Congress (Capel Martínez 1986: 341) since they required skills which were deemed feminine, namely sensitivity, patience and meticulousness (Capel Martínez 1986:54). Although museums are not mentioned in these courses, we have to bear in mind that museums were perceived as secondary and less important than archives and libraries, but in fact, entrance examinations were the same for the three professions: archivists, librarians and curators. Therefore, it might be possible that, in spite of their title, these courses also prepared women for entrance examinations to museum service. Despite this possibility, women's entrance to museums came more than a decade later than in archives and libraries.
- 7 Pilar Fernández Vega passed the examination for entry into the Archive, Library and Museum Service in 1922. In 1928 she went to the National Archaeological Museum (MAN), and during the civil war she worked in the Valladolid Archaeological Museum. After returning to the MAN for a short period she transferred to the National Museum of Ornamental Arts, combining her work there with the post of temporary director of the Museum of America.
- 8 The way in which Encarnación Cabré Herreros crossed over between art and archaeology reflects the fact that no clear distinction was made between the two disciplines until some years later (Díaz-Andreu 1995).
- 9 These are Emilia Aragón Pineda (who was granted permission in 1923), Catalina Cañas Egea (1928, 1929), Francisca Carretero Arranz (1926), Regla Manjón (1914, 1916), Clara Pérez Cobos (1934, 1935), Mercedes de Prado Benavides (1914). I am still in the process of obtaining more information about them. In addition two more women were given permission, these being the British archaeologist Margaret Murray (1930), and the North-American archaeologist Elena Wishaw (1924, 1927). Data obtained from the Archivo General de la Administración.
- 10 In 1900 the Corps of Archivists, Librarians and Antiquarians was renamed the Corps of Archivists, Librarians and Archaeologists (Marcos Pous 1993:28).
- 11 Her dependence on her husband can also be deduced from the name she used in articles. Spanish women do not change their names (first name and two surnames) when they marry. However, in order to indicate her state, a wife can add either after her first name or after her first surname, the surname of her husband preceded by 'de'. Although this is not an official name, some Catalan women used to sign their articles in this way. This was the case for Tarradell's wife, who signed her articles as Matilde Font *de Tarradell*.
- 12 However, neither of these went on to work as an archaeologist.
- 13 Figures obtained from a publication (*Asociación* 1982) which only considers those still alive in 1982.
- 14 Olimpia Arocena Torres left archaeology because she needed to earn more money than the extremely low salary she received from the university. The reason for this



- was that her husband was in prison for political reasons (he had fought with the republicans in the civil war) (Gabriela Martín pers. comm.).
- 15 This information has been obtained from the Archivo General de la Administración in Alcalá de Henares and from the Consejo de Universidades.
  - 16 Figures provided by the Ministry of Culture on 15 December 1993. When comparing these figures with those used in the preceding section, it should be noted that those given here include all state museums since the majority of these are archaeological ones.
  - 17 These figures have been obtained from the Archivo General de la Administración in Alcalá de Henares, and the Consejo de Universidades. Exact figures are not given for the 1970s and 1980s since in 23 cases we do not know when the person was first appointed, although it was certainly before 1985. Eleven of these people are women. If these data are added to those for the 1980s, we obtain figures of 33.3 per cent, 34.4 per cent and 40.5 per cent for the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s (1990–2) respectively.
  - 18 Data obtained from the Servicio de Arqueología of the Consellería de Cultura of the Xunta de Galicia. These data do not specify, however, what position the women hold in the units—whether they are directors or simply employees.
  - 19 This survey was carried out in November 1993. Questionnaires were sent to all the university prehistory and archaeology departments with women members of staff, as well as to administrative archaeologists and to others now retired. There were a total of 53 replies. One of the most surprising results was the opposition to the survey among many women, who refused to reply on the grounds that they do not believe that there is a problem and therefore feel that research of this kind is inappropriate.

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## WHEN THE WALL CAME DOWN

### East German women employed in archaeology before and after 1989

*Ruth Struwe*

This chapter is concerned with the past and the present in a unique manner, as the German Democratic Republic/East Germany no longer exists, while the people who lived there do. Reviewing changes in women's employment within archaeology during this period of political reform, this chapter argues that the conditions for women in archaeology are closely integrated with general political and structural changes. In this particular case the political changes have affected equity issues and the employment situation in a subtle but none the less adverse manner: the statistics about degree level and later employment for students graduating in prehistoric archaeology from the Humboldt-Universität, Berlin, prior to 1988 in comparison with the situation after 1989 are used to illustrate this. This is not an exhaustive account of the employment situation and the statistical sample is small; the intention is to indicate the very complex relationship between political structures, disciplinary practices and gender politics.

Archaeology in the GDR, as in other places, was a field that attracted young people by virtue of its image of explorers, treasures and excavation rather than the prospect of advancement, and the candidates were in the main restricted to working inside the country with its 17 million inhabitants. Archaeologists worked within the public sphere, in museums, universities and the Antiquities service. These were all civil service positions, with all the security implications and restrictions that this, as in other parts of the East German system, entailed. I myself am one of those 'left-overs' from the older system, who on the one hand experienced the painful breakdown of living conditions and customs and, on the other hand, the opening of the gates to the world that came in 1989. I am fortunate that I continue to work at the Humboldt-Universität in East Berlin, which many scientists have left over recent years either in order to make a new life in the commercial world or because, for various reasons, they were forced to leave. This exodus has in particular affected social, philosophical and historical sciences, where hundreds of scholars have left.

In order to appreciate the profound changes that have resulted from 1989, a brief overview of the organization of the archaeological education and employment prior to this point is needed. Before 1989 most of us were leading a restricted but 'sheltered life', in the sense that jobs were guaranteed for those who had the opportunity to study at the university. This security was an important aspect of the state system and it survived despite other changes in the organization of archaeology during this period. In the following statistics indicating patterns in the employment of

men and women, recent history is divided into four phases: the period from 1953 to 1968, the years 1969 to 1974, the period 1975 to 1988, and the time after 1989. The reasons for this are as follows. The Department of Prehistory and Protohistory was first re-established after the war in 1953, because although the university as a whole re-opened in January 1946, the Soviet authorities decided that prehistory/archaeology had been too highly involved with Nazi ideology to be allowed to continue like any other department. Thus, it was not until 1953, when Karl-Heinz Otto, later professor and head of the department, began to lecture in prehistory that archaeology became part of the post-war academic life of the university. 1968 marks the year, when the then Professor Karl-Heinz Otto left the chair at Humboldt-Universität. In 1975 a new curriculum was introduced, and instead of the previous strictly four-year study plan a five-year plan was followed. In 1989 the wall 'came down'.

In the field of prehistory/archaeology there were until the mid-1960s five universities providing courses for future archaeologists. These were the Ernst-Moritz-Arndt Universität, the Martin-Luther Universität Halle/Wittenberg, the Karl-Marx Universität Leipzig, the Friedrich-Schiller Universität Jena, and the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Subsequently, only two remained (Berlin and Halle). Following a decision by the Ministry of Higher Education, these two institutions were only permitted to train a very limited number of students: they could each start five to ten students every third year. This was intended to be equal to the number of appointments or jobs available for the graduates, as practised in all fields of study. The number of applicants in the 1980s was, as far as I remember from my time as a member of the department, 50 to 80 per year. That means there were roughly ten applicants for every place, and about two-thirds of these were women. The explanation for this female 'preponderance' lies partly in the expectation of a lower salary in the profession, which men in general were less prepared to accept. Discrimination against women applicants was apparent and was exercised systematically from outside the university itself: male school-leavers could settle for three years of army service (instead of 18 months which was compulsory for men, but not for women). That in fact meant 'booking', in the sense of being registered for, some of the highly desired study places three years in advance. As there was no way for women to do the same, considerably less than half the students were women (see [Figure 7.1](#)). This worsened slightly over the 35 years from 1953 to 1988. The reasons for this trend are not clear. It may have to do with the three-year army service becoming increasingly popular and thus more places being pre-booked for male candidates or it might be a reflection of the changing political climate causing a growing number of men to seek their professional life outside ideologically loaded areas of employment.

In addition to the governmental condition stating that at least a third of the students accepted should have parents with a working-class or peasant background, the decision regarding who was to enter the university was based on three crucial points. First, the candidate's school results were considered. Second, the candidate's perception of what prehistory is about and what one might expect as a future archaeologist was taken into account. Experience of excavation during school or later also counted (certificates from a museum helped in such a case). Third, and most

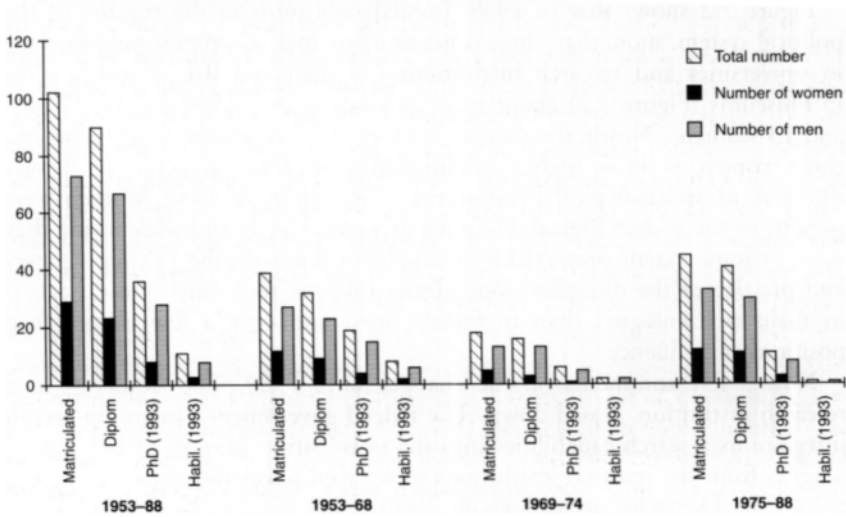


Figure 7.1 Number of students matriculated at Humboldt-Universität from 1953 to 1988 and their degrees

unique to the GDR political ideology, the applicant's willingness to support the system was a criterion. School references or reports from the army, etc., served as a basis for this evaluation. To do a three-year army service was sufficient evidence of support for the system, so inevitably this criterion further privileged male candidates. This practice, being so dependent on references relating to the candidate's willingness to uphold the system, was exploited as a means of disciplining young people. Opportunistic behaviour, driven by the need to gain the right references, rather than personal beliefs and integrity, thrived in this climate, and teachers and the system were consistently paid lip-service.

On the other hand, the advantage of the restriction of student numbers was that most of those entering the university, whether men or women, in fact graduated at least on the level of a diploma (which is the equivalent of an MA, taking four years of study until 1974 and from then on five years) (Figure 7.1). One could even marry and have a child during the period of study and combine family duties, in most cases, with obtaining good examination results. University lecturers were, for instance, obliged to support mothers by spending more time on their tutoring. Thus, although the system discriminated against women applicants, it did support those women who were accepted, and saw it as its responsibility to find employment for them. To study for further degrees was, however, not as popular—among either men or women—as it is in Germany today or was in West Germany before re-unification. The reason for this was that jobs were guaranteed in the profession without students having to obtain the highest degrees. Universities and research institutions (mostly in the former Academy of Science, situated in Berlin) were the only institutions which made higher degrees a condition for permanent employment. To become a professor, the

'habilitation' was necessary, and from the 1970s onwards this also became the case for senior lecturers. There was no systematic structural discrimination between men and women as regards practical possibilities of studying for the highest degrees. Gender-based behavioural differences, enacted upon and by the women, would therefore have been the fundamental reason for men and women being differentially placed within the academic hierarchy. This suggests that the integration of women into academic structures is not only affected by systemic biases but is also deeply influenced by gender ideologies and norms that dictate behaviour and choices.

Within the academic hierarchy the attraction of the universities was not obviously strong. The fieldwork component attracted only a limited number of graduates to join the staff of a university, and academic staff were mainly occupied with teaching and gaining further qualifications in their own field of specialization. It was more attractive to work in the Academy, since research funds and travel opportunities were less restricted there. Many graduates joined museums, where the most desirable jobs were at the Landesmuseen. The main prehistoric museums of the former and current Länder (administrative units) are situated in Potsdam, Halle, Schwerin, Weimar and Dresden. These main museums were in charge of the Antiquities service in the Länder and were responsible for regulating excavation. The museums conducted most of the rescue excavation, site management and administrative work in archaeology. A PhD was expected for a position as a museum director, but there were exceptions.

Figure 7.1 shows the number of graduates of Humboldt-Universität taking the higher degrees necessary for such positions. It demonstrates the smaller proportion of women gaining these further qualifications, which, as explained above, were the direct prerequisite for the highest, most prestigious and influential jobs. This difference in educational strategies between men and women is likely to be at least partly rooted in very common and universal reasons such as women's involvement in child care, supporting the husband and others, and putting their career generally second to other demands in their lives, rather than being a direct result of structural discrimination.

Figure 7.2 shows that in 1988, immediately prior to the rupture of the political system, more than three times as many men as women were working in universities and research institutions (18 men and five women), while in museums (Figure 7.2) about twice as many men held positions (27 men and 13 women). Nearly three times as many men as women (eight men and three women) were in higher administrative positions (directors or deputy directors of archaeological institutions). Thus, prior to 1989, women were present in the archaeological discipline at various levels and once inside they were to some extent protected by the system; however, the privilege, power and prestige of the discipline were clearly invested to a much greater extent in male archaeologists than in female ones, and only a few women had positions of influence.

Now a few comments on the changes since 1989. The Academy, as a research institution, closed down. The federal government's intention was to integrate its research capabilities into the universities, so most of the archaeologists from the research institutions were given temporary posts by universities. The Deutsche

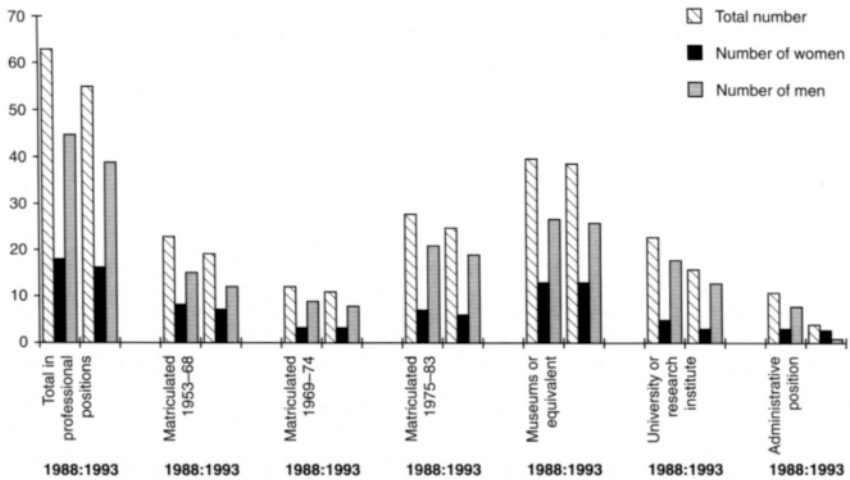


Figure 7.2 Number of graduates from Humboldt-Universität in terms of year of matriculation and professional positions in 1988 and 1993 respectively

Archäologische Institut was another alternative. These reforms of the academic structure drastically affected the employment situation amongst archaeologists. Some scholars took the opportunity of early retirement or retired at the normal age rather than later. A few archaeologists became unemployed or had to change to other professions. At a basic psychological level the expectation of security and guaranteed employment disappeared, and as the job market was fundamentally transformed the position of women within the discipline altered as well.

These changes can be traced in Figure 7.2, which shows the number of graduates at Humboldt-Universität (excluding those who were undergraduates at the end of 1988). The total number of graduates taken into account is 78, of whom only 63 were in professional archaeological positions. Women seem to be affected in the same way as men (two women and six men lost their jobs), as close to three times as many men were in positions both in 1988 and 1993. The effect was naturally greatest in the older generation (compare the different matriculation groups in Figure 7.2). Figure 7.2 shows that in 1988 less than a quarter of all positions in universities and research institutions were occupied by women. Despite this already low number the impact of the changes after unification was greater on women graduates than on men, as they now constituted less than a fifth. In the museums it did not have such a clear effect, although some of the women had to continue working on short-term contracts rather than in permanent posts—but at least they managed to stay within the field of archaeology.

The changes within high-ranking positions (see Figure 7.2) were different, in the sense that most positions were taken over by ‘western imports’. This happened, for instance, in four of the five main museums, where the directors were replaced by people from outside the former GDR. It is therefore extremely interesting to note that this did not affect women to the same extent as men, and the three female directors or



deputy directors who held positions prior to 1989 did not lose them. In my opinion, this shows that the women were less politically engaged, which meant that their replacement was politically less necessary. I suggest that women's tendency to be less involved in the politics of powerful institutions is probably an interesting universal aspect of their behaviour. This again supports the notion that the full integration of women into a discipline is not merely a question of equal numbers, since women and men may behave differently within the same positions and thus also be accorded power and prestige in different measures.

Looking back on the position and development of women's employment in archaeology in East Germany and, in particular, at the last four years for those of us still active in the field, I feel the loss of the secure working environment despite its restrictions and limitations, but also the great advantage of improved working facilities and unrestricted travel. I find, however, in this wider world that has emerged for us, also a greater need for the struggle to achieve equal opportunities. The mechanisms of discrimination are complex and operate in subtle and hidden ways. The situation in the former GDR did not create equal opportunities for men and women; on the contrary on many levels it systematically favoured men. None the less many women were incorporated within that system, gained employment, and entered the highest levels of the profession. In the changing world after 1989 the practices of employment altered radically, and in this process some of the systematic discrimination against women disappeared; but along with it went the protection of graduates, support for the working mother, and job security. In this new situation, the guarantees provided by the system have disappeared and archaeologists have become competitors in the job market. Women are likely to lose out in this competition, and the statistics of employment and career opportunities are likely to show a decline for women over the coming years unless they learn to compensate for the disappearance of the former 'parental' system by the formation of new support systems. Women archaeologists need to work for better contracts and co-operate among themselves; they need to ensure that competence is judged on the basis of professional work and not according to sex, gender, or politics.

## Part II

# HISTORY THROUGH THE INDIVIDUAL



# 8

## ARCHAEOLOGY, GENDER AND EMANCIPATION

The paradox of Hanna Rydh

*Elisabeth Arwill-Nordbladh*

It is no longer a controversial idea that archaeological research is a vital product in and of its own time. Just as archaeological interpretations and presentations are affected by the historical and sociocultural contexts in which they are formed, they can also be a force and an argument in their contemporary age. Those aspects of the past with which researchers choose to work are a part of contemporary notions and references. The vitalized past can be claimed as evidence of relations between human beings as well as being an active constituent in our existential understanding. The past is a necessary part of the present and the present a necessary part of the past. The past thereby also has implications for the future. In order to evaluate our scientific discourse, it is fundamental to reflect on archaeological knowledge itself. This includes studies on the archaeology of earlier generations.

For feminist gender studies it is important to create a deeper consciousness of, and a greater understanding about the gender ideological values and notions of women which are expressed in archaeological activity. How has contemporary gender ideology affected archaeological interpretations? What kind of issues have been paid attention, and what notion of women can be deduced from various presentations of the past? Has archaeological knowledge contributed to an androcentric gender ideology? Has archaeology also affected women's emancipation, if (for example) emancipation means to elucidate asymmetrical gender structures, or to enable women—as subjects and agents—to define themselves and their world instead of being seen from a male norm (Arwill-Nordbladh 1991b)? Will presentations of the past be different when female archaeologists are allowed to work within the field? If this is the case, is it because female archaeologists practise archaeology in a different way from male archaeologists?

These and similar questions can be posed in connection with Hanna Rydh (1891–1964). She lived in a crucial transition period when new civil rights for women were being put into practice. She was the first woman to pass a doctoral degree in Swedish archaeology and she combined her archaeological work with family life and a dedication to women's issues. In Hanna Rydh's life two aspects of female emancipation are primarily seen: on the one hand her work as a professional archaeologist, and on the other hand her engagement in voluntary work for different women's organizations and with politics. Her contributions extend over archaeological fieldwork of various kinds, writing both scholarly and popular books,

voluntary work to improve the conditions of women, and political work, among other things as a member of parliament. In the convergence of these different areas, an interesting, but not simple, image of 'the emancipatorical project' emerges.

#### UNIVERSITY STUDIES AND THE EARLIEST PROFESSIONAL WORK

Hanna Rydh was born in the year 1891, the daughter of Matilda and Johan Rydh (Anrep 1964; Nerman 1964; Ryberg 1986, 1990; Arwill-Nordbladh 1987). She belonged to an upper-class family as her father was an engineer and managing director of an electric heating company. The family lived in Stockholm, where Hanna went to school, passing her A-levels (student-examen) in 1910.

After passing her A-levels Hanna studied at Stockholm University. In 1915 she passed her fil.kand.-examination (corresponding to a BA) in history of art, in literature and in archaeology. Already as a student, she showed an interest in the women's issues that were to be of such importance throughout her life. She became involved with the International Alliance of Women as early as in 1911, when she as a female student was a steward at the Alliance's congress in Stockholm. Many years later she would be its president (Schreiber and Mathieson 1955:18; Anrep 1964:19). She was also so interested in women issues that as a young student she 'ventured to call on the Fredrika Bremer Association to complain about the badly handled propaganda among the women students, and even if she then got a rather chilly reception' she soon got engaged in their work (Anrep 1964:18).<sup>1</sup>

A glimpse of the notions of male and female within student circles of that time was given in an interview by the journalist Barbro Alving, 'Bang', for a weekly magazine in 1931. Bang wrote about Hanna Rydh's time as a female student 'when she ran between examinations in the staircases of the old University or made sandwiches for hungry male colleagues at the small entertainments of the students' Union'. Hanna Rydh said herself in the same interview: 'In our time there was never any idea of separating male and female students, we kept together in work and amusement and had only one Union where both sexes got on well together under one chairman' who, as Bang said, 'sometimes was a chairwoman with the name of Hanna Rydh' (Bang 1931, unpag.).

After her fil.kand.-examination Hanna continued with higher studies in archaeology at the University of Uppsala. During the summers she pursued fieldwork and was often herself the leader of excavations. In 1916 she was attached to a project to investigate Adelsö, an island in Lake Mälaren, close to the island of the ancient town of Birka. As Adelsö might have had connections with Birka and the early state of the Svea, the project was part of a central topic within Swedish archaeology. The Adelsö-project included investigations of both prehistoric and historic remains; Hanna was in charge of the prehistoric part. During four seasons, 1916, 1917, 1920 and 1926, she conducted fieldwork such as surveying, mapping and excavation at Adelsö. During these years about 100 graves were excavated. In 1936 the result of the investigations was published (Rydh 1936) in the form of a monograph that was considered the most exhaustive settlement history at that time (Nerman 1964:143). In

addition, Hanna Rydh was head of several other archaeological excavations during her studies (Rydh 1917a, 1918) and investigated strike-a-light stones (Rydh 1917b).

### THE DOCTOR'S DEGREE

In 1919 Hanna Rydh's licentiate studies were coming to an end.<sup>2</sup> She was working with box-shaped brooches, a specific form from the island of Gotland in the Baltic Sea, belonging to the costume of Viking Age women. Hanna had mainly studied material at museums and she considered that her work would qualify her for a licentiate degree. However, events were to take a different course because 'Montelius at an important time intervened in my own destiny' (Rydh 1937:154).

Hanna has herself reported about the time of her examination, both in the interview mentioned above and in a popular biography she wrote about Montelius (*ibid.*).

People ask me how I manage to accomplish everything, and usually I can easily answer, that I really don't think I manage or do much. But how I managed to do everything the last year of my studies—that I do have some difficulty understanding looking back. I was writing my licentiate-dissertation, and was engaged to Bror Schnittger and was quite pleased to have come that far. But old professor Montelius wasn't.

(Bang 1931, unpag.)

I had...asked Montelius if I could borrow a newly published Italian journal from his own library, as it was not available anywhere else, and I needed it for a seminar class. I was invited to his home one afternoon, and was thereafter invited for tea, when he kindly asked me what I was doing. I told him about my approaching examination. 'Then, Miss, you shall print your licentiate-dissertation and defend it, so we can be companions at the ceremony for conferment of the doctor's degree'.... That year Montelius was going to be 'jubilee' doctor at Uppsala. I assured him, that however much I should have enjoyed it, it was absolutely impossible. It was my intention to extend my work and get it finished the following spring. Now there was not more than a month left to the examination period and I had still not had my oral examination. He insisted, however, and joked about the youth of the day, who 'insisted on writing such thick dissertations, that nobody could find time to read them'... The thought would not leave me, though my fiancé and also former teacher in the subject assured me that 'such things are not to be done'. Next morning I watched for the state antiquarian Montelius' arrival at the museum...quite frightened at myself.... Without wasting any unnecessary words the state antiquarian said: 'Miss Rydh, do you want to finish it, or don't you?' 'I do', I said just as rapidly and shortly.—A call on the phone, and Haeggströms printing office was on line. Can you print so and so many sheets at this time? I understood that the answer was no.—'I will let you off doing printing for me at that time.' Arranged. The engraving office. 'If you are excused from any of my orders during the next two weeks, can you make so and so many

engravings for an urgent dissertation? Thank you. Tomorrow morning at eight o'clock, you shall be at the printing office with your dissertation, Miss Rydh. Good luck! If we don't see each other before, we will meet at our joint ceremony for conferment.'

(Rydh 1937:155 ff.)

I read for the oral examination and read wet proof-pages and was with gallows humour nervous at it all. And between studying and proof-reading, I was scampering about at the building under construction in Mörby, which would be our future home.

The upshot we can tell ourselves. On the 23rd of May the graduate Rydh became licentiate Rydh, one week later the licenciante Rydh became Doctor Rydh, one week later Doctor Rydh became Mrs Schnittger and four days later all of the Rydh-Schnittger family delivered talks at an archaeological congress in Copenhagen.

(Bang 1931, unpag.)

### THE CHALLENGES OF THE 1920s

Just as Hanna Rydh stood at the threshold of a new phase in both her personal and professional life, Swedish women in general were facing new conditions. After an intense struggle, some important changes concerning the civil rights of women took place at this time. In 1920 a new marital law was passed in which the husband's guardianship over his wife came to an end. In 1921 women for the first time had the right to vote in government elections. In 1923 a new law was passed that widened women's qualifications for government employment.

The right to vote, abolition of the husband's guardianship over his wife and the right to work had been the fundamental demands for which women had fought for half a century. Now the new laws had been passed, the task was to fill the new roles. Hanna Rydh recognized this need and took on her social responsibility. However, this also included something quite difficult, and not so obvious: to raise consciousness of tenacious aspects of the patriarchal gender ideology and to face it as a problem, and to try to be aware of its forms of expression, which might hinder the emancipation of women. This aspect is central to any discussion of Hanna Rydh's work.

For the young doctor, the following years were effervescent and full of life, just as life should be perceived—with a fresh, vigorous pulse and rich and full—in those years when the somewhat uncertain hesitation of youth gives way, when the studies for examinations are finished, and the ground feels a bit more secure under your feet. You are a member of society, ready to give your own contribution in the form of work and personality.

(Rydh 1937:38)

Hanna Rydh wrote this in her bibliography of Montelius about the time when Montelius, just married, passed his doctoral degree. However, the reader can easily infer that she expressed something of her own experience, so many of the words being reminiscent of her own situation.

It is obvious from the fact that Hanna Rydh retained her maiden name that she intended to continue with her professional life after marrying Bror Schnittger. The new marital law, which in general improved the conditions of women, contained one detail, which was regarded as somewhat negative by many women; the wife was obliged to take her husband's name. Many years later, in a debate in parliament when the question of free choice regarding the last name of the wife was discussed, Hanna Rydh claimed that it was 'an act of usefulness' to be able to retain one's own name if one wished to, as it could facilitate professional work. 'Although it is actually too personal to bring up...' she could take herself as an example.

When I, as a young woman, married for the first time—to a colleague—, that was in 1919 and accordingly there was no obstacle of any kind to my keeping my own name, my husband asked me, in the interest of both of us, not to change my name. 'You will always regret it,' he said, 'and for me it is much easier, that we are two different persons, whose writings cannot be mixed up.'

(Riksdagsprotokoll (Parliamentary records) 'Motioner', Andra kammaren  
1943, 7:29)

Hanna also considered that children should not be an obstacle to continuing archaeological work, as we read in the article by Bang:

On one occasion Dr Rydh applied for, and got, a major English scholarship,<sup>3</sup> but when the directors of the fund got to know that the holder of the scholarship had just become a happy mother to a son, they sent by telegram a polite inquiry, asking if she wanted to stand by her intention to use her scholarship. In answer, they received a telegram: 'My son's birth makes no difference.' The laconic formulation raised great laughter in English circles and became almost an anecdote.

(Bang 1931, unpag.)

Hanna had the opportunity to travel in France and Spain, where she studied Palaeolithic art. She also went to other parts of the Mediterranean area. A visit to the newly restored palace of Knossos gives rise to the following picture of relations among colleagues of different generations and genders:

As a young doctor, the author of this book felt quite puzzled, when I, at a charming lunch at the excavation bungalow of Sir Arthur Evans, was asked about my opinion of these restorations. What does a young guest answer the most amiable of hosts, of the same age as her father, if she wants to be at the same time both honest and polite?

(Rydh 1937:129 ff.)



But the archaeological work in the 1920s consisted of more than study tours. The excavations at Adelsö and other places continued. Hanna also guided, partly together with her husband, excursions to 'places of cultural-historical interest'. This task assumed a more institutionalized form between 1925 and 1929, when she conducted such excursions for the National Historical Museum. Here we see a feature which was to appear throughout Hanna's career: popularization of her discipline.<sup>4</sup> Already in 1922 she, together with Bror Schnittger, had published a guidebook for archaeological excursions in the Stockholm area (Rydh and Schnittger 1922, 1928).

The popularization of archaeology was also expressed in Hanna's interest in women's issues. Between 1920 and 1927 she wrote several articles in the journal of the Fredrika Bremer Association, *Hertha*, in which she presented archaeological finds relating to prehistoric women (Rydh 1920a, 1922a, 1923, 1927a). In particular she dealt with prehistoric women in a popular book called *Woman in the Ancient North* (Rydh 1926a). She also published a book about Palaeolithic life, addressed to children and young people (Rydh 1926b), in which the situation of women was given a special chapter.

However, Hanna also pursued women's issues in other ways. She was involved in the practical work of the Fredrika Bremer Association, an association which was in concordance with her middle-class liberal background. She believed that knowledge was a crucial factor if women were to make the most of their newly achieved civil rights. Therefore, following Hanna's proposal, the association arranged an evening-school for 'working youths'. Hanna was 'the first leader of the school, and people flocked to classes in Swedish, English, social studies and other subjects, valuable from the point of view of citizenship' (Anrep 1964:18).

In 1923 Hanna worked as an assistant at the Musée des Antiquités Nationales in St Germain-en-Laye near Paris. There she could continue her Palaeolithic studies, and she could bring her family, which now consisted of her two sons Jan and Bror, with her. Also her husband, whose deteriorating health forced repeated breaks in his work, could to a large extent join the family. Bror Schnittger's health did not improve, however, and after their return to Sweden, he died in 1924. At the age of 33 Hanna was alone with two children.

Hanna's work now increased as she wanted to finish those archaeological commissions that her husband had not had time to fulfil. In 1927 she published a book about the medieval castle of Aranäs, where Schnittger had been excavating between 1916 and 1923. Several parts of this volume were written by Hanna (Rydh and Schnittger 1927). An even greater ambition was to finish publishing the reports on the Neolithic settlement in the cave of Stora Förvar near the island of Gotland. This cave had been investigated in a major project at the end of the nineteenth century, by Hjalmar Stolpe and others. Schnittger was in charge of a synthesis of the reports, but only had time to finish a minor part. Within this project Hanna now conducted, among other things, an extensive ceramics analysis, which, related to a stratigraphical analysis, was the basis for a chronological interpretation. This enormous task took a long time to finish, possibly because of her new duties over the next decade, and was not finally published until 1940 (Rydh and Schnittger 1940). Hanna also found time to broaden her archaeological interests. In two studies she

compared ceramics and folk customs in Sweden and China and discussed those features in relation to rituals of fertility and death, thus considering both ethnology and history of religion in relation to archaeological material (Rydh 1929a, 1931).

#### THE 1930s AND 1940s: POPULAR SCIENCE AND POLITICAL WORK

In 1929 Hanna Rydh married once again, this time to the secretary of state, Mortimer Munck af Rosenschöld. From this marriage a daughter, Karin, was born. Her husband was soon appointed governor of the county of Jämtland-Härjedalen, and Hanna received many new representative and social duties. However, as parts of the material from Stora Förvar could be moved to the local museum, Hanna could still work with archaeology.

During the years as wife of a county governor, she worked mainly as an author of popular literature. Many of her books were written for children and young people. Of these, the most well-known was a three-volume series called *Mother Tells about Life in Old Times* (Rydh 1930, 1933a, 1938, Danish translation 1940). In these, archaeology and prehistory from all over the world were presented. Another book for young people, about life in the Stone Age, was also published at this time (Rydh 1933b). Another genre Hanna Rydh promoted was the travel book. During her life, she made many journeys, for example in the Mediterranean countries, Latin America and India. In the narratives from these areas, prehistory was frequently included (Rydh 1927b, 1928, 1933c, 1934, 1946, 1952, 1956). Two of them were also printed in English (Rydh 1929b, 1940b).

When Hanna Rydh's second husband died, in 1940, she moved back to Stockholm. There she increased her political work, both within the Liberal Party (Folkpartiet) and within the Fredrika Bremer Association. She had for many years been a member of the board of this association and in 1937 she became its president. During her 12 years as president, the association grew as 'she realized that the bigger an association, the more effective it could be, and she passionately devoted her time to founding new local circles, travelling all around the country'. She almost doubled the number of circles, an impressive result 'if one knows how much work it is to gather the right people for one single circle' (Anrep 1964:18).

One goal of the association was to increase the representation of women in different commissions and decision-making authorities. Hanna Rydh herself was for 15 years a member of the official radio committee, she was a lay assessor for 12 years, and in the early 1940s she was a member of an official report committee on family politics. When in 1943–4 she was a member of parliament, she dealt above all with issues concerning the family, pay and employment politics, all from a woman's point of view. Often the questions were very concrete, like pay increases within female working areas, equal pay for the same work for women and men, or the possibility of part-time work for working mothers (see, for example, Riksdagsprotokoll (Parliamentary records), 'Motioner' 292:5; 362:16 (1943); Utskottsförslag (Committee bill) nr 18:75 1943).

## INTERNATIONAL WORK

Hanna Rydh also pursued women's issues internationally. In 1938 she was one of the Swedish delegates to the League of Nations. From 1939 she was the vice-president of the International Alliance of Women and in 1946 she was elected president. One important success, at the end of the 1940s, was that the Alliance got consultative status concerning the economic and social matters of the United Nations.

The Alliance thus had the privilege of maintaining at UN headquarters a representative whose responsibilities included attending all those meetings of ECOSOC, its Commissions, and Committees, whose work was of concern to the Alliance—chiefly the Status of Women Commission, The Human Rights Commission, and the Social Commission.

(Schreiber and Mathieson 1955:63)

Of course this increased her opportunities to promote women's perspectives within these areas.

During Hanna Rydh's time as president of the Alliance, it promoted women's education in social and civil matters. Hanna travelled a great deal in her capacity as president, and put in 'a phenomenal amount of work' (*ibid.*: 65) representing the Alliance at different UN conferences and on other occasions. She established numerous connections which resulted in 19 new countries being represented in the Alliance (*ibid.*: 61–70). The strategy seems to have been the same as in the Swedish association.

In 1952 Hanna Rydh resigned as president in order to direct a Swedish archaeological expedition in India. Thus, in her last major international project she returned to archaeology. For two seasons, in 1953 and 1954, excavations were conducted at the site of Rang Mahal in the federal state of Rajasthan in north-western India. The excavated parts of the site, which, by means of analyses of pottery and coins, was dated to 200–600 AD, contained both dwelling-houses and a temple.

Hanna combined her archaeological expeditions with her commitment to the social conditions of women. When she attended, now as honorary president, one of the board meetings of the Alliance in England in 1954, the following episode was reported:

Hanna Rydh arrived fresh from India and gave a vivid picture of her experiences. She had varied her archaeological pursuits by founding a school in a village where there had been none before. She had visited the Alliance affiliates in Ceylon, Thailand, the Philippines, and Japan, and also contacted women's organizations in Burma, Indonesia and Nepal. In all these countries she was welcomed as the Alliance ambassador, and prepared the way for the Asian Regional Conference, soon to be held in Colombo.

(*ibid.*: 71)

The Indian excavations were published in two major volumes (Rydh 1959a, 1959b).

In 1964, at the age of 73, Hanna Rydh died. Looking at her life from a distance of some generations, she seems to have been an extraordinarily efficient person with a great sense of social responsibility.

### REFLECTIONS

The life of Hanna Rydh gives rise to several reflections. The fact that she was involved both in fieldwork and in the production of texts suggests she must have been in a milieu with a positive attitude towards a woman being active as a professional archaeologist. It seems that she added a supportive female network, including female academics, to this milieu, even if, a decade after her student days, she emphasized the equal conditions between male and female students. She married a colleague, who, moreover, was her teacher at one period. Her husband explicitly encouraged her professional plans, and they also, in part, worked together. The actions of Montelius concerning her dissertation demonstrated moral support and concrete help. Possibly some members of the surrounding research community looked upon the help of Montelius as somewhat unmerited and interpreted her dissertation as a gesture of honour to the grand old man of Swedish archaeology. Concerning Hanna Rydh's dissertation thesis, remarks were made that 'the subject was limited—only one Gotlandic type of brooches—and that the material collection was rather scanty'. However, for Montelius it was important that 'at the same time [as he did] some young archaeologists should mount the scientific Parnassus' (Nerman 1964:142). For him, with his dedication to women's liberation, it must have been a mark of great symbolic value, that both a young male archaeologist, Otto Frödin, and a young female archaeologist were conferred a doctor's degree (Arwill-Nordbladh 1989).

Even if there was a positive academic milieu for female archaeologists during Hanna Rydh's early professional life, it seems that she did not have any permanent employment but was attached to various different projects. It is true that these projects could extend over a long time, but it meant only periodical work. However, such conditions also seem to have been the norm for many younger male archaeologists (see for example Vitterhets-akademins årsredogörelse 1927:29). It also seems that Hanna Rydh in part herself created new, until then unobserved forms of archaeological work. The 'cultural-historical walking-tours' can be seen as an example of this.

These walking-tours were also an early example of the popular scientific work which Hanna Rydh was to develop. At least in those cases when she explicitly turned towards women and children, her background as a female archaeologist was probably significant. The title of her most well-known book for children, 'Mother tells...', had a background in reality as many of the chapters first emerged in the evenings beside the fire or in the study with the sciopicon together with her children. Some of the chapters were also broadcast on children's radio programmes (Rydh 1930:5).

Conveying scientific knowledge to the general public was very important to Hanna Rydh. In the winter of 1940, when the war made times uncertain, she wrote a plea for democratic values, *Liberty and Democracy* (Rydh 1940a), in which her view on the

mediation of knowledge and popular science was presented: 'general education and social progress are the best protection for the democratic state...The general education in our country is a resource that cannot be appreciated enough...Most researchers have strangely enough not perceived the deep meaning of the spread of science.' Knowledge would be a prerequisite of and a guarantee for democracy. She also expressed the deepest sympathy for 'the autodidact who loves education...and... finds oneself hindered in one's striving for knowledge, because the foundation is not deep enough' (ibid.: 10–11). Access to knowledge was also a question of justice.

### GENDER IDEOLOGY IN HANNA RYDH'S ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORKS

Against this background it may be of some interest to look at the gender ideology, concerning women, which is expressed in the archaeology of Hanna Rydh. More precisely: how are women presented by a female archaeologist with scholarly training, an awareness of the unequal conditions between women and men, and a desire to improve the conditions of women?

The combination of archaeology and women issues was especially evident in the popular works from the 1920s (Rydh 1920a, 1922a, 1922b, 1923, 1926a, 1926b, 1927a). Up until the 1970s, these works were the only ones within Swedish archaeology which explicitly dealt with women in prehistory (Stjernqvist 1975; Thålin-Bergman 1975), a fact that must have given them special importance from an archaeological point of view. Moreover, Rydh's 'women texts' were written during those formative years, when women were starting to put their new civil rights into practice. This too should mean that the texts were of particular importance from a gender ideological point of view.

The most comprehensive work was *Woman in the Ancient North*. In the introduction Hanna Rydh stated that 'it is modest and presumptuous at the same time' to follow the Nordic woman, of whom we usually are only allowed 'to catch a glimpse as a background figure' through her 'often arduous, always hard-working, sometimes glorious life' (Rydh 1926a:3). In the book *The Millennia of the Cave People*, one chapter, 'Life in the cave', dealt with women (Rydh 1926b:44–50). In the years 1920, 1922, 1923 and 1927, several shorter articles about particular women with archaeological training were printed in *Hertha* and *Nordisk Tidskrift*.

It seems that Hanna Rydh did not to any great extent conduct basic research of her own from a woman's point of view. Instead she compiled earlier presentations of women, found for example in monographs by Bugge, Gustafsson, Montelius and Müller. From this wealth of general knowledge, she emphasized whatever in her opinion could illuminate the life of women. Accordingly, she was aware of the risk of giving the interpretation an ethnocentric bias (Rydh 1926a:58). 'With the view directed at the contemporary time', the archaeological work could easily be misleading (Rydh 1926b:47).

One important theme in the writings of Hanna Rydh was the issue of women's independence and their equality with men. In our terminology, she discussed whether there was an asymmetry in the power-relations between women and men. She

criticized the common view, as expressed by a contemporary historian, that the man in prehistory was active and protective and the prehistoric woman was someone who 'through the ages' required protection:

The young boy of today, has hardly reason to see his own sex...in the light of chivalry and diligence,...the young girl of our time shall not start her day in the belief that from the beginning of time woman's life has flown smoothly in a safeguarded peace. According to this, she shall not expect that, as soon as some danger threatens her in life, a man will rush on to carry her to a sheltered spot, be it as humble as some hollow tree or some heavy blocks of stone.

(ibid.)

The question of equality is a theme throughout *Woman in the Ancient North*. She found that the women of the Stone Age, at least after death, received the same treatment as their male relatives (Rydh 1926a:29). Also the graves of the Bronze Age indicated that women had almost as respected a position as men (ibid.: 63). For the Early Iron Age she relied on Tacitus' image of the free and independent Germanic woman. During the Late Iron Age, though, there must have been a certain juridical inequality. The more unequal conditions demonstrated by the Sagas and the Medieval laws might also be valid at earlier times, but the archaeological remains showed that at least some women had an 'equal material position' and 'at least a certain spiritual equality' with men (ibid.: 91).

Therefore, women were not entirely equal to men, but they were independent, active and eminent in different ways. The prehistoric figures provided good examples: 'Does the picture of the life of the cave-dwellers give us any evidence, that the woman in the beginning was the inferior? That she, in the struggle for existence, was the one who only received, the object of the man's work, love and charge?' (Rydh 1926b:47). No, Hanna Rydh said, referring to many examples throughout prehistory. For Rydh, passivity, being 'the one who received', meant inferiority. To participate in the work for one's own living, meanwhile, gave equality. In this she reflected one of the most important positions of the contemporary women's movement.

In her examples of active women, Hanna Rydh showed that she considered the domestic sphere to be the principal social sphere of women. With some rare exceptions, her examples, throughout prehistory, were of women involved in activities associated with home, household and care of members of the family. For a Stone Age society the work by women and men was described in the following way:

It appears that often, with primitive people, it is the women who execute almost all work, handle the farming, whatever its nature, collect roots, fruit, wild berries and nuts for food, carry water, collect wood for the hearth, take care of the simple household, yes, build up huts when required, while the man most often lazily stretches himself in the green grass or arranges his plumage for the magic dance. To the house-hold, though, he contributes with the bag, but when the tribe is moving, it is the women who carry the burdens, the children on

their backs, the household goods and other things on their chest and head. The man walks proud with his weapon in hand.

(*ibid.*: 49)

Apart from women's work, Hanna Rydh also paid attention to other things she considered to be associated with women, namely clothing, costume and jewellery. This was given a very literal illustration in the book about the woman in the North. Of 185 pictures, 164 depicted features which Rydh in the text attributed to household, textiles or jewellery.

That women by nature were not restricted to the household sphere is shown by an article presenting the female Pharaoh Hatshepsut (Rydh 1927a). Here was a woman whose skilful political action was beneficial to the Pharaoh dynasty, either by promoting the cult in new, masterfully constructed temples, or by organizing trade-expeditions of long-lasting importance to the distant country of Punt. It is interesting to compare the presentation of Hatshepsut with that of the woman in the grave of Oseberg in Norway. This woman was identified by many as Queen Åsa, an ancestor of a prominent Viking dynasty. Her title of queen might be considered to imply leadership, political action and participation in life outside the household, but Queen Åsa was presented by Rydh as simply a housewife on a big farm—as if Hanna Rydh was restricted by the stereotypical image of the Viking Age woman as a housewife and matron, which was established at the end of the nineteenth century (Arwill-Nordbladh 1991a).

Hanna Rydh's tendency to view prehistoric women as associated with the household sphere was emphasized in her terminology. Throughout her interpretations of prehistory, women were called housewives. Whether the concept of housewife was relevant or not was not discussed. The possibility that there could be women who never adopted the housewife role was hardly touched upon. However, a closer analysis makes it possible to understand the ideas behind many of Hanna Rydh's presentations. For example, she was very conscious of her own reasons for stating that women were connected to the household sphere: many people of her time believed that this connection was inherent in the nature of woman. Another common explanation, expressed in Hanna Rydh's words, was that 'the man had to protect the women and children of the tribe...and therefore the woman had to be the guardian of the hearth'. She did not agree with these views. She stated that the reason 'of course lies more in the relation between mother and child than in the relation between man and woman' (Rydh 1926a:49). However, this was not a biological but a social aspect of the mother-child relation, she stressed. The basis of Hanna Rydh's reasoning was her comprehension of the earliest kinship-relations. Like many others,<sup>5</sup> she believed 'that in the oldest group of human beings, nobody knew who was the father of a child'. The notion of a family in the modern sense was not relevant. 'No doubt the child was the mother's, possibly the tribe's but probably not the father's.' As the mother then was tied to the child 'through other bonds' than the father, it was the mother's task, from the beginning, to take care of the child. The children turned to their mothers, 'the women got their hands well occupied' and the gender-specific division of labour was a fact (*ibid.*). That was the reason why, in our terminology,

work associated with social reproduction both constructed and constituted the female gender. Here we can see surprisingly modern thoughts about how labour and its division both creates and maintains gender (see for example Moore 1991:208).

There were, however, also some conventional effects of the 'household-syndrome' which Hanna Rydh presented. A very common idea in her time was that there were biological causes for women's association with the sphere of social reproduction. Even if Hanna Rydh claimed that the origin was of social character, the effect, to associate women with the domestic sphere, was the same as if biology had been the cause. She also stressed that the difference in social spheres between women and men in prehistory was the same as in her own time.

### THE DOUBLE MESSAGE

Hanna Rydh's presentations of prehistoric women thus have two main features. One is the stress on women's equality and independence in relation to men. The other is the emphasis on woman's task as a mother and her responsibility for house and home. This means an equality in power-relations and a difference in social spheres. Equality and difference: that was also the split claim of the women's movement in Hanna Rydh's time.

Equality was for most women a matter of justice, but at least in many intellectual circles, equality was also supposed to be a necessary condition for real love between husband and wife. However, equality could only be reached if the woman was economically independent of the man (Ambjörnsson 1974: 162). Her participation in working life was a necessary precondition. Here was the difficulty for the women's movement. How could one fulfil the specific female tasks—whether they were caused by biology or society—of taking care of home and family, and at the same time achieve economic independence? Or as it was formulated at the Nordic Women's congress in Helsinki 1924: 'To unite in one synthesis woman's central task as the mother of the species and the caretaker of the home, with those tasks with which modern society saddles her—there is one of the women's movement's issues that is difficult to solve' (Hirdman 1983:62). At the time of Hanna Rydh's women's articles the ideology of difference in its domestic variant was dominating the Nordic Women's Movement (*ibid.*: 67).

One solution had been presented by the social philosopher Ellen Key. Key based her ideas on an evolutionary framework, according to which specific female and male qualities were exposed to evolutionary selection. Like many others of her time, she believed that acquired characteristics could also be inherited. She also claimed that male and female qualities could best evolve if they were united with their opposites, i.e. within the family. However, a prerequisite for the existence of the family was equal conditions for man and wife. Consequently, women should work on tasks where their supposed female qualities, such as sensibility, patience and caretaking ambitions, could evolve (Ambjörnsson 1974).

Hanna Rydh's combined image of women's independence and their association with family, home and household can be seen to arise within that frame of thought given its most elaborate expression by Key. It is even possible to see certain words as



influenced by Key: when Rydh wrote that the Etruscan woman certainly understood 'how to create a beautiful home, the beautifully shaped pieces of craft and household furniture which surrounded her tells us this' (Rydh 1923:11), there was an echo of Key's 'when necessity shaped the dwelling place, the woman created the home from this' (Key 1976:156) and her theses of 'beauty for everyone'.

But there was also much that separated Hanna Rydh from Ellen Key, such as their different opinions regarding the origins of the spheres of women and men. According to Key this was a case of evolutionary selection. If women worked too much on allegedly male tasks, their gender-specific properties would disappear in the future, which would be a disadvantage for society as a whole. For Rydh, the reasons lay in social relations, primarily between mothers and children. There was nothing to prevent women working within the male sphere, as long as it was possible to combine this with the responsibility for home and family.

This was why Hanna Rydh in her political work for women's emancipation concentrated on concrete issues, which could make conditions easier for women, 'who often toil, with a quite difficult compromise between taking care of a home and providing for children and work outside the home, a work that society of today cannot be without' (Riksdagsprotokoll (Parliamentary records), 'Motioner', Andra kammaren 1943, 7:30). She could, however, have seen the problem from another angle. As women's association with home and family was due to a *social* relation between mother and child, there was nothing in the nature of woman to predestine her to this sphere. Logically, men also should be able to participate in the domestic sphere. Indeed, the very existence of such a sphere might be questioned. If Hanna Rydh had worked to change attitudes and bring about political measures to promote relations between fathers and children, she could have supported the emancipation of women in another way.

#### WOMEN'S STUDIES?

Hanna Rydh's 'women's archaeology' can also be discussed from the point of view of the discipline of archaeology. It is obvious that she was not approaching gender as a scientific problem. Not even when she discussed in scientific terms what she in a popular context called female artefacts, like strike-a-light stones or box-shaped brooches (Rydh 1926a:80, 112; Rydh 1917b, 1919), were any women's aspects touched upon. From a scholarly point of view Hanna Rydh was satisfied with the 'normal' science, the 'maleness' of which her works confirmed.

The fact that Hanna Rydh presented her 'women's archaeology' in a popular form can be attributed to the importance she ascribed to the popular education. However, there may also be other reasons. Perhaps the work of Hanna Rydh can be seen as evidence of Sandra Harding's thesis that normal science, as it was to be formed, has an inbuilt androcentric bias, and that a real emancipatory feminist research would not be possible within its parameters (Harding 1986). For Rydh it would have been difficult enough to be the first woman in this normal science, let alone have introduced a 'women's archaeology', that would have changed it. If that was the case, perhaps the popular presentations for female readers could be seen as a resort for

Hanna as they were the only available means of expressing her strong commitment to women's issues.

The archaeological knowledge that Hanna Rydh presented was, however, not intended for any real emancipatory purpose. She 'added' prehistoric women, but what she said was on the whole unproblematized and taken from the general archaeological knowledge. Even if these ideas were shared by Hanna and a large proportion of the women's movement, they were not 'redefined' by the women themselves. Inherent in the analytical concepts were already established notions of male and female, which were created in far older social and cultural contexts built upon patriarchal foundations (Arwill-Nordbladh 1994). In contrast to the 'women's archaeology' of Montelius (Montelius 1898, 1906; Arwill-Nordbladh 1989, 1990), the emancipatory effect of Hanna Rydh's presentations was ambiguous. The exclusive association of women with home and household, which was difficult to reconcile with the idea of equality between women and men, may have worked against female emancipation.

So Hanna Rydh and her work appears to be a paradox. In her voluntary work to improve the conditions of women she was successful, both in Sweden and internationally. As the first Swedish female archaeologist she can be seen as an admirable pioneer woman and a role model. Her explicit focus on women—and children—in her popular writing was founded on the conviction that knowledge could be liberating for the individual. Her accounts of active and independent prehistoric women may serve as good examples for female emancipation. However, the fact that she focused on women in terms of an unproblematized domestic sphere gave rise to an irony: that she presented an image of women, the gender-ideological content of which probably ran counter to female emancipation.

A final conclusion can be drawn about relations between the main 'actors' discussed in this paper: the archaeologist, the contemporary society in which he or she is working, the archaeological interpretation, presentation or narrative, and the past as it is linked to the archaeological remains. If all these forces are experienced as active at the stage of the production of the interpretation, something new is brought into existence: a formed past—a history—with a quality of its own. As Walter Benjamin said about the writing of history: 'It is not so, that the past sheds its light on the present or the present its light on the past. But the past is an image that in a flash-like way creates a constellation with the present' (Benjamin 1994:9–10).<sup>6</sup> This constellation implies a novelty, the existence of which is not neutral. To understand the properties of this constellation it is essential to acknowledge the dynamics between the archaeologist and his or her voice.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The Swedish quotations have been translated into English by the author. I am very grateful to Fiona Campbell and Anna Söderblom, who have improved my English in this chapter.

## NOTES

- 1 The Fredrika Bremer Association, founded in 1884, worked for the improvement of conditions for women. It had some archaeological connections, as its first president was the State Antiquarian, Hans Hildebrand. Another founding member was Agda Montelius (the wife of Oscar Montelius), who was also Hildebrand's successor as president. Oscar Montelius supported the association in various ways (Arwill-Nordbladh 1989, 1990).
- 2 The Swedish examination system of that time was similar to the German one. The 'Filosofie licentiatexamen' comprised an oral examination and a dissertation, which was not usually published, the size of which corresponded to a modern PhD. A doctor's degree was built on an earlier licentiate-examination, and dissertations for this higher degree were always published. It corresponded to the German *Doktor Habil.*
- 3 Rydh was the first to gain the International Federation of University Women's major scholarship in 1922 (*Svenska män och kvinnor* 1949:435).
- 4 This aspect of Hanna Rydh's work has especially been studied by Eva Ryberg (1990).
- 5 In the late nineteenth century it was a common belief, based on an evolutionary framework, that the family as an institution had passed through different levels. In our days the evolutionary schedule developed by Morgan and after him Engels is probably the most well known. There were other versions as well, for example that of McLennan. McLennan was the main influence on John Lubbock, who in turn was the main source for Oscar Montelius for parts of his typological classification of the different stages of marriage. Whatever differences there were between the scholars, their opinions were quite similar regarding the earliest times. In the words of Montelius: 'Many scholars, who have studied this question, among them the well-known English researcher Sir John Lubbock, even have the opinion that in the beginning no marriage existed at all but, on the contrary, then and a long time afterwards, all the women of a tribe were supposed to belong to all the men of the tribe' (Montelius 1898:4). Montelius admitted, though, that not all scholars agreed on this question; among those who denied the existence of such an original state was 'the highly merited' Finnish researcher, Edvard Westermarck. Hanna Rydh referred to the different stages of marriage in 'Woman in the Ancient North' where she stated that it would probably be difficult to clarify which type of marriage was valid for Nordic prehistory (Rydh 1926a:99). However, she obviously agreed on the earliest 'pre-family' stage, saying in another discussion from the same year that 'it would be highly presumptuous to believe that there existed such bonds between the first men and women that the names husband, wife and family were justified' (Rydh 1926b:49).
- 6 From the introduction by Peter Hallberg to the Swedish edition of *Berliner Kindheit um neunzehnhundert*.

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# WOMEN IN BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGY

## Visible and invisible

*Sara Champion*

In the history of women's contribution to the development of archaeology in Europe, British women are present from the early antiquarian years, though many of them need rescuing from the obscurity to which later histories of the discipline have consigned them. The development of antiquarian studies in Britain, and the gradual emergence of a distinct group of archaeologists, came about not only through the national societies which had their parallels in other European countries, but also through the foundation during the nineteenth century of many county archaeological societies and the consequent fostering of widespread amateur interest in the excavation, recording and appreciation of archaeological monuments. It is among the membership of these societies, and associated with the antiquarian investigation of indigenous monuments, that we find some of the earliest women archaeologists. But they also number among the travellers, scholars and excavators in Egypt and the Near East where, in common with similar developments in other European countries like France, Italy and Germany, a fascination with the 'exotic' and an interest in identifying places mentioned in the Bible, led first to treasure hunting and later to more systematic excavation, in some cases generated by institutions like universities or archaeological 'schools' abroad which eventually came to provide for the education in archaeology of both men and women.

### THE SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL CONTEXT

When trying to understand the relative invisibility of some of these women in the histories of the discipline, it is tempting to suggest that the social context of the time did not allow them access to the academic structures which have been seen as underlying the gradual separation of male archaeologists as a group distinct from antiquarians, classicists or historians. Yet in Britain this does not appear to be an adequate explanation. Male archaeologists themselves seem to have been less likely to have gone to university than historians or antiquarians, as Levine's book about these groups in the Victorian period shows (Levine 1986a:32): they frequently pursued archaeology as a spare-time hobby, some spending more time on it than on their main occupation. Though sometimes sponsored by aristocratic enthusiasts, they were themselves frequently not of the wealthy aristocracy or upper middle class as has often been assumed. Flinders Petrie, for example, had neither formal school education nor any higher education, and without family money, relied on sponsorship



and his eventual post at University College to make a living. Women's participation was therefore not ruled out in such contexts; and women had been travelling abroad on their own for a century or more, as many recent studies have demonstrated (e.g. Robinson 1990).

Moreover, there was no academic archaeology within the universities in the nineteenth century or indeed the early twentieth, the developments in the Egyptology department of University College, London towards the end of the century, under the influence of Petrie and Margaret Murray being among the first. Those males who did go to university and subsequently became archaeologists were likely to have studied the classics, philosophy or history; and thus in these contexts, too, women were not barred, for there are increasing instances of women taking degrees in similar subjects (for example, Margaret Benson achieved a first-class degree in philosophy at Oxford in 1886, and Gertrude Bell a 'brilliant first' in modern history at Oxford in 1888; while Eugenie Sellers Strong read classics at Cambridge, after publishing her first major work, from 1897, Winifred Lamb did the same 1913–17, and Dorothy Garrod gained a degree in history in 1916).

In Levine's book women are excluded from the discussion early on, rendered almost anonymous within a footnote:

Those few women who were active in these fields are highly individual and interesting women, and include the founder of the Egypt Exploration Fund, a government State Papers editor, and the justly renowned Harriet Martineau. By virtue of their minority status they warrant little mention hereafter. Additionally, there were women members in many of the local archaeological societies. In general, they suffered an inferior status, were rarely permitted a vote on the society's council and frequently payed a smaller membership fee in consequence.

(Levine 1986a:9, n. 9)

This treatment seems somewhat harsh, especially in view of Levine's subsequent work on Victorian feminism (Levine 1987, 1990) and her short piece on 'the founder of the Egypt Exploration Fund' (Amelia Edwards) (Levine 1986b); for many of these women are now emerging from the background of national and local societies as a result of work in progress by a number of scholars (e.g. Linda Ebbatson and Julia Roberts), and some have already been 'excavated'. Their contribution to the development of archaeology during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is not by any means negligible, though in some cases it requires a change in understanding and appreciation of the title 'archaeologist', as well as an ability to see beyond the traditional histories of the discipline, which have tended to emphasize excavation as the mark of an archaeologist at this period.

Among national societies, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland at least provided for Lady Associate Members during the nineteenth century, and a number of women were writing articles and describing excavations that they had carried out, though we have few or no biographical details about them. The English Society of Antiquaries did not allow women to become members until it was forced to by the 1919 Sex

Disqualification (Removal) Act. Thus it was that Margaret Murray (see below) became a Lady Associate of the Scottish Antiquaries in 1900, but would not have been allowed even to attend lectures at the English Antiquaries.

Despite Levine's comments, some of the local archaeological societies did give women a chance to develop as archaeologists and indeed to become very powerful within the county structure: a case in point is Maud Cunnington (1869–1951), excavator of a number of well-known sites including All Cannings Cross and Woodhenge, who operated out of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society and eventually became its first woman president in 1933. Detailed new research on Cunnington has been recently completed by Roberts (1995).

In contrast to some other European countries, the development of a number of well-funded national museums, and therefore posts within them, did not occur in Britain. Though the British Museum was involved from the earliest days in funding excavations which would provide material for its cases, and a little later the National Museums of Wales and Scotland would give some support for archaeological work, museums were often private, or were run by local societies, and it was only more recently that the larger civic museums, such as those in Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham, were funding archaeology and providing posts where archaeologists could carry out research.

There is no doubt that the lure of Egypt, Mesopotamia and other Near Eastern countries proved too much for many antiquarians and potential archaeologists, though the continued funding of excavations abroad clearly annoyed some of those who would have liked to have carried out funded archaeological research in Britain: 'We dispatch expeditions to Asia Minor for Lycian marbles, we send to Egypt and Assyria for their antiquities...and is it too much to request that a certain degree of this care should be extended to our native remains' (Rhind 1858, quoted in Levine 1986a: 93 n. 98). Among those who worked in Egypt and the Near East were some of the pioneer women archaeologists, some starting out as travellers or tourists and turning to archaeology, others going out with the aim of research and excavation already in mind. One such was Margaret Benson (1865–1916), daughter of an Archbishop of Canterbury and sister of the novelist E.F. Benson, who directed the excavation of the Temple of Mut at Thebes with her colleague Janet Gourlay in 1895–8. Benson had taken a first-class degree in philosophy at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, and had no archaeological training whatsoever; so perhaps it was lucky for the site that she met and decided to work with one of Flinders Petrie's students, Janet Gourlay (about whom we know almost nothing), who presumably had had rather more instruction. The two of them are self-deprecating in their preface to the excavation report, clearly realizing that they had not had very much training (Benson and Gourlay 1899, quoted in Moorey 1992:95).

Gertrude Bell (1868–1926) was not an archaeologist from the start, but after taking a first-class history degree in two years at Oxford, she went to Persia to pursue an administrative career, and was by 1918 the Honorary Director of Antiquities in Iraq. She also founded the National Museum of Antiquities in Baghdad, and had made significant contributions to the study of Islamic architecture before 1914 (*ibid.*: 94). A third woman whose contribution to Egyptology is all too frequently underestimated,

Amelia Edwards (1831–1892), is discussed below, as is Margaret Murray (1863–1963) about whom, at least, there is consensus as to her status as an archaeologist, though a divergence of opinion as to her importance.

Some early women archaeologists worked in the classical field, for example Eugenie Sellers Strong (1860–1943), who took a degree in classics at Girton College, Cambridge, studied in Germany for several years, and eventually became the assistant director of the British School at Rome. Because of restrictions on women's participation in fieldwork, she was not able to take part in excavations. Slightly later came Winifred Lamb (1894–1963), who read classics at Newnham College, Cambridge, before excavating sites at Thermi and on Lesbos and Chios, financed from her own pocket. There were other women in the classical field who wrote about artefacts as art objects: there are difficulties here in defining the boundary between archaeologist and art historian, and earlier in the nineteenth century there are similar difficulties with the distinction between archaeologist and antiquarian.

There is also a group of women whose contribution to the development of archaeology is hard to define because they worked so closely with their husbands. One such is Hilda Petrie (1871–1957), whom we know Flinders Petrie encouraged to participate in his work, but who rarely put her name to the publications. Slightly later was Tessa Wheeler (1883–1936), whose work is remembered as exemplary by some colleagues, still alive, who dug with the Wheelers; more than one participant in their excavations has said that she was the better archaeologist of the two, yet it is extremely difficult to separate her work from Sir Mortimer's. For these women, though we can signal their presence and speculate as to their significance, we may never be able to complete a full 'excavation'.

In the cases of some pioneer women archaeologists, their presence is recognized but their contribution is sometimes underestimated, either because the work they did does not conform to what historians of the discipline think is important, or because the full impact of their work is not understood, or perhaps because, despite their acknowledged contribution, they were simply not charismatic personalities in the eyes of those who have written about them. I introduce some of these women in more detail below.

In choosing to highlight the lives and work of a selected few women, it may appear that a disservice is done to the larger number of unsung female archaeologists whose careers will thus remain hidden in this volume. There are two main reasons for using this approach. One is the severe lack of documentation for the lives and work of many women, among them particularly those already mentioned whose careers were bound up with those of their husbands, where separation of one person's contribution is well nigh impossible. The other is that the women discussed here do, in many ways, act as examples of the different types of archaeologist and their areas of interest and activity, revealing some of the reasons, perhaps, why such women have been sidelined in histories of the discipline.

## AMELIA EDWARDS, 1831–1892

When, in 1892, Amelia Edwards was awarded a Civil List pension ‘in consideration of her services to literature and archaeology’, it was one of the highest accolades that the state could give in recognition of her early career as a successful novelist and writer on a variety of subjects, of her then career as an Egyptologist, and of the successful marrying of the two skills in books, articles and lectures. She had, since her voyage up the Nile over the winter of 1873–4, become an expert in Egyptology, which manifested itself not in fieldwork (though she had carried out an excavation during the Nile trip), but in the scholarly acquisition of a vast amount of knowledge and understanding, which she disseminated in learned papers, in articles and reviews, and in private communication with other Egyptologists. She was, after all, the first to identify the Phoenician, Cypriote and other characters on sherds which Petrie had found in the Fayum, and of which he had sent her illustrations while he carried on his fieldwork; and it was she who led a movement for the conservation and management of monuments which resulted in her foundation of the Egypt Exploration Society.

She was a scholar, a synthesizer, a conservationist and a popularizer, and was recognized as an archaeologist by other academic scholars in the field. It was not lightly that Professor Reginald Stuart Poole (1892) described her as an ‘eminent Egyptologist’ in his obituary of her for *The Academy*, and it was in full recognition of her scholarship that she was awarded honorary doctorates from several American universities in the last few years before her death.

It might not have been so. It is clear that from her early childhood she was a person of prodigious and precocious talent in a wide number of fields, as her cousin Matilda Betham Edwards recounted in several articles about her. An only child in a middle-class but not moneyed family, she was educated first by her mother and then by a ‘tutor who fitted boys for college’; her first publication was at the age of 7, when she successfully submitted a poem, ‘The Knights of Old’ to a weekly magazine. By the time she was in her teens, she was submitting articles to magazines edited by the likes of Charles Dickens and George Cruickshank, and might have become a commercial artist from the age of 14 had she not turned down the latter’s offer of an apprenticeship in favour of an intended career as a musician.

She continued to write, and as money started arriving on a regular basis in respect of published work, gave up her burgeoning musical career in favour of making a living from writing. She became a journalist and reporter for a number of magazines and newspapers ‘in days when women journalists were not so common’ (Cotton 1892, editor of *The Academy*), including *Household Words*, *Chambers*, *London Morning Post*, *Saturday Review*, *Graphic*, *Century*, and later *Illustrated London News*. For many of these she reviewed the arts scene, particularly theatre and music, but she also contributed historical material.

Her first novel was published when she was 24, and some of the dozen that she wrote were considered very worthy of note, and were translated into French, German, Italian and Russian. She was also a successful writer of short stories and poetry, history, biography, and a translator and editor. She started to travel in Europe, and to write about it, which led to her arriving somewhat fortuitously in Egypt in the winter of 1873–4 (to escape the rain in Italy) and to a change of career. After her

return she set about learning all that she could about Egyptology, which held up the publication of *A Thousand Miles up the Nile* for a year (1877). From that time on, there was no turning back, and she worked as an Egyptologist until she died.

With Reginald Stuart Poole, and with funding from the enthusiastic Sir Erasmus Wilson, she set up the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1883, of which she was both secretary and vice-president. She worked tirelessly, editing the Fund's publications, including the *Memoirs*, raising subscriptions and other funds, and lecturing widely. During this time she became the close friend, colleague and supporter of Flinders Petrie, and both he and other Egyptologists working in the field, such as Maspero and Mariette, always communicated with her first the results of their discoveries. 'She is in the advance of the advanced authorities upon the results of the latest discoveries' (E. Wilson in a letter to W. Winslow, quoted in Winslow 1892:4). Her correspondence with Maspero, in particular, shows that they were exchanging information and interpretations on new discoveries, and she translated and annotated his book on Egyptian antiquities. In her own words, 'I try to let nothing escape me, and perhaps, take me all round, I know more about Egyptian history and recent results than anybody else' (letter from A.B.E. to W. Winslow, 16 November 1885, quoted in *ibid.*: 10).

She did not, however, restrict her activities to the business of the Fund. It is not generally well-known that she contributed papers to learned conferences, for example two to the Congress of Orientalists in Leiden in 1884 ('On a fragment of a mummy-case' and 'On the dispersal of Egyptian antiquities') and to the same Congress in Vienna in 1886, on which occasion her paper was so appreciated that it was simultaneously published in French, German and English. This paper, like the one in 1884, was concerned with the dispersal of Egyptian antiquities into private collections. In 1889 her paper was given *in absentia* at the Congress of Orientalists in Sweden, and was such a success that it was given a second reading in the African section of the Congress. In 1888 she produced an important paper on the material held in provincial museums such as the Peel Park Museum in Manchester and the Mayer Collection in Liverpool.

She started writing for *The Academy* in December 1877, and in her first full year contributed 10 pieces in the form of reviews, articles and letters. The reviews are long, scholarly and wide-ranging, taking issue with specific academic points here or adding information there. The letters, too, are largely about academic matters, and the articles discuss new exhibitions, discoveries or ideas. Over 15 years she wrote more than 100 pieces for *The Academy*. At the same time she wrote in a wide range of other journals, magazines and newspapers, amongst which were *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, *Journal of the Hellenic Society*, *New England Magazine*, *Century*, *Epoch*, *Time*, *Harpers*, *Illustrated London News* and *The Times*. In these she was frequently reporting on excavations and other discoveries carried out in Egypt by Petrie, Newberry, Mariette and Maspero, often with the support of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Other contributions were on artistic and stylistic subjects, and inscriptions and epigraphy. She developed important contacts in the US, and in 1887 Columbia College, New York conferred upon her an Honorary Doctorate of Letters; subsequently Smith College awarded her an Honorary Doctorate of Laws (LLD),

the first woman in the US to have been awarded this degree; and Bethany an Honorary PhD.

Her charismatic personality, revealed in a large number of contemporary and immediately posthumous articles, led her to become an extraordinarily gifted and popular lecturer, though her first public lecture was given late in her career on 3 November 1887. Evidently she was an outstanding success: there are references to lectures and lecture tours countrywide, and Winslow said of her, ‘The ability to convey...knowledge intelligently, captivatingly to others, is almost phenomenal—certainly so in the realm of archaeology’ (ibid.: 11). In March 1889 she was approached with an invitation from over 200 people, including the Vice-President of the United States, and 25 college presidents, to deliver a lecture series in the US. She embarked on a gruelling tour in early November that year, and by the time she left at the end of March 1890 had given some 120 lectures in such places as Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Amherst, Michigan, Pennsylvania and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Many adulatory articles were written about her; Cotton (1892), in his obituary in *The Academy*, described the tour as ‘one long series of popular triumphs such as no other woman has obtained’; and William Winslow’s obituary in the *New England Magazine* is entitled ‘The Queen of Egyptology’, in recognition of her impact: ‘She knew the whole field of archaeology better than any man, and no-one could approach her word power to describe the field.... The queenly title is hers’ (Winslow 1892:12). By engaging the public, she raised massive subscriptions for the Egypt Exploration Fund, which allowed excavation, recording and restoration to take place, so ensuring that the discipline began to develop away from its purely treasure-hunting concerns. She ‘made Egyptology a household word, representing a new intellectual interest’ (minutes of the E.E.F. Committee, quoted by W. Winslow in ibid.: 13).

The material which she had used in her US lectures she collected into a substantial book, *Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers* (not her choice of title), published in 1891. The eight chapters were concerned with the substance of Egyptian archaeology rather than simply, as its title suggests, the discovery of that substance. The first chapter discusses the definition and practices of archaeology, and some of the ‘explorers’, but also describes *inter alia* funerary customs of ancient Egypt, tomb-pits, and a range of recently discovered sites. The remaining chapters deal with the archaeology and history of cities, portrait painting, sculpture, relationships with Greek art, literature and religion, hieroglyphics, etc. The final chapter is on Queen Hatasu (Hatshepsut), and is an appreciation of the career of this female pharaoh, her expeditions and major works of construction, the highlights of her reign, and the subsequent manipulation of records of her by Thothmes III. This is a major work of synthesis and scholarship, and serves well as a record of her academic ability and captivating writing skills.

Her friendship with and support of Petrie was also of benefit to the development of Egyptology as an academic discipline. She had wanted to endow a chair of Egyptian archaeology for him, but could not afford to do so in her lifetime; in her will, therefore, she endowed the chair at University College, London, laying down enough restrictions to ensure that Petrie would get the job. Her choice of UCL was influenced



*Figure 9.1* Margaret Murray (source: the Manchester Museum)

by the fact that it was the only place at the time where a woman could obtain a university degree by examination.

While her endowment of the chair, and her founding and support of the Egypt Exploration Fund, are the only two things that histories of archaeology record about Amelia Edwards, it is clear that she played a much more significant role in Egyptology than these would suggest. She was not an excavator, in a period when those archaeologists whom the histories now ‘rate’, generally were: on the contrary, she was a thinker, a writer on material culture, a synthesizer, a conservationist and a popularizer; in short, an archaeologist whose concerns seem much in tune with many aspects of modern archaeology.

#### MARGARET MURRAY, 1863–1963

Margaret Murray ([Figure 9.1](#)) arrived at University College London two years after the death of Amelia Edwards, and began to study with Petrie, who had recently taken up the Edwards chair. She was 31, and had had no formal school or university education, having been born in India, spent part of her childhood in Bonn, and returned to India before moving permanently to London with her mother. Remarkably, her first publication (of an eventual total of over 80 books and articles) came only a year later, and by 1899 she had been appointed to a junior lectureship in Egyptology, making her the first woman in Britain to earn a living from teaching archaeology at a time when there were few male archaeology lecturers. The stipend was pitiful, and had to support her and her bedridden mother: during the next 10 years she augmented it by giving university extension lectures in Oxford and in London, and by cataloguing collections in the National Museum of Ireland, the

Royal Scottish Museum, the Ashmolean Museum and the Manchester University Museum. Although it was eventually increased by 50 per cent so that she could give up some of these peripheral activities, her students still had to club together to buy her a gown when she was awarded her honorary doctorate.

Murray became an assistant lecturer in 1909, a lecturer in 1921, a senior lecturer and fellow in 1922, and in 1924, at the age of 61, the assistant professor of Egyptology, a post she occupied until her retirement in 1935. Although she was involved from the first in the study of hieroglyphics and the Egyptian language (her *Elementary Egyptian Grammar* was published in 1905, *Elementary Coptic Grammar* in 1911), her other main interests were in anthropology and ethnography, then considered very unsuitable subjects for study by women (Murray 1963:97–8). One of her early papers was refused publication because it was deemed to have unsuitable subject-matter (ibid.: 98). But as well as these wide-ranging interests, she was determined to introduce a practical element to the courses at University College, London, partly to deter dilettante applicants; and thus she devised and implemented, between 1907 and 1910, an intensive and systematic training course of two years, culminating in 11 examinations, which included the study of skeletal anatomy, drawing to scale, physical anthropology, ethnography, mineralogy, photography as well as stratigraphy and fieldwork techniques.

She had joined Petrie on excavations in Egypt in 1902, though she was not free to undertake any major long-term field projects until after her mother's death. When Petrie was abroad, she did all of his teaching, and essentially held the organization together; and there is no doubt that she greatly admired him. Nevertheless, her characterization as a slavish follower of Petrie, and someone who never directed her own excavations (Irwin-Williams 1990:7), is quite erroneous. Her excavations in Malta between 1921 and 1923 led to the publication of three volumes of reports in 1923, 1925 and 1929; and as well as the excavation of a medieval site near Stevenage in 1925, she excavated megalithic sites in Minorca in 1930–1, which were also subsequently published in three volumes. After her retirement she continued to excavate, sometimes with Petrie and sometimes on her own, including work on Nabatean remains at Petra and on a Bronze Age tell site in southern Palestine at the ages of 74 and 75 respectively.

During all this time, as well as publishing excavation reports and a range of other articles, she wrote serious and more popular books on Egyptological subjects, such as *Egyptian Sculpture* 1930, *Egyptian Temples* 1931, *Petra, the Rock City of Edom* 1939, *A Street in Petra* 1940 and *The Splendour that was Egypt* 1949 (when she was 86). But it was her activities and writings in other, though clearly related, fields which aroused controversy. She had continued her interest in ethnography and anthropology, and had brought some aspects of these studies to her work when, for example, dealing with the subject of women in some of her archaeological syntheses (she was an active feminist all her life). *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* 1921 and *The God of the Witches* 1933 were challenging and controversial, as were *The Divine King in England* 1954 and *The Genesis of Religion* 1963, the year of her 100th birthday, of the publication of her autobiography (Murray 1963a) and of her death. This is not the place to examine these works in detail; and they have had both their supporters



and their detractors over the years since they appeared. But they are certainly relevant to modern archaeological thought, both in the ethnographic and anthropological context within which they are written, and in the newly topical, if controversial, view which they espouse, of a female religion antedating the development of male gods and a patriarchal, bellicose society (cf. the work of Marija Gimbutas, see [Chapter 14](#) in this volume).

A Lady Associate of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland from 1900, she became the president of the Folk-Lore Society in 1953, and these two achievements at the opposite ends of her academic career encapsulate the diverse interests of this remarkable woman. One of her major contributions to archaeology was undoubtedly her development of rigorous archaeological training within the teaching programme at University College, and another her meticulous excavation and publication. But what makes her even more interesting today is her explicit incorporation of feminist ideas, if not expressed exactly in such terminology, into some of her interpretations of the past, and her treatment of some historical and religious materials in a way which clearly flouted convention and made many of the (male) academic establishment uncomfortable.

#### GERTRUDE CATON THOMPSON, 1888–1985

Gertrude Caton Thompson was born into a middle-class family, and was educated at school in Eastbourne, finishing in Paris. Her early introduction to archaeology was through visits to Egypt and Italy in her early twenties, but it was not until after the First World War, during which she worked at the Ministry of Shipping and attended the Paris Peace Conference, that she decided to turn down the offer of a permanent position in the civil service and to pursue a suddenly revived interest in archaeology. She enrolled in 1921 at University College, London, and was taught by Margaret Murray and Dorothea Bate, accompanying Petrie to the Abydos excavations in 1921 and Murray to the excavations in Malta in 1922. She felt in need of further training before embarking on fieldwork, and followed courses in prehistory, geology, anthropology and other subjects at Newnham College, Cambridge (though never taking a degree). There seems little doubt that her interest in settlement sites developed from her time at Cambridge, and it was to influence her choice of research for the rest of her life.

She had come into a sizeable inheritance at the age of 24, and, unconstrained by financial considerations, was thus able to pick the projects she was interested in. She worked with Guy Brunton on the site at Hamamieh, Brunton working mainly on the cemetery and Caton Thompson on the settlement; although there was pottery from the pre-dynastic levels, she also felt that analysis of the lithic material would enhance understanding of the external trade links of the site, and was thus interested in the sequences of both types of material. Their demonstration of Badarian and pre-dynastic levels at the site was but the first step in the wider understanding of predynastic Egyptian culture developed through her work.

The next step, which she took with the female geologist and Bedford College lecturer Elinor Gardner, was to initiate the first phase of the Archaeological and

Geological Survey of the northern Fayum. This was a pioneer project of survey and excavation, and has been recognized as such in many histories of archaeology, for it was the first time that an interdisciplinary survey, much of it non-destructive, had been employed as a means of understanding settlement pattern and sequence in Egypt. Unfortunately, Petrie's withdrawal from Egypt to work in Palestine meant that the British School's permit to work in the Fayum went with him, and Caton Thompson and Gardner were obliged to work in another area of lesser interest in the subsequent 1927–8 season. Nevertheless, they had established the methodology, and Caton Thompson was able to use aspects of such techniques on other projects.

In 1928–9 she undertook important excavations at Great Zimbabwe, where Randall-McIver's excavations in 1905 had, to the annoyance of white Rhodesia, shown the site to be of medieval date and African origin. Her excavations showed no different, and her presentation of the results at the British Association Conference in Johannesburg led to expected divisions of opinion based largely on political/racist grounds. One of her assistants on those excavations was Kathleen Kenyon, newly graduated from Oxford.

She returned to Egypt 1930–4, again accompanied by Elinor Gardner, to excavate at Kharga Oasis, and subsequently they examined sites in the Hadrhamaut in southern Arabia in 1937–8. Between these two campaigns, however, she held a research fellowship at Newnham College, Cambridge, and was able to write up the Kharga excavations as well as participate in conferences. It was during these years that she started to acquire the academic and professional honours which she was awarded throughout her life. She had been invited to join the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1930, and she was awarded their Rivers Medal in 1934. In the same year she was elected to the Council of the Royal Geographical Society, having been the recipient of their Cuthbert Peek Award in 1932.

More honours were to come to her in the 1940s and 1950s. From 1940–6, she was president of the Prehistoric Society, the first and only woman ever to have achieved this position. In 1944 she was elected to the British Academy, only the second woman to have been thus honoured (the first having been Beatrice Webb 21 years before). In 1946 she was awarded the Royal Anthropological Institute's Huxley Medal, and in 1954 the Burton Medal from the Royal Asiatic Society as well as an Honorary D.Litt. from Cambridge. Between 1946 and 1960 she was a governor of the School of Oriental and African Studies, and in 1961 became a founder member of the Governing Council of the British Institute of Archaeology in East Africa. She was thus well-recognized in her lifetime as an outstanding archaeologist, not just in the field of excavation but also because of her formidable grasp of developing theory in archaeology. For all these reasons, it seems likely that she never wanted a professional post in a museum or a university, for it would be unthinkable that she had not been offered one—indeed, she is credibly reported to have turned down the Disney chair of archaeology at Cambridge, which was subsequently accepted by Dorothy Garrod. Her fortunate position of having enough money to become a full-time archaeologist with a choice of research project, rather than being required to fit into institutional plans, allowed her the freedom to develop in whichever direction she wanted.

## DOROTHY GARROD 1892–1968

Anyone intending to undertake detailed biographical research on Dorothy Garrod (Figure 9.2) starts at a disadvantage, for as well as being an intensely private person, she destroyed all her personal, and some of her scientific, papers, making the task a daunting one. She was the daughter of a professor of medicine at St Bartholomew's Hospital in London, who later moved to Oxford when he became Regius Professor. She was educated at a small private school, and read history at Cambridge; after getting her degree in 1916, she immediately joined the war effort. She lost all three of her brothers during the war, two killed in battle and the third dying from influenza, and this tragedy seems to have given her the desire to succeed in her academic career as some kind of compensation to her parents. After their return from Malta, where her father had been during the war, to Oxford, she took the diploma in anthropology there, and followed it with two years studying with Henri Breuil at the Institute of Palaeontology in Paris.

Her first excavations were on Gibraltar 1925–6, where she excavated a rock shelter with Mousterian levels which included several pieces of Neanderthal-type skull. She followed this with work in Kurdistan (1928), and then was appointed director of the long and important series of excavations at Mount Carmel, 1929–34. This was considered to be one of the most important pieces of Palaeolithic research yet undertaken, concerning as it did the development of industries and populations outside Europe which were different from the sequences established for France. Further major excavation projects took place in Bulgaria in 1938, at Angles sur l'Anglin between 1948 and 1968, and in the Lebanon 1958–64.

In addition to the reports on these excavations, Garrod produced synthetic books on the Palaeolithic, such as *The Upper Palaeolithic Age in Britain* 1926, and on even broader topics like *Environment, Tools and Man* 1946, as well as a series of articles on a range of Palaeolithic topics. She had, meanwhile, been a research fellow at Newnham 1929–32, a Leverhulme Research Fellow in 1934, and was the president of Section H of the British Academy in 1936. Her crowning achievement was to be appointed to the Disney chair of archaeology at Cambridge in 1939, becoming the first woman to hold a chair in any subject at either Oxford or Cambridge. She served as a Section Officer in the WAAF 1942–5, and then returned to Cambridge, among other things instigating changes and improvements to the structure of the degree teaching. She was the first woman to be awarded the Gold Medal of the Society of Antiquaries; she was awarded a CBE<sup>1</sup>; and was awarded honorary degrees at Philadelphia, Poitiers and Toulouse. Daniel, in his *Times* obituary, recorded that these honours all came to her as 'delightful and exciting surprises' (Daniel 1968), and that she said somewhat self-deprecatingly on the receipt of her Antiquaries Gold Medal, 'Well at least I am not forgotten!' Indeed not—her work on the Palaeolithic of Europe and the Near East was of immense importance, and her tenure of the Cambridge chair was a milestone in the history of women's achievements in archaeology.



*Figure 9.2* Dorothy Garrod and the Woodburys at Shukba Cave, 1928 (source: the Pitt-Rivers Museum, University of Oxford)

#### KATHLEEN KENYON, 1906–1978

Daughter of Sir Frederick Kenyon, Director of the British Museum, Kathleen Kenyon was educated at St Paul's School in London and at Oxford University, where she became the first woman president of the Oxford University Archaeological Society. The year after graduating she went out as Gertrude Caton Thompson's assistant at Great Zimbabwe, and then worked with Wheeler at Verulamium (1930–5), as well as

joining the Crowfoots on the excavations in Samaria (1931–4), to which site she introduced some of Wheeler's excavation methods and was thus credited with bringing modern archaeological techniques to Palestine archaeology (Prag 1992:109).

The Wheelers were involved in setting up the Institute of Archaeology in London during the 1930s, and Kenyon was appointed as its paid secretary in 1935, where she also taught Palestinian archaeology and looked after Petrie's Palestinian collections (Moorey 1992:97). She directed a number of major excavations in England, for example at Jewry Walls, Leicester (1936–9), Viroconium (1936–7) and The Wrekin (1939), and during the war took over as acting director of the Institute, ensuring its survival from its fledgling years through into the post-war period. Further British excavations, at Breedon-on-the-Hill (1946) and Sutton Walls (1948–51) followed, during which time she was also appointed to a lectureship at the Institute, a post which she held from 1948 to 1962.

She became joint director, with Ward-Perkins, of the excavations at Sabratha (1948–51) in north Africa, and then started work at Jericho, probably her most famous series of excavations, which lasted for seven seasons (1952–8), and whose biblical connotations brought her firmly into the public eye. *Digging Up Jericho* was published in 1957, before the excavations were actually completed. At Jerusalem, too (1961–6), the combination of high-profile excavations with biblical archaeology brought her work to international and public notice, and her *Archaeology in the Holy Land*, first published in 1960, has proved to be a bestseller.

With much of the publication of these three big excavations still to be completed, Kenyon was appointed principal of St Hugh's College, Oxford, in 1962, a post she held until retirement in 1973; at the time she was still Honorary Director of the British School in Jerusalem (1951–66). She had been made a fellow of the British Academy in 1935, was awarded a CBE in 1954, became a trustee of the British Museum in 1965, and was made a Dame of the British Empire in 1973. She was probably the most 'visible' of British woman archaeologists in this century, despite the achievements of those discussed above, partly because of wider media coverage with the availability of television, and partly because she was working, at least after the war, in the field of biblical archaeology. She was immensely important in her pursuit of scientific method in the field, though these large campaigns did result in her failure to complete their publication before she died.

### VISIBLE THEN, INVISIBLE NOW

An examination of the potential reasons for the relative invisibility of most, though not all, of these women in the histories of the discipline, presents considerable difficulties in comprehension. Is the reason why Kathleen Kenyon is so very much more visible, in the eyes of both professional archaeologists and of the wider, informed, public, than Dorothy Garrod or Gertrude Caton Thompson, simply a function of chronology (though she died before the latter), of more exemplary techniques (though her excavations were no more effectively conducted than those of the others), of the geographical regions where she worked (though Leicester and

Jericho need not be seen necessarily as more charismatic than Great Zimbabwe, Egypt, Gibraltar or Mount Carmel), or her professional position within the discipline (though Dorothy Garrod's Disney chair, and the professional honours heaped on both of the others, would seem comparable)? Could it just be a question of personality? If so, how is it that Amelia Edwards, who was recognized across the world, quite literally from Russia to the United States, not only as one of the major scholars of a discipline, but also as an astonishingly charismatic personality who inspired many commentators to hyperbole in their attempts to describe her and her work, both of which were expected to remain unforgettably, has been so thoroughly eclipsed? In all these cases, as well as that of Margaret Murray, who in her time was extremely well-known as a writer, public lecturer and teacher, there must be other explanations, though they may not be the same ones in all cases.

One recurring suggestion, as I have mentioned above, is that these women were constrained by the social structures of their time, and that they were therefore unable to gain recognition. It is clear in those cases where women worked with their husbands, and saw their own role as one of helpmate (for example, as with Hilda Petrie, or Tessa Wheeler) and deliberately downplayed their own contribution, that this is a likely explanation. However, it is not satisfactory in other cases, for many of these archaeologists were extremely well-known in their time, both among the general public and among their professional colleagues. Amelia Edwards was certainly known across the world, Garrod and Caton Thompson were also rated extremely highly within the discipline; Murray too was well-known to the public and to the profession, as was Kenyon. While some have claimed that Murray was permanently in the shadow of Petrie, it is clear that she did have her own very interesting agenda, though it is true that perhaps her better-known work was within Egyptology, and there she has been seen largely as a Petrie acolyte, despite her differing interests within that general sphere. These people were well-known in their time: it is what has happened to them subsequently, in the writing of the histories, that has made them so much less visible.

For Amelia Edwards, it may be the lack of excavation and fieldwork that has counted against her. Histories of archaeology have tended to concentrate heavily on 'discovery' of the archaeological record for the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as a glance at the males who appear in the histories shows. Petrie is there first and foremost as an excavator in Egypt; his development of pottery seriation is, of course, considered very important, but would he have been seen as such a major figure had he been working as a curator in a museum or an institute? Wheeler is there too, as someone who developed field methodology, and it is for his writings about 'how to do practical archaeology' that he is remembered, as well as his founding of the Institute, rather than any broader, more synthetic writing (the exceptions perhaps being the books on India, Wheeler 1959 and 1968). There are, of course, other exceptions, particularly in the much earlier periods of development of the subject, for example when Thomsen was developing ideas about the whole structure and chronology of the prehistoric past, recognized as important as any excavation. But until the emergence of Childe, and the conscious development of theoretical archaeology and synthesis within theoretical structures, the field archaeologists reign not alone,

but supreme in this section of the histories. As a synthesizer before her time, then, and a non-excavator, Amelia Edwards presumably fails to make the grade.

Other factors relating to what is valued as archaeological work may also operate in this case. Edwards's other contributions to archaeology were in the realms of conservation of monuments, and of developing public awareness. Neither of these aspects seems to feature as 'important' or 'valuable' in histories of the discipline, yet they are among the most important concerns of archaeologists today, the first because of the current conservation ethic and the recognition that the archaeological resource is finite, and the second because of an appreciation, partly pragmatic, that to gain public support and funding, archaeologists must open up their material and present it in a publicly accessible way. Amelia's lecturing work, to judge by the very large number of ecstatic commentaries and reviews, was clearly the epitome of good practice in this regard, combining scholarly knowledge with an ability to communicate which resulted in large sums of money being donated towards the conservation and investigation work of the Fund.

Margaret Murray's case may be superficially different, though questions of value arise here too. Her approach to the teaching of archaeology was certainly innovative, involving as it did some intensive practical training and the incorporation of scientific skills like anatomy and mineralogy which intentionally acted as a deterrent to dilettante applicants; but teaching, however innovative and influential on more than one generation of archaeologists, rates barely a mention in histories of archaeology. Though she worked with Petrie some of the time, she also directed her own excavations, for example the three seasons in Malta (1921–3) and the two in Minorca (1930–1), which mark her as a rather early woman excavator in less well-known archaeological places in Europe—yet these expeditions are not referred to in the histories. Her serious archaeological writing seems to have made a considerable impact at the time (of *Saqqara Mastabas I* she said it was 'an "eyeopener" even to the German Egyptologists' (Murray 1963:103)), and her more popular archaeology books were best-sellers, as was *The God of the Witches* in its post-war republication. Yet for none of these is she apparently remembered. Education and the public interface have evidently not been seen as important for the development of the subject.

Caton Thompson and Garrod do appear in the histories of archaeology, albeit somewhat briefly, and are thus more visible than Edwards and Murray. In both cases they are mentioned in the context of the development of understanding of particular culture sequences, though Caton Thompson is also quoted as commenting on more theoretical issues (Daniel 1975:285). Indeed she is the only one of the five women discussed here who is mentioned in Trigger's *History of Archaeological Thought* (1989), here briefly in connection with her work at Great Zimbabwe. It is therefore not that they are completely invisible, but that their achievements are such that they should be much more visible than they are. Kenyon, in contrast, appears but briefly in Daniel's history, but has acquired a much better-known persona.

One feature of their work which these women have in common is that it took place (*pace* Kenyon's British work) abroad, in Egypt or the Near East, in Africa, Malta, Minorca and France. At one time I thought that a possible explanation for their relative invisibility was perhaps because these areas, particularly Egypt and the Near

East, are not where current theoretical developments in archaeology are taking place, and that therefore the whole context of their work had been side-lined. However, males working in these regions, such as Schliemann, Woolley and Petrie, have not suffered for their interest in Egypt and the Near East, and although there may be an element of truth in the idea, it is not a plausible total explanation for the selective absence of women.

### FEMINIST IDEAS

At least three of the women above were involved in one way or another with women's rights and feminism. Amelia Edwards was vice-president of the Bristol and West of England National Society for Women's Suffrage, and founded the Edwards chair of Egyptology at University College, London precisely because it was, at the time, the only university where women could take degrees by examination. Murray devotes a whole chapter in her auto-biography to the suffrage movement (Murray 1963, ch. X). Apart from participating in one of the first London processions, and a later much larger one, she says that she took no active part in the campaign, though she belonged to one of the branches of the movement. It is clear, however, that much of her time at University College was spent ameliorating conditions for women students and staff, as many anecdotes in her book demonstrate, and her wry comments and rather pitying attitude towards the efforts of men to repress women, both in academic and social life, are among the best moments in her book: 'young males, even though brilliantly clever, should not pit their wits against an organisation run by women' (*ibid.*: 170).

Caton Thompson became a joint secretary of the London branch of the Women's Suffrage movement, having been introduced to it through the rather genteel approach of the Conservative Women's Franchise Association; and she was clearly an active member, though she does not describe much of her involvement in her autobiography. She does, however, refer laconically to her feminist beliefs from time to time, for example: 'Since the early '30s my feminist allegiance led me to have a woman doctor' (Caton Thompson 1983: 201). There is no record of Garrod's involvement in the suffrage movement, though she would have been just old enough, and Kenyon was born too late for that particular arena of activity. Neither of the two latter overtly express feminist interests either within their work or in any other public utterance; and it is hard to glean much evidence of feminist ideas spilling over into the academic work of Caton Thompson. In the cases of Edwards and Murray, however, the situation is different, and for Murray it may in fact have affected how she has subsequently fared in the histories of archaeology.

Amelia Edwards always wrote of archaeologists as male, and indeed all of the Egyptologists she knew were men. In her Nile book (Edwards 1877), she did talk about women in both ancient and modern Egypt, though not with such obvious intent as did Murray some 70 years later. In *Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers* (1891), however, she devoted a whole chapter to a study of the life of Queen Hatshepsut (now Hatshepsut) which seems to be without parallel among other Egyptological writing at the time. Apart from being a deeply scholarly synthesis of all that was known about



this woman, it contains both laudatory comments about the way she wielded power, and to what ends:

Throughout the years of Hatasu's sole reign the land of Egypt appears to have enjoyed an interval of profound peace, during which she taxed the resources of her empire by repairing those shrines and temples which had gone to ruin during the period of Hyksos rule; by embellishing and enriching Karnak; and by erecting a sumptuous temple in Western Thebes. In those works she proved herself to be one of the most magnificent builder-sovereigns of Egypt.

(Edwards 1891:268)

and also derogatory comments about her male successor, Thothmes III. This chapter is but part of one of the lectures which she gave on her American tour, and the notes to that lecture, which run to 100 pages, are entitled 'The social and political position of women in ancient Egypt'. Here she discusses the position of ordinary women as well as Hatasu and the women of political history, which is most unusual for its time; she also draws analogies between the position of, particularly, married women in ancient Egypt and those in her own time, in thinly veiled reference to the Married Women's Property Act of 1882, of which she was a supporter. Melman (1992:265) sees the whole piece as a powerful feminist polemic. Edwards's appeal to women in particular led to many panegyrics: 'One of the most striking features of her visit has been the loving way in which she has been welcomed by women. Her own sex has risen to do her honour...other associations of women have made her their special guest...the most wonderful and lovable woman that the century has seen' (White 1890:196, 198) perhaps not only because she had a charismatic appeal to both sexes, as her cousin implied (Betham Edwards 1893:550, 553), but because she spoke about female characters in her lectures and thus underlined her commitment to feminist issues, whether covertly or overtly.

Murray was much more overt in her examination of the lives of women in ancient Egypt; she mentions women at every possible opportunity in *The Splendour that was Egypt*, and has a section specifically on the position of women in the chapter on social conditions (Murray 1949:100–4). In this she was clearly following her own interests, which diverged from those of Petrie. In her other writing, both the more anthropological material and that on the occult (Murray 1921, 1933, 1963), her interest in women and in writing about them is very obvious. It may be that these works, being on the fringes of what was considered acceptable for both an archaeologist and a woman to be writing about, were the catalyst for side-lining Murray in the history of mainstream archaeology, yet as we have seen, her more traditional archaeological excavation and teaching work was both unusual and innovative, and should have ensured her a place.

#### THEN AND NOW

Ironically, and despite their near invisibility in the histories, in many ways the position for women archaeologists in Britain in the nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries may have been as good as it was for women in the 1960s, when the teaching of archaeology in universities expanded enormously, and for women in the 1990s when there are so many more archaeological positions available and when the number of women studying archaeology at university is at least equal to, if not now slightly greater than that of men. In the department of Egyptology at University College, London, for example, the number of women on the teaching staff up until the end of the Second World War was exactly 50 per cent of the total (excluding the Edwards professor, who has always been a male). Though some of these were short-term appointments, so were those of some of the men who have been taken into consideration. Since the war, no woman has been appointed to the teaching staff (Janssen 1992:96); and a figure of 50 per cent in any British university seems unattainable, not only in archaeology but in most subject areas.

Deirdre O'Sullivan's analysis of women in contemporary (British) archaeology (O'Sullivan 1991) showed in 1990 a proportion of something like 6:1 in favour of males in academic posts, despite more or less equal numbers of undergraduates enrolling on archaeology degrees. A number of departments, including some of the larger ones, employed no women at all in a permanent teaching capacity. Although these figures may have changed a little in the last five years, the proportion is still well over 5:1. From this poor base, women's prospects for promotion are even poorer, with only two current professors and a small scatter of readers and senior lecturers. It should be mentioned here that such figures are typical for most subject areas in British universities, but are perhaps more shocking when the number of undergraduate and indeed postgraduate applicants is taken into account.

O'Sullivan also looked at the membership of the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments (England) and the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission, where the proportion of women was lamentable, as well as the Society of Antiquaries, where at least she was able to show an increase in the number of women between 1976 and 1987 from a proportion of 1:5.6 to one of 1:4.89.

In field archaeology, figures are hard to put together, given the transitory nature of some of the appointments, but O'Sullivan analysed the membership of the Institute of Field Archaeologists in order to get a general idea. She found that at the lowest level of affiliate member, the ratio of women to men was almost balanced (1:1.64), but that in higher categories the males were again in the ascendancy (associates 1:2.8; full members 1:4.9). A fuller 'analysis of the position of women in the IFA was the subject of an IFA Equal Opportunities Working Party Report (Morris 1992). O'Sullivan, Morris and Gilchrist (Gilchrist 1991) analysed these results and tried to suggest ways in which the numbers of women entering the profession could be maintained at the undergraduate, or even postgraduate, level, and their promotion prospects enhanced. Anecdotally, one is aware of many women who are in the same position now as they would have been in the early years, acting as unpaid, or poorly-paid, temporary staff in a number of institutions and organizations. What is clear is that the prospects for many women in archaeology today are no better, and are in some cases worse, than they were in the early days of the development of archaeology. The implication is that however invisible some of the great British women archaeologists of the past are now, they may yet be more visible in the histories of

British, and indeed European archaeology, than their counterparts of the late twentieth century. That there are also implications for the historiography of archaeology is evident.

## NOTE

- 1 CBE is a well-known fairly high British honour, meaning Commander of the Order of the British Empire.

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10  
FIELDWORK IS NOT THE PROPER  
PRESERVE OF A LADY

The first women archaeologists in Crete

*Marina Picazo*

Somewhere about the turn of the century there had come to light in the palace of Cnossos a clay sealing which was a veritable little manual of primitive Cretan faith and ritual. I shall never forget the moment when Mr. Arthur Evans first showed it to me. It seemed too good to be true. It represented the Great Mother standing on her own mountain with her attendant lions, and before her a worshipper in ecstasy.

(Jane Ellen Harrison, 'Reminiscences of a Student's Life', *Arion* 4 (2):  
1965:338)

INTRODUCTION

After many years of relative neglect, there has recently been a renewed interest in the work of the Cambridge Ritual School, which consisted of the influential and much discussed classical scholar Jane Ellen Harrison and her colleagues, Gilbert Murray and Francis Cornford (Ackerman 1991; Calder 1991; Peacock 1988). This has generated a reassessment of the importance of the ritualists' studies of the history of Greek religion as a reaction against the positivist trend which dominated the field of classics in the second half of the nineteenth century. Harrison, who was the undisputed centre of the group, developed innovative views in her research about the relationship between ritual and myth, involving an integration of archaeological, anthropological, sociological, psychological and textual perspectives. In addition, feminist scholars have vindicated her role as a controversial investigator in the context of the struggles of women in the academic world of British universities at the turn of the century (Passman 1993).

There has, however, been little consideration of Jane Ellen Harrison's work in archaeology, although it was an important aspect of her extensive research in classics. In fact, her early training was in classical archaeology, heavily influenced by contemporary German scholars, and she maintained throughout her career an active involvement in archaeology, especially with respect to new discoveries in the Bronze Age of the Aegean. This interest, however, did not mean that she was an accepted member of the archaeological establishment of the day; indeed, her controversial interpretations of iconographic, monumental and artefactual evidence in her critical

analysis of Greek cult and myth, ensured that she would always be relegated to the margins of the discipline.

A measure of her active interest in Aegean archaeology was her extensive travels to important Greek sites. On one of her visits to Crete, Arthur Evans, the excavator of Knossos, showed Jane Ellen Harrison the clay impression of a seal representing a goddess depicted in a natural environment on a mountain peak, close to her shrine. This goddess, probably the main deity of Minoan Crete, is represented flanked by lions, with her outstretched left arm holding the staff of authority and, seemingly, worshipped by a male figure. Harrison regarded this as clear proof of the existence of matriarchy in ancient Crete. She had frequently used the religious iconography of Greek and Cretan objects and paintings as clear confirmation of what is perhaps one of the main hypotheses of her research, i.e. the social and religious dominance of women in ancient, pre-homeric Greece (Schlesier 1990:214).

Interestingly, the island of Crete has exercised a powerful fascination for women scholars from the beginning of Minoan archaeology until the present day. Since 1900, when the American archaeologist, Harriet Boyd, decided to dig in Crete, many women archaeologists of different nationalities have been (and are now) working in Crete in almost all fields of research, including excavation, artefactual studies, ceramic technology, and historical interpretation. Perhaps we might suggest that part of the fascination of the land of Ariadna may be related to the predominance of women in Minoan art forms such as frescoes and seals—and, possibly, in Minoan society too.

Moreover, the idea that the Bronze Age of Crete demonstrates some kind of 'feminization' is readily evidenced in all the historical discourse generated by archaeological exploration of the island. This issue is encountered, for example, in one of the classic debates on the analysis of the period, i.e. the relations between the Mycenaean and the Minoan civilizations. The different interpretations proposed by scholars such as Evans, Wace, Blegen, Marinatos, etc. not only implied definite events—influences, invasions, conquests or migrations—but presented distinct views on the two cultures. Nixon (1994: 12–13) has recently suggested that one of the implicit trends in the descriptions of the two cultures has been the question of gender polarity. The Minoans, in this opposing set of stereotypes, are portrayed as the 'feminine' part with their material culture defined as graceful, delicate, impressionistic, lovely, miniature, exuberant, 'matriarchal', i.e. non-Greek, in opposition to the monumental, severe, disciplined, 'patriarchal', Greek, Mycenaean art and culture. Of course, this kind of biased view of past societies says almost nothing about their social structure, and rather more about the ways in which scholars characterize and connote the past in relation to present behavioural stereotypes of social and gender relations. In any case, it can be said that many of the representations of Minoan Crete that have been generated by the archaeological discourse since the beginning of the century have emphasized the image of a society where women occupied a 'different', more prominent position than in other contemporary Mediterranean societies. Probably that has been the main reason for the continuous women's associations with the island of Crete.

This chapter offers a reconsideration of the work of some of the women pioneers and their forgotten contribution to archaeological theory and method, selecting the case of a team of women who worked in a Minoan site during the first years of this century. It is argued here that since the beginning of archaeology as a discipline some women practitioners have operated with a distinctly different perspective and understanding from that of their male colleagues. Unfortunately, their work and, above all, their interpretations have frequently been devalued in the general evolution of archaeological discourse. These pioneers generally worked under extremely difficult conditions and took professional and personal risks in a context where women did not have intellectual and effective support because of the limited number of women researchers. Furthermore, it is suggested here that the work of some of these early pioneers provides us with alternative views about the past, as a consequence of their passion and intellectual efforts; even today their work is marked by a freshness of thought that is all the more stimulating precisely because it does not carry the burden of reference to previous generations of scholars.

#### TRAVELS, EXPEDITIONS AND THE FIRST WOMEN SCIENTISTS

By the middle of the nineteenth century, important transformations were beginning to affect the life of a growing number of middle- and upper-class women in much of Europe and the United States. In these countries the challenges of industrialization and urbanization had a profound effect on the traditional female domestic roles. At the same time, the idea began to emerge that, because of their special duties and skills, women could readily contribute to the growing social reform movements. As part of these concerns, there was an interest in raising the level of women's education. It was felt that the participation of middle-class women in these 'social missions' and improved education, would lead them to become better wives and mothers; however, as a result, a number of women began to seek new opportunities to widen their personal horizons.

Another significant aspect of these changes was related to female mobility. Radical changes in transportation resulting from the industrial revolution provided conditions for upper-class women to undertake extensive travel—opportunities which gave them freedom from the narrow confines of domestic activities (Perrot 1993). In fact, at the turn of the century, in wealthy families, travel was regarded as part of the final phase of a girl's education, providing her with the possibility to break out of the normal confines of conventional sex roles. Some women, for different reasons, travelled constantly, visiting distant countries and following in the wake of colonial enterprises. Some of these travels were related to exploration and discovery, such as those undertaken by the first women geographers or explorers (Mills 1991).

Archaeological expeditions constituted a special form of this type of travel—exploration, representing movement not just over space but over time as well and permitting the cultivation of a special relationship with the places and people visited. The pursuit of archaeologists' aims involves a long process of recovering evidence to support a particular interpretation of a landscape—something that is only possible



with the aid of the local population. Not surprisingly, scientifically oriented exploration was perceived as a male task and, for this reason, the first women archaeologists needed to legitimate their activities in a way that their male counterparts did not. For this reason, usually, their writings demonstrated a strong sense of their own identity as well as an unusual concern for the maintenance of the personal relationships formed in the process (Blunt 1994).

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, women archaeologists, in common with their counterparts in the social sciences, had to face up to the universally accepted belief in the distinctiveness of men's and women's social roles. Although the rapidly expanding commercial world of the period demanded the participation of a growing number of women workers, socially there was a dominant, restrictive view of femininity—one clearly incompatible with the emerging stereotype of scientific work as a rational, rigorous and fundamentally masculine enterprise. For this reason, the enthusiasm and innovative contribution of women pioneers in various fields of scientific inquiry was followed by a mood of discouragement in the second generation of women scholars (Rossiter 1984: xv). They still had a relatively insignificant position within science, and found it difficult to obtain employment in a male-dominated society. As far as archaeology was concerned, few women were able to undertake a career in the discipline: when the first women began to excavate, it was always difficult to obtain financial support and scholarships were almost impossible to come by.

#### HARRIET BOYD AND GOURNIA

In spite of the difficulties arising from the academic context, some women managed to break out of this strait-jacket and produced important and innovative research. Such was the case with Harriet Boyd, one of the most remarkable women pioneers in the history of archaeology.<sup>1</sup> Born in Boston in 1871, she graduated from Smith College, Massachusetts, and in 1896, after a variety of teaching appointments, she began to do postgraduate work at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. From the beginning of her stay in this city, she became involved in local political affairs and served as a voluntary nurse in the Greek army during the Greco-Turkish war of 1897. Interestingly, several women travellers at the turn of the century were, during some part of their careers, involved in the task of nursing soldiers. While their particular reasons were, obviously, different and context-specific, it is tempting to suggest that nursing was, in some way, an extension of the maintenance activities that constitute female work in most societies. For women travellers, such activities centred on care and welfare may be seen as an extension or confirmation of their own sense of gender identity, a redefinition of the 'domestic' in a broader spatial and temporal context. In addition, nursing gave them a different kind of perception of local people, one that was richer and more complex than the impressions constructed by more conventional travellers and explorers.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the social proscriptions on the activities of women meant that, at least in some countries, it was not possible to participate in archaeological excavations. In the main research institutions, such as

the foreign archaeological schools in Greece, women could not even inhabit the same buildings as male scholars (Waterhouse 1986:132). In the final years of her stay in Athens, Harriet obtained the Agnes Hoppin memorial fellowship, founded by the Hoppin family to 'lift the restrictions on women in the study of archaeology' (Burr Thompson 1971:496). She wished to excavate a site but encountered the opposition of the director of the school. As she noted in one of her letters, 'the regular School excavations gave occupation to the men students but did not afford enough material for the women also' (Allsebrook 1992:85). Using her scholarship money, in the early months of 1900, she decided to go to Crete, where with the end of Turkish occupation new opportunities had opened up for archaeological research.

Harriet Boyd was encouraged in her endeavours by a number of people, among them Sophia Engastromenos, the widow of Heinrich Schliemann, whose excavations at Hissarlik and Mycenae had raised the public profile of archaeology. From a practical perspective, she relied on the help and company of a group of women who formed an important part of the excavation team as well as being involved in post-excavation analysis and publishing. One of these was her friend Jean Patten, a botanist from Boston, who travelled with her to collect Cretan botanical specimens. Less than three weeks after Evans had begun his excavations of the palace of Knossos, in April of 1900, Harriet Boyd and Jean Patten arrived in Crete determined to participate in the archaeological works on the island, both of them visiting the excavations of Knossos on the very day that the so-called 'Throne Room' was discovered. Two days later, accompanied by a Cretan guide and their Greek foreman, Aristides Pappadias, the two women left for an exploratory survey. Riding on mule-back, they crossed the rugged landscape of southern and eastern Crete, looking for archaeological sites (Figure 10.1). As Harriet Boyd (1965) explained in her memoirs, 'everywhere we met with great hospitality and never failed to find decent shelter for the night...our journey [was] almost a fête'. Such statements conform to the trend in all her writings for repeated assertions that there were no special difficulties or problems during the survey, or in the field seasons.

It is interesting to note that women explorers who wrote about their travels often celebrated their personal independence but always found it necessary to justify, in different ways, their 'irregular' and anomalous situation, since it was so far removed from the conventional sphere of the domestic world (Blunt 1994:160–2). This legitimating effort sometimes assumed a deliberately positive form as a way of minimizing the consequences of any perceived failure or difficulty; in such a milieu, it was vitally important that women could demonstrate their ability to succeed, and to equal the achievements of men.

In the village of Kavousi, on the Gulf of Mirabello, Harriet and her team began a short excavation of an Iron Age site, which was to provide the material for her MA thesis in 1901. While the discoveries at Kavousi were relatively modest in archaeological terms, her actions were to be of lasting and radical importance. Harriet Boyd had broken the unwritten rule that fieldwork was not the proper preserve of a lady; she had succeeded in flouting convention and in many ways threw down the challenge for others of her sex. She was, moreover, now convinced that in



Figure 10.1 Harriet Boyd's party on the road from Canea (source: Allsebrook 1992: 117)

the Mirabello bay there was, somewhere, an important Minoan settlement—the real objective of her survey.

During her subsequent work, she placed a great deal of importance on cultivating good relationships with the local population and her workers on the excavations (Figure 10.2). This in itself was remarkable at a time when a rather 'colonial' attitude to fieldwork existed on most archaeological excavations, so that they resembled military camps with well-defined hierarchical structures. In contrast, Harriet Boyd developed strong personal relationships with her workforce, which sometimes amounted to more than 100 villagers, both women and men. She consulted them on particular field problems and organized discussions in a democratic way, with a *boulé* and a *ekklesia*, as in the old *poleis*. It is evident that Harriet Boyd had a genuine interest in the Greek people, something demonstrated years after her archaeological work in Crete, when, during the First World War, she helped to establish a war hospital on the island of Corfu.

The discoveries at Kavousi were communicated to a meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America and as a result the American Exploration Society provided funds for further excavation in Crete (Silverman 1979). Thus, in 1901 Harriet, in company with Blanche E. Wheeler, another colleague from her Smith College days, returned to Crete to look for the Bronze Age site that Harriet 'was convinced lay in these lowlands somewhere near the sea' (Boyd Hawes 1965:269). A local peasant antiquarian told them of a place called Gournia within the *deme* of Kavousi, on a hill close to the sea, where there were pottery fragments and old walls. On 20 May, excavations began at what was later revealed as the Minoan settlement



*Figure 10.2* Harriet Boyd with her excavation team (source: Allsebrook 1992:118)

of Gournia, a town of more than 60 houses which flourished from the Early Bronze Age until its destruction at the end of the Late Minoan IB. The site was resettled later (LM IIIA), but was subsequently abandoned during LM IIIB and was not reoccupied. The town was substantial, with houses arranged in irregular blocks separated by paved lanes, and with a small 'palace' and a shrine in the centre of the town. The variety of artefactual materials uncovered furnished a good picture of daily life in a Bronze Age community of eastern Crete. It also appeared that during some periods, especially around the fifteenth century BC (LMI), it was probably the pre-eminent community in the Gulf of Mirabello region. Even today, Gournia remains the most extensively explored Late Minoan town.

Harriet Boyd conducted three campaigns at Gournia, in 1901, 1903 and 1904 (Boyd 1904). Remarkably, during these three seasons, Harriet and her colleagues also excavated other sites in the area, such as Sphoungaras, Vassiliki and Pachyamnos. Among the friends and colleagues who worked there during these years were Adelene Moffat, an artist who was employed to illustrate the pottery found at Gournia, and Edith Hall Dohan who was another of the first American women field archaeologists. She had a grant from the American School at Athens, and Harriet Boyd invited her to join the second archaeological expedition to Gournia. There Edith Hall found material for her doctoral dissertation, 'The decorative art of Crete in the Bronze Age' (1907). She revisited Crete, working for the museum of the University of Pennsylvania at Sphoungaras in 1910 and at Vrokastro, where she was in full charge, in 1910 and 1912.

After the first season of fieldwork, British and American journals reported the discovery of the new Minoan town and stimulated considerable public interest.

Harriet Boyd travelled, lecturing to various branches of the Archaeological Institute of America, and obtained due recognition as the first woman responsible for the direction and publication of an archaeological excavation (Silverman 1979:5). In fact, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it was not unusual for women travellers and explorers to be the subject of newspaper interest and continual requests from societies to write and talk about their travels or expeditions. Essentially, they were seen as exotic and, somewhat patronizingly, as brave. Above all, press reports sought to emphasize the uniqueness of their achievements, portraying their activities as 'other' in a way that clearly presented them as exceptions, rather than as representatives of a new trend (Birkett 1989:185). Notwithstanding the popular attention that Harriet Boyd and her work received, it must be stressed that the most important contributions of the excavation of Gournia were (and continue to be) neglected both with respect to general theoretical and methodological developments in the discipline and in general histories of American archaeology. Indeed, the names of Harriet Boyd and her colleagues do not even merit the status of footnotes in the major academic histories of American archaeology (Irwin-Williams 1990:8).

Such neglect is all the more problematic when we realize that one of the most remarkable aspects of the excavations at Gournia—and indeed something of its uniqueness—lay in the fact that it was the result of a co-operative work of research, mainly carried out by women, and that from this emerged some of the most important reflections on the archaeology of the Minoan Bronze Age.

#### THE GOURNIA MONOGRAPH

The publication in 1908 of the three seasons of excavation at Gournia was a landmark since it was the first archaeological monograph on a Minoan site. This made it a significant scholarly addition to the field; but, as we shall seek to demonstrate below, the real importance of this neglected work lies in its contribution to archaeological explanation. The essentially modern perspectives on analysis and interpretation presented in the Gournia report, with its emphasis on understanding the functional—as opposed to purely typological—attributes of the artefacts, suggested an approach to archaeological objects that was unfortunately to suffer relegation, in favour of the dominant school of interpretation based on a classificatory paradigm. It did, however, re-emerge into the archaeological mainstream some half a century later.

In the introduction Harriet Boyd points out the importance of the visual aesthetic aspect of archaeological materials: 'A visual acquaintance with the Past, as far as this can be obtained, forms the basis of all archaeological studies. The present publication aims to meet this need by showing to a wider circle of persons than is likely to visit Crete the aspect of the Minoan town...and the most notable objects there unearthed' (Boyd Hawes et al. 1908: v). This visual emphasis affects not only the representation of the archaeological objects, but also the nature of the ensuing descriptions, with emphasis on the objects' possible functionality. Harriet's views on the graphic representation of the ceramic artefacts were no less noteworthy—if not radical. She argued that the illustrations of the ceramics should be made by two artists, a painter

and an archaeological draughtsman, because she felt that the two different perspectives would contribute to a better representation of the artefacts.

At the same time, during the first decades of the twentieth century, Arthur Evans and other scholars were building the foundations of a typological approach to the interpretation of archaeological materials from the Cretan Bronze Age and the Aegean as a whole. A fundamental attribute of this scheme was the organization of types as the key element in the ordering of the archaeological material, and this formed the principal source of interpretation. These types, as carriers of chronological and 'cultural'<sup>2</sup> meaning, were defined exclusively on the basis of stylistic considerations. As is the case with all typological schemes, classificatory principles were based on the subjective criteria of each researcher. Harriet Boyd saw the potential limitations of such classifications and she instead gave special prominence to discussions of the possible uses and meanings that particular objects had for the people who used them: 'We must know the standard of living as well as the aesthetic principles of a race and, to save our studies from becoming a mere discussion of styles, must keep in full view the significance of the humblest articles of use' (*ibid.*: 29).

One of the most original parts of the monograph is the classification of artefactual remains according to different potential functions: household objects, domestic utensils, and stone and clay implements. Household objects were common artefacts, such as bricks, stands, dairy pans, strainers and storage jars. Where possible Harriet Boyd and her co-workers used ethnographic parallels from Cretan rural life as an aid to hypothesizing proposed functions. The group of domestic utensils was composed mainly of ceramic kitchen items. Their names (with few exceptions) were related to their supposed functional character: cups, ladles, covers, pots, kettles, saucers, tripods ('it appears that the tripod kettle was the favourite form of cooking vessel. As among Cretan peasants to-day, cooking was evidently limited to roasting in the spit and stewing' (*ibid.*)) and different kinds of vessels and bowls, some of them described as lamps, water coolers or containers. Finally, the catalogue of stone and clay implements was extensive and was clearly related to modern-day practices in its concern with the use of the implements. The types included celts, sling missiles, whetstones, mace-heads, spindle whorl weights, hammerstones, mortars and pestles, querns, rubbers, a stone flat, moulds for bronze artefacts, polishers, basins and a crucible. In order to define the functionality of these artefacts, attention was paid to use-wear patterns which were still visible on the surfaces of the tools (Blitzer Watrous 1979:46).

The analytical perspectives suggested in the Gournia catalogue proposed a form of knowledge of the archaeological object that was only to be posited again many years later. Whereas the strict typological criteria of ordering and dating materials from the archaeological register of Knossos and the other Minoan 'palaces' provided a restricted series of interpretations, mainly chronometric, Harriet and her colleagues were proposing a set of methodological tools which could potentially allow a richer representation of the relation between the archaeological object and the social practices of an ancient rural community. However, this is not evident in the

development of the archaeology of the Aegean Bronze Age, which has been dominated by the typological perspective.

In an effort to avoid simple stylistic/cultural associations, Harriet Boyd elaborated a chronological scheme for Minoan Crete which unfortunately she did not publish. It was, however, presented at the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science held at Cambridge in 1904 (Fotou 1993:24–5). In this context, it is interesting to note that Evans's reference document on the classification of Minoan periods was published soon after, and it was a work probably influenced by Harriet Boyd's criteria (Evans 1906; cf. Fotou 1993:25).

The monograph of Gournia contains an elaborate account of the field methods and recording of materials, as well as a clear and detailed exposition of how the archaeological evidence should be made accessible, not only to the academic community, but also to the public at large. Given the date of the report, this represents a rather advanced attitude towards the relationship between archaeological research as a scholarly activity and the audience who are the recipients of this constructed past.

### THE MINOAN GODDESS

The appendix in the monograph on Gournia is concerned with the religion of the Minoans and was written by Blanche E. Wheeler Williams, one of the excavators of the site. Her study is focused on the shrine found on the West Ridge Road, near the top of the hill of Gournia. It revealed different ritual artefacts, such as a low table covered with a thin coating of plaster, red clay stands decorated with plastic models of the 'horns of consecration' as well as snakes; in addition, there was a terracotta female idol, and several small clay doves and serpent heads. The subject matter of this appendix was related to one of the most-debated questions in the historical interpretation of Minoan Crete which had attracted a lot of attention from the beginning of archaeological work on the island. Sir Arthur Evans was the first to point out the importance of female depiction in the religious and ritual artefacts, especially in the wall paintings. Blanche E. Wheeler emphasized the importance of the deity, a goddess of nature who frequently appears surrounded by animals, fruits and flowers, as the protector of life in all its aspects. She insisted on the important presence of probable priestesses in religious Minoan images, while, by contrast, it seems that men assumed a subordinate role in the rites (Boyd Hawes et al. 1908:53). Interestingly, in a footnote she cites the works of the pre-eminent classicist, Jane Ellen Harrison, as a primary reference for her hypothesis on the social importance of Minoan women.

One of the recurrent subjects that Harrison posited in her work was the historical existence of matriarchy, which she argued was the original state of society. This was based on her belief in the natural pre-eminence of motherhood over fatherhood. Based on analysis of mythological representations, she suggested the existence of a system of religious belief which predated the introduction to Greece of a northern pantheon by conquering invaders. The presence of some ancient pre-Olympian earth goddesses, such as Themis-Gaia, within the later Olympian pantheon was for her the

reflection of an archaic form of social structure, in which relationships were traced through the female line. In her book, *Themis*, Harrison recreated a primitive female-centred society, giving importance to women and their nurturing role. She approached the question of matriarchy from an anthropological perspective, using the evidence of primitive initiation rituals from the ethnographic record as well as archaeology and ancient literature. This research led her to conclude that behind every female divine or legendary figure, such as Pandora, we can find remains of the old original matriarchal period. As we have earlier pointed out, Jane Ellen Harrison welcomed Schliemann and Evans's new archaeological discoveries of the Aegean Bronze Age as a revelation: 'We Hellenists were, in truth, at that time a people who sat in darkness, but we were soon to see a great light, two great lights—archaeology, anthropology...' (Harrison 1965:320).<sup>3</sup> For her, part of the 'light' shed by some of the new findings was that they furnished clear evidence for her thesis on the predominance of a woman-centred society in archaic times.

In more recent historical/archaeological interpretations, the debate concerning the social/religious pre-eminence or otherwise of women in Minoan society has been based on the meaning given to the numerous female representations in the frescoes as well as to the figurines found in the palaces. In the Minoan paintings women are depicted more frequently than men and normally in a pre-eminent position. In some examples we see scenes of crowds apparently watching some sort of entertainment or perhaps a religious event. In the best-known of these, the Grand Fresco of Knossos, the front row is taken up by women wearing elaborate jewellery. Behind and surrounding them are women and men on a smaller scale and in less detail. In another scene, the so-called Camp Stool Fresco, there are two rows of people, some male and some female, sitting in pairs on stools with raised cups, perhaps drinking to the larger female figure in the centre of the group. There are in addition (debated) representations of women involved in the famous bull-leaping scenes and in other ritual tasks. Some authors have suggested that the lack of representation of an all-powerful masculine leader in Minoan art is one of the best pieces of supporting evidence for the hypothesis that women occupied the throne of the Minoan palaces (Hawkes 1965). Other arguments in favour of this idea have been based on a certain 'quality of life' reflected in the material culture of the Cretan Bronze Age sites. The preoccupation with ornaments related to the natural world, plants, animals, flowers, the quality of architectural design, etc. are conventionally regarded as quintessentially 'feminine' characteristics of the Minoan material culture (Nixon 1994).

In recent years powerful arguments have been assembled against the idea of the existence of matriarchal societies in the past, emphasizing that there is a lack of direct archaeological or textual evidence. Nevertheless, in the case of Bronze Age Crete, most specialists accept that the Minoans recognized a powerful goddess of nature as their chief deity. The Minoan palaces were centres of religious activities which formed an intrinsic part of their functionality. They were decorated with sophisticated iconographical schemes, in which there is no obvious evidence of a paramount ruler. The subjects of the frescoes are focused on rituals and religious festivals and the scenes from nature probably also had religious or symbolic



significance. No single person stands out sufficiently to deserve the name of priest/king or priestess/queen. However, on the other hand, the important role of women is evident in the cult; in some frescoes of the Knossos palace, an exceptional female, a priestess probably performing the role of goddess impersonator, appears in a kind of epiphany cult. It is possible, for example, to suggest that this priestess, dressed as the goddess, might have been seated on the throne flanked by the griffins in the Throne Room (Marinatos 1993:109–10).

The relationship between the important religious role enjoyed by some women and the general social role of women in Minoan society is a debatable issue. It is one that clearly needs reconsideration and a more rigorous set of research strategies. This issue, which preoccupied the first women scholars, led them to propose an association linking representations of ritual activities, women and their social status. Remarkably, this connection still constitutes the basis of one of the most important research questions in the historical interpretation of Bronze Age Crete.

### FINAL REFLECTIONS

Many women academics, including pioneer archaeologists and classicists, such as Harriet Boyd and Jane Ellen Harrison, were involved, throughout their professional careers, in the struggle for equal recognition. Paradoxically, women scholars often disagreed with feminist activists; in fact they even used their research actively to undermine some of the assumptions that lay at the core of suffragette ideology. Women academics during the early part of the century had struggled against enormous odds and they believed that they deserved acknowledgement from universities, but with the foundation of the female colleges it was implicitly accepted that to display public support for women's suffrage would minimize the possibilities of obtaining full admission into university affairs. For this reason, it was usual for women scholars to concentrate their efforts on obtaining recognition for the value of their research. Nevertheless, the women's movement of the early twentieth century was important to those female scholars in providing a sense of shared oppression and of new conditions open to them, as well as providing them with the tools with which to question Victorian conceptions of women's nature and social role (Rosenberg 1982).

The first women admitted to European and American universities on science courses encountered substantial obstacles when they attempted to enter the world of professional employment in the university faculties which had trained them. As a consequence, it became necessary for women scientists who wanted to achieve more than partial and segregated acceptance of their involvement in research to develop strategies of mutual assistance in order to combat prevailing prejudices. This attempt at female solidarity did not change the established structures of academic hierarchy. Nevertheless, in some cases, it did generate a network of female interaction in which one woman scientist's results were endorsed by reference to those of another.

In the field of Aegean archaeology, the presence of the first women scholars had some important consequences. As we have seen, they worked actively in the first phase of the discovery of Bronze Age Crete; moreover, they introduced a number of new perspectives on the analysis of material culture which, in contrast to normative

approaches, focused on a people-centred interpretation of the archaeological remains. Furthermore, they were especially preoccupied with the problems of communicating the results of their research. The survey, excavation and publication of the Minoan site of Gournia is an outstanding example of an alternative scientific practice—a pioneer archaeological work that was conceived, elaborated and published principally by a team of women who collaborated in all phases of the project. In addition, they attempted to establish a number of different readings of societal organization which emphasized the relationship between authority and the social role of Minoan women, using as reference the works of the most important woman classicist of the time.

These pioneers who worked in the archaeology of Crete faced difficult circumstances: they were beginners in a relatively new field, but one that had been inaugurated principally by a small group of men from wealthy backgrounds who had the necessary time and resources to undertake fieldwork in foreign countries. It was not only that there was no tradition of female participation in fieldwork, they were also confronted with the dominant idea that these kinds of tasks were unsuitable for 'ladies'. In this situation, the first women archaeologists needed to take decisions that inevitably placed them in a marginal position with respect to prevailing socially sanctioned gender roles.

One of the principal consequences of these decisions was related to the need to observe 'appropriate behaviour' of a type becoming to upper- and middle-class women who travelled beyond the domestic sphere. In this respect, the new feminization of archaeological work involved an emphasis on appearance and respectability. In the case of Harriet Boyd, the acceptance of this implicit code of conduct was directly related to the selection of other women as colleagues during the survey and the ensuing seasons of fieldwork. With the exception of Richard Seager, who worked in Gournia from the second campaign, Boyd's fellow field archaeologists and co-authors were other women. It might reasonably be suggested that the dominance of women researchers in the Gournia team acted to underscore the premises and criteria of the entire project.

Finally, it needs to be reiterated that women such as Harriet Boyd or Jane Ellen Harrison introduced perspectives that have been lost or negated by subsequent developments in the historical discourse, which has transmitted to us a specific image of the Aegean Bronze Age. As we have tried to show, some of their results and interpretations are still valid within the context of contemporary archaeology, as well as for feminism generally. These forceful women began to discover alternative pathways that we are still treading today.<sup>4</sup>

## NOTES

- 1 Recently, Diane L. Bolger (1994) has published a valuable paper on Harriet Boyd and her colleague Edith Hall.
- 2 'Culture' as usually understood in traditional archaeology: an assemblage of distinctive archaeological traits that denote a specific group of people in the past.
- 3 'Reminiscences of a student's life', *Arion* 4(2):320, quoted by Schlesier 1990: 202, n. 63.

- 4 I want to thank the editors of the book for their useful comments on an earlier draft of this paper. Also I wish to acknowledge the observations and support of James McGlade.

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## THE STATE OF DENMARK

## Lis Jacobsen and other women in and around archaeology

*Lise Bender Jørgensen*

Women came very late into Danish archaeology, and, as will be argued below, they have never really been accepted. The reasons for this are worth exploring. One approach is to study our female ancestors and their fate, in and around archaeology. In following this route the name of Lis Jacobsen stands out as an obvious choice—and challenge. This chapter then is in part a brief biography of this formidable lady, and also an attempt to reconstruct the herstory of Danish archaeology.

## FRAILTY, THY NAME IS WOMAN?

In 1951, Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab (the Royal Nordic Society of Antiquaries), Copenhagen, finally succumbed to pressure and accepted women as members.<sup>1</sup> The main reason for the unwillingness of the learned gentlemen was, allegedly, the risk of Lis Jacobsen entering the society. This is a well-known legend among archaeologists and other scholars of early history in Denmark, one I first heard as a fresher, having little notion of who the lady was. Even though this was a story I was to hear repeatedly once I started taking a more active interest in Dr Jacobsen, it is unlikely that it can be documented. It is, however, a well-established fact that there was strong resistance to admitting women to the Royal Nordic Society of Antiquaries.

Who then was this woman that created such a stir? Starting with her academic life, she was a philologist, not an archaeologist; but as Denmark's leading runologist of her day, she had close relations with archaeology and archaeologists. In Carl Johan Becker's history of the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology at the University of Copenhagen, he specifically adds a chapter on Runology because this subject belongs both to philology and archaeology (Becker 1979:189 ff.). Lis Jacobsen's publications on runes are standard references, and a must in any library of archaeology. A 1988 questionnaire amongst Danish archaeologists, however, revealed that those born after 1950 had little notion of who Lis Jacobsen was. People born between 1940 and 1950 associated her vaguely with runes: 'Wasn't she perhaps an assistant to Erik Moltke?'<sup>2</sup> The older ones, however, knew quite well. Curiously, her name immediately triggered snide comments on the ways, and especially virtues, of the lady. She clearly did not fit into the normal pattern—a Mrs Thatcher of Danish academia between the wars. One of her close collaborators has described her as the greatest entrepreneur of Danish intellectual life in this century (Rona 1971:193), and surely enough, a list of

her deeds is enough to make strong men breathless. Still, the general belief seems to be that she is best forgotten. Except for the books she left behind. They easily fill several bookcases, and are the indispensable tools of any scholar of Scandinavian languages and early history.<sup>3</sup>

Lis Jacobsen was born in Copenhagen in 1882, the daughter of a wealthy Jewish family (Figure 11.1). Her father, Marcus Rubin, was director of the National Bank of Denmark, and he took great interest in the education of his daughter. He delighted in discussions, and this early training left its mark on the girl. She became a gifted and ruthless polemicist who argued eagerly and vehemently in learned journals and newspapers alike.

Few possibilities were open to young ladies in 1900 when Lis Rubin entered the university. Teaching was an acceptable occupation, so after the basic university course in philosophy, she attended Miss Natalie Zahle's college for teacher training. She qualified as a school teacher in 1903, and started teaching in a Copenhagen school. On 9 July 1903, however, she married the historian Jacob Peter Jacobsen. Their first daughter, Grete, was born in April the following year, their second, Karen, in 1905. In 1904, she started postgraduate studies of Scandinavian philology. She obtained the university's Gold Medal for an essay on the development of old Norse languages in 1907. In 1908 she took her mag. art. degree,<sup>4</sup> and two years later she defended her thesis for the degree of dr. phil. (she was one of the first women in Denmark to do so).<sup>5</sup> Scandalous rumours of this occasion were still alive 80 years later: imagine, she asked for a chair so that she could sit on the dais and display her elegant legs!

After her dissertation she wanted to continue her work on the history of the Danish language. This, however, was hampered by the lack of adequate text versions and dictionaries. In consequence, 29-year-old Lis Jacobsen founded her first learned society: the Danish Society for Language and Literature (DSL). The purpose of the society was to advance the publication of 'monuments' in Danish literature and studies of the Danish language. Starting it was quite a feat. It was all done within a month, between 29 March, when she first put forward the idea during a lecture to the Society for Germanic Philology, and 29 April 1911, when the DSL was officially founded (Jacobsen 1951, Brøndsted 1982). In that brief interval Lis Jacobsen secured the support of the Carlsberg Foundation and succeeded in attaining a substantial sum from a number of private sponsors, drawing on her father's contacts and wise counsel. The DSL is still very much alive and kicking, and an acknowledged part of Denmark's learned establishment.

The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters and the above-mentioned Royal Nordic Society of Antiquaries were hermetically closed to women. Lis Jacobsen's way round this problem was to create alternative forums, so in 1934 she founded the *Societas Danica Indagationis Antiquitatis et Mediiævi*, the Danish Society for Studies of Prehistory and the Middle Ages (normally referred to as the DSOM), as a discussion group for younger scholars. The DSOM too is still in existence today, arranging a minimum of four discussion meetings a year. Members, numbering a maximum of 120, plus senior members over 65 years of age, are archaeologists, historians, classicists, philologists and other scholars of European culture in



*Figure 11.1* Lis Jacobsen working at her desk in 1936 (photo courtesy of Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen)

Antiquity and the Middle Ages.<sup>6</sup> Further, in 1950 she initiated Sydslesvigsk Kultursamfund (the Cultural Society for South Schleswig), in 1959 Udgiverselskab for Danmarks Nyeste Historie (the Society for the Publication of the Modern History of Denmark), and she pulled a heavy load in the establishment of Dansk Sprognævn (the Board of the Danish Language). But let's go back to her early career, around the beginning of the First World War.

### WORDS, WORDS, WORDS

Now the time was ripe for her first major task. Her former professor, Verner Dahlerup, had been engaged in the monstrous task of compiling *Ordbog over det*



*Danske Sprog*, the Dictionary of the Danish Language. After 30 years of work he had to give up: he had only got as far as the word ‘afgang’, an ominous word which means ‘resignation’ (Brøndsted 1982:11 ff.). Lis Jacobsen’s establishment of the DSL had made an impression, and in 1915 the Ministry of Education and the Carlsberg Foundation, financing the dictionary, entrusted Lis Jacobsen and the DSL with this job. Again, she worked swiftly. Within a few months she and Harald Juul-Jensen, who had worked with Dahlerup, had hired editors, made a detailed plan for the project, and published a booklet with sample entries. Before the end of the first year her budget had been approved and granted. In 1918 the first volume appeared. Budget and time schedule had to be revised—and substantially enlarged—several times before the dictionary was successfully completed in 1956, with the publication of the twenty-eighth volume. Since then, three new impressions have been printed, and a fourth one is on its way. Since 1955, five supplementary volumes have been under preparation. Two have already been issued; the target date for the last volume is 2003.<sup>7</sup>

Lis Jacobsen often went to the newspapers to ask the public for help with the meaning of rare words. This attracted many helpful reactions, but also malice and ridicule. Cartoonists, often emphasizing her Jewishness, made the most of it, in a way that is hard to understand today. The publicity meant that her name became well known and, to many, the Dictionary of the Danish Language was simply Lis Jacobsen’s Dictionary (Hansen 1970:106).<sup>8</sup>

Lis Jacobsen fought for decent working conditions, including pensions, for the editors of the dictionary. These proposals proved more difficult for the ministry to accept than the revised budget. She argued that stability was necessary to keep the time schedule, and that several other tasks would be waiting when the dictionary was completed. In the end, she got what she wanted, including a salaried post for herself as administrator. By then, she was a widow and the possibility of a university career was closed to her. Johannes Brøndum-Nielsen had become *docent* in 1919 and was marked out for the professorship when Verner Dahlerup retired. They did not get on very well, and she must have realized that she had to find herself a place outside the university (Brøndsted 1982:14).

With the organization of an encyclopaedia Lis Jacobsen found a challenge that fitted her abilities, and the dictionary proved to be only a beginning. During the period 1927–41 she produced a complete publication of Danish runic inscriptions, with the help of a young assistant, Erik Moltke (Jacobsen and Moltke 1941–2, Moltke 1973). In 1946 she initiated work on *Kultur-historisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder*, the Encyclopaedia of Medieval Scandinavia, another multi-volume project (Rona 1971). The first volume appeared in 1956, the twenty-second and final volume was issued in 1979, 18 years after her death. A second edition was printed in 1980–2. Even after her seventieth birthday she planned and organized; a dictionary of modern Danish, a dictionary of synonyms, and another of Nordic etymology. Alongside her work with the learned societies and the encyclopaedias, Lis Jacobsen found time to write several hundred articles and books. The festschrift for her seventieth birthday contains a bibliography of 330 titles, and at that time she still had



*Figure 11.2* Lis Jacobsen with her daughters Grete and Karen, around 1915 (photo courtesy of Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen)

almost 10 years left to live and write. The long list comprises many feature articles from newspapers—evidence of her love of polemics and debate.

These were her main activities. But who was the woman Lis Jacobsen? What about her personal life, and the tension between her academic, public and private identities?

#### IF ONCE A WIDOW, EVER I BE A WIFE

She was a tiny woman, enterprising, full of ideas, ambitious, and with a great deal of feminine charm. She had a ‘French smile’ that melted most men, and removed many obstacles. She was probably the last lady in Denmark to keep up a *salon* where artists, scientists and politicians met, and she had a wide network of international contacts from many circles (Hansen 1970:97 ff.; Rona 1971:223 ff.; Moltke 1973:475 ff.; Brøndsted 1982).

Lis Jacobsen was at the same time a devoted wife and mother (Figure 11.2). Her husband was a farmer’s son from Jutland and had a background very different from that of his 13 years younger wife, but their marriage was very happy (Ingvorsen 1987). They worked well together and inspired each other. He was a scholar of French and

history. His main work, three volumes called *Manes* published between 1914 and 1920, is strangely modern (Jacobsen 1914, 1916, 1920). The theme is popular religion, the cult of the dead, from Classical Greece to the transformation of the Roman world into Germanic Europe. His thoughts bring to mind the works of Aaron Gurevich, and I strongly suspect that an English version would cause quite an interest today. He died from tuberculosis in 1918, only 48 years old, leaving her a widow with two teenage daughters, one of them born deaf. She never married again.

Lis Jacobsen felt that a woman's proper place was in her home. In 1912 she lectured in the Danish Society of Women, and caused a stir by telling the emancipated women that being a mother was the most important job a woman could do. There were plenty of men to fill the places of factory workers, doctors and politicians! (Jacobsen 1928:225 ff.). The author Thit Jensen countered her arguments in a lecture on 'Woman's Place', and a heated debate followed. In 1925, Lis Jacobsen spoke again on the subject, in her introduction to the festschrift *Kvindelige Akademikere* (Woman Academics), celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of women's access to the university. Here, she argued that women lack the art of concentration and are therefore rarely able to carry out important scientific work, reinforcing her conviction that a woman's place was in her home. She did, however, acknowledge that some women have a strong calling towards tasks other than that of being a mother, and stated that it would be suicide to suppress such feelings. In 1932, another violent debate followed a lecture she held at the Students' Association in Copenhagen, in Oslo and in Gothenburg, entitled 'Forward—for home and children!'. Here, she advocated that all women ought to give birth to five or six children, that divorce should be forbidden, and that all mothers should get a salary from the state. The women's movements saw her as a reactionary. She saw herself as an exception, but did, none the less, admit that she always felt torn between her duties as a wife and mother and her scholarly work (ibid.: 238).

She drove her many collaborators and assistants hard. Several of them have written biographical sketches of her, displaying a mixture of admiration, fascination and desperation (Hansen 1970; Rona 1971; Moltke 1973). But she didn't spare herself either. One anecdote illustrates her character quite well. She had been invited to lecture at the Sorbonne and the University of Berlin. She prepared her papers meticulously and had them translated into French and German by the best possible people. She even hired local actresses to instruct her in the pronunciation, as she knew how important it was to speak in perfect French at the Sorbonne. But she had forgotten about questions from the audience, and in Berlin fate struck: some professor criticized a few minor points. Lis Jacobsen's German wasn't much to speak of, and for a moment she hesitated. What should she do? Destroy the impression of dazzling rhetoric by, in her horrid German, telling that idiot that he had misunderstood everything? Or sit still and say nothing? In the final analysis, the cause came first, so she climbed the platform again. The effect on the audience was like a violent shock. But, as Erik Moltke, who tells this story, says: 'it was these intense preparations, complete with translations, actresses etc., combined with ruthless courage that formed the background for her many successes' (Moltke 1973:479 ff.).

## THE REST IS SILENCE

Lis Jacobsen's rare abilities gave her many admirers, but also many enemies. She was without any doubt an exquisite example of that most horrible species of womankind: the ballbreaker. This lends credulity to the story of why the Royal Nordic Society of Antiquaries refused to admit women. When they finally did, in 1951, Lis Jacobsen was 69. She never became a member—she probably did not care. But there is no doubt that if they had let her in 30 or 40 years earlier, she would have quickly and efficiently made her way to the society's board and reorganized the whole thing.

Lis Jacobsen received many acknowledgements for her work. She was awarded the Swedish Vasa Order, and Danish and Swedish Medals. Several busts were made of her: by William Zadig, Paris 1910; by Henning Koppel, 1957 for the Politikens Forlag, and by Claes Lorenzen, 1961, for the DSL. On her seventieth birthday in 1952, she received an impressive festschrift with greetings from more than 500 scholars and prominent persons. The *tabula gratulatoria* is fascinating reading. Professors and students, artists, businessmen and farmers from many countries are listed, including a former and a future prime minister of Denmark, and a young German politician named Willy Brandt. Her own field, Scandinavian languages, is well represented, and her runic studies by a number of people from the National Museum, most notably its director, Denmark's first professor of archaeology, Johannes Brøndsted.<sup>9</sup>

Some other names, however, are conspicuously absent: one is Johannes Brøndum-Nielsen, her life-long antagonist. Other names that could be expected are those of the generation of archaeologists who were born in the years around the First World War. They grew up in the 1920s, went to the university in the 1930s, and by 1952 one of them, Carl Johan Becker, had just been appointed professor of archaeology at the University of Copenhagen. Another, Peter Vilhelm Glob, three years earlier was elected to the chair of Århus University. Signing on to lists of congratulation is one of the things you would expect young professors of related sciences to do, regardless of their personal relationship with the person being congratulated—out of courtesy, and to stake out their territory. Other well-known names that might have been expected to appear on the list are Jørgen Troels-Smith, who during those years was establishing the Department of Natural Sciences at the National Museum, and Ole Klindt-Jensen who earned his doctoral degree in 1951 and was to go on to succeed Glob as professor in Århus. Those four, Becker, Glob, Troels-Smith and Klindt-Jensen, did not agree on very much, but none of them, it would seem, wanted to congratulate Lis Jacobsen on her seventieth birthday, nor, for that matter, did any of their less famous contemporaries. Why? We shall, of course, never know the true answer to that question. However, during all of their lives, she was constantly in the news, always enterprising, often polemical, even ridiculed and caricatured. They may simply have had enough of the lady. Sentiments like that have been expressed by a number of people, verbally as well as in writing (Hansen 1970; Moltke 1973). Today, few of this generation are still alive, but the attitude of silence remains.

Silence is a powerful weapon. A scholar never quoted is soon forgotten. Students are quick to pick up names that carry weight with their professor, and also those

better left out of references. This does not have to be verbalized. Consciously or subconsciously, the message is clearly conveyed. A generation later, only a few will have any idea about who the person in question was. This is exactly what has happened to Lis Jacobsen.

What can we learn of Lis Jacobsen today? One important part of her legacy is that she has proved that it is possible for a woman to reach for the stars, and accomplish great deeds of scholarship. When I wrote a first version of this paper some years ago, and gave copies to female friends and colleagues, I was amazed that many of them came afterwards and thanked me—with light in their eyes! Let's face it, we all need examples, role models and idols, and few female scholars can serve that purpose. Lis Jacobsen easily fills the role. Equally important is the part she has played in preparing the way for us. When she was young, many doors were simply shut for women, like the Royal Nordic Society of Antiquaries. Today, we can just enter our names. She, and others of her generation, fought hard to open these doors. They did not always succeed; and some of the barriers they met with have certainly not yet been removed. Their launching of the attack did, however, make it easier for the generation to follow. It is an interesting thought that she might not have liked that idea herself, considering her ideas on women and motherhood. However, man is not made in one piece, and neither is woman. Contradictions are an integrated aspect of most ideologies, public as well as personal. Lis Jacobsen lived and worked within the framework of her time, and spent much of her energy changing the limits for what a woman like herself could do.

We may learn a lot from her strategies. She was a woman of great feminine charm, and she used this forceful weapon to remove many obstacles in her path. I'd give a lot for her 'French smile'! The many volumes of her encyclopaedias bear ample witness to its success. There is no doubt that she was a victorious general. But we may also learn a great deal from the reactions to her, the ridicule, hints of scandal, and silence. Similar attitudes have been used against many leading women, scholars, artists and politicians (see for example *Champion*, this volume).

Danish women won the right to vote in 1915. Lis Jacobsen took her doctoral degree in 1910. The following year she founded her first learned society and wrote her first feature article, and she continued to play a major role in Danish and Scandinavian intellectual life for half a century. It's time to break the spell of silence and tell the tale of one of the truly great scholars of the twentieth century. Perhaps it's also time for archaeology in the state of Denmark to start acknowledging that women are part of it, in the past as well as in the present.

#### TO BE OR NOT TO BE

The first Danish woman archaeologist was awarded her degree of mag. art. in 1952.<sup>10</sup> Since then, many have followed in her tracks, and nowadays, female mag. art. or PhD degrees are just as frequent as male ones. Archaeology is taught at the two main universities: Copenhagen (1855–66, and again since 1930) and Århus (since 1949). In Tables 11.1 and 11.2, all archaeologists who have been awarded the academic degrees of mag. art. or PhD in prehistoric archaeology at these universities until the

Table 11.1 University of Copenhagen (women's names in italics)

<i>Mag. art. degrees in prehistoric archaeology</i>	
1868: Erhardt Frederik Winkel Horn	1974: <i>Lydia Slumstrup</i>
1873: Henry Petersen	1974: <i>Isa Trolle</i>
1877: Kristian Bahnson	1974: Karsten Davidsen
1936: Peter Vilhelm Glob	1975: Steen Hvass
1936: Hans Norling-Christensen	1975: Jens Aage Pedersen
1939: Carl Johan Becker	1975: Morten Axboe
1944: Ole Klindt-Jensen	1975: Steen Andersen
1946: Thorkild Ramskou	1975: <i>Berit Pauly Hansen</i>
1949: Poul Simonsen	1976: <i>Ulla Fraes Rasmussen</i>
1952: Viggo Nielsen	1976: Joel Berglund
1952: Mogens Ørsnes	1976: <i>Karen Løkkegaard Poulsen</i>
1952: Georg Kunwald	1976: <i>Margrethe Watt</i>
1952: <i>Elise Thorvildsen</i>	1976: <i>Lise Bender Jørgensen</i>
1953: Poul Henrik Kjærum	1977: Poul Otto Nielsen
1953: <i>Karen Elisabeth Munksgaard</i>	1977: <i>Lone Hvass</i>
1953: Olfert Harald Voss	1979: <i>Lotte Hedeager</i>
1957: <i>Eva Cathrine Ørsnes, neé Holm</i>	1979: Torben Dehn
1960: Henrik Thrane	1979: Carsten Bang
1960: Per Holger Sørensen	1979: <i>Else Asmussen</i>
1961: Bjørn Stürup	1980: Anders Fischer
1961: Ebbe Lomborg	1980: Carsten Paludan-Müller
1962: <i>Marianne Bro Jørgensen</i>	1981: Jørgen Christoffersen
1962: Jens Poulsen	1981: Tom Christensen
1965: Jørgen Jensen	1981: <i>Elisabeth C. Pedersen</i>
1965: <i>Aino Kann Mortensen, neé Rasmussen</i>	1981: Peter Vang Petersen
1966: Jørn Street-Jensen	1981: Michael Lauenborg
1968: Svend Erik Albrethsen	1981: <i>Eliza Fønnesbech-Sandberg</i>
1968: Erik Brinch Petersen	1982: Leif Christian Nielsen
1968: <i>Ulla Lund Hansen</i>	1982: Henrik Jarl Hansen
1968: Klavs Randsborg	1982: Ditlev Mahler
1968: <i>Bodil Leth-Larsen</i>	1982: Steffen Stummann Hansen
1969: Søren Dietz	1982: <i>Anne Preisler</i>
1969: Hans Christian Vorting	1983: Preben Rønne
1969: Erik Jørgensen	1983: Flemming Kaul
1969: Claus Malmros	1983: Torben Egeberg Hansen
1970: <i>Wawa Armfelt</i>	1983: Svend Aage Knudsen
1970: <i>Birgitte Bille Henriksen</i>	1984: <i>Anne Birgitte Høy-Petersen</i>
1971: Helge Nielsen	1984: Finn Ole Nielsen
1971: Hans Rostholm	1984: <i>Catharina Oksen</i>
1971: Jørgen Skaarup	1985: <i>Inge Hansen</i>
1971: Jens Bekmose	1985: <i>Eva Kristine Koch Nielsen</i>
1971: Torben Skov	1985: Søren Sørensen
1973: Svend Nielsen	1985: Arne Hedegård Andersen
1973: Ole Faber	1985: Niels Christian Andersen
1973: Henning Nielsen	1985: Carsten Ulrik Larsen
1973: <i>Stine Wiell</i>	1985: Palle Siemen
1974: Klaus Ebbesen	1985: <i>Dorthe Wille-Jørgensen</i>
1974: Sven Sidenius Gram	1985: Peter Vemming Hansen

*PhD degrees*

1991: Preben Rønne  
 1992: *Jette Arneborg*  
 1992: Lars Jørgensen  
 1993: Ole Grøn  
 1993: Ditlev Mahler

*Gold Medals*

1935: Carl Johan Becker  
 1945: Eyvind Freund

1950: *Elisabeth Munksgaard*

1956: Henrik Thrane  
 1964: Jørgen Jensen  
 1975: *Lotte Hedeager* (silver)  
 1976: Jørgen Christoffersen  
 1978: Michael Lauenborg (silver)  
 1987: Lars Jørgensen  
 1992: *Iben Skibsted Klæsøe*

Table 11.2 University of Århus (women's names in italics)

*Mag. art. degrees in prehistoric archaeology*

1953: Jørgen Meldgaard	1980: <i>Lisbeth Wincentz</i>
1956: <i>Ebba Marie Elise Alexander, neé Busch</i>	1981: Hans Peter Blankholm
1959: <i>Jytte Lavrsen</i>	1982: <i>Ingrid Falktoft Andersen</i>
1960: Peder Mortensen	1984: <i>Inge Bodilsen</i>
1961: <i>Karen Frifelt</i>	1984: <i>Jytte Ringtved</i>
1963: <i>Elsebeth Sander-Jørgensen</i>	1984: <i>Anette Willemoes Petersen</i>
1964: Hans Jørgen Madsen	1984: Lars-Jørgen Rasmussen
1967: Søren H. Andersen	1985: <i>Anne-Elisabeth Bjarne Jensen</i>
1968: Arne E. Thorsteinsson	1985: Bo Madsen
1968: Jens Aarup Jensen	1985: Orla Madsen
1970: Jørgen Lund	1985: <i>Karen Høilund Nielsen</i>
1971: <i>Jette Kjør</i>	1986: <i>Tine Trolle-Lassen</i>
1971: Christian Fischer	1987: <i>Charlotte Fabech</i>
1972: Torsten Madsen	1987: <i>Birgitte Skar</i>
1972: <i>Birthe Kjolbye-Biddle</i>	1989: Søren Diinhoff
1972: <i>Mette Iversen</i>	1989: <i>Anna Lindebo Leth</i>
1972: Per Lysdahl	1989: <i>Anne Hedeager Madsen</i>
1973: Niels H. Andersen	1990: <i>Lisbeth Christensen</i>
1973: <i>Birgit Lind</i>	1990: Jes Martens
1973: <i>Birgit Rasmussen</i>	1990: <i>Marianne Rasmussen</i>
1974: Hans Runge Kristoffersen	1992: <i>Tine Gam Aschenbrenner</i>
1974: Jørgen Ilkjær	1992: Henrik Schøler
1974: Jørn Lønstrup	1992: Hugo Hvid Sørensen
1974: <i>Janni Lindeneg Nielsen</i>	<i>PhD degrees</i>
1975: Søren Nancke-Krogh	1989: Anders Fischer
1975: Niels Sterum	1989: <i>Berit Valentin Eriksen</i>
1975: Kristian Kristiansen	1990: <i>Bodil Holm Sørensen</i>
1976: Erik Johansen	1991: <i>Tinna Møbjerg</i>
1978: Jens Henrik Bech	1991: <i>Jytte Ringtved</i>
1978: Stig Jensen	1992: <i>Charlotte Fabech</i>
1980: <i>Helle Juel Jensen</i>	1993: <i>Bodil Bratlund</i>
1980: <i>Anne Birgitte Gebauer</i>	<i>Gold Medals</i>
1980: <i>Tinna Møbjerg</i>	1957/58: <i>Jytte Lavrsen</i> , silver
	1968: Per Lysdahl, silver

1972: Jørn Lønstrup  
 1972: Jørgen Ilkjær  
 1974: Kristian Kristiansen  
 1977: Stig Jensen  
 1977: Jens Henrik Bech

1979: *Tinna Møbjerg*  
 1979: *Anne Birgitte Gebauer*  
 1979: *Lisbeth Wincentz*  
 1982: *Ingrid Falktoft Andersen*, silver  
 1983: *Jytte Ringtved*

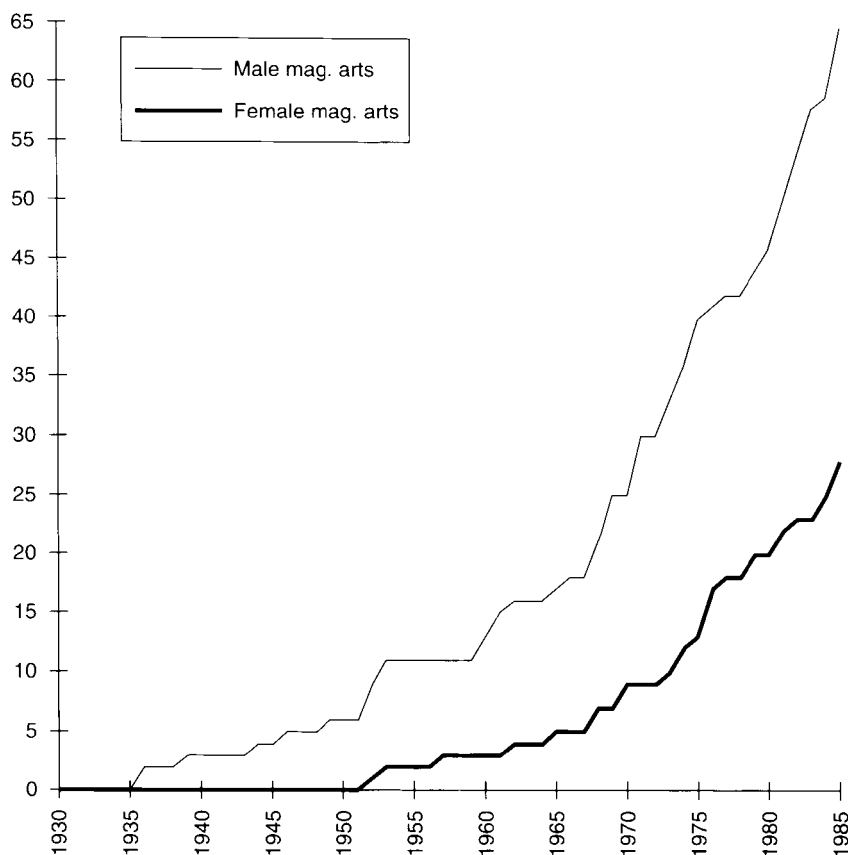


Figure 11.3 Male and female mag. arts in prehistoric archaeology from the University of Copenhagen

end of 1985 (Copenhagen mag. arts) and 1993 (other categories) have been listed.<sup>11</sup> Several interesting features can be noted, particularly from graphs illustrating the relationship between the male and female archaeologists from the two universities (Figures 11.3 and 11.4). Women obviously had a much better chance of getting a degree in Århus than in Copenhagen, especially in the early days, when Peter Vilhelm Glob held the Århus chair, and again after 1980. This year marked a reversal of the academic success of the two sexes at the Århus Department of Archaeology: before, 21 men and 10 women had been awarded the mag. art. degree; after 1980, 18 women and only eight men. At the Copenhagen department, although the intake of freshmen—between 1951–70, 104 men and 116 women—has been relatively equal



## UNIVERSITY OF ÅRHUS 1950–92

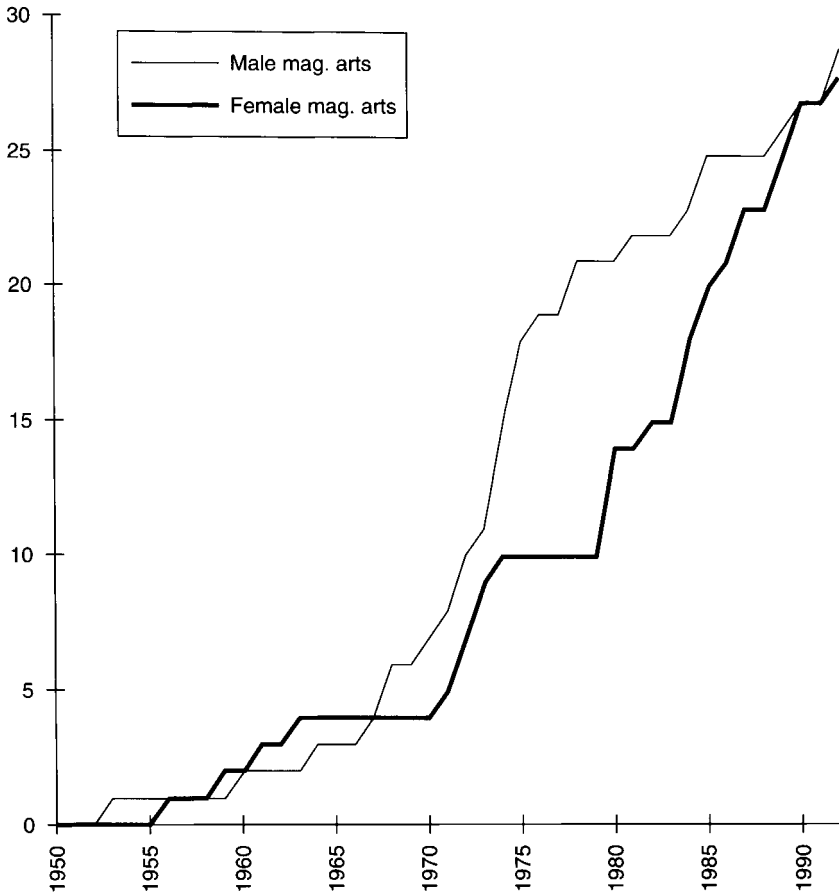


Figure 11.4 Male and female mag. arts in prehistoric archaeology from the University of Århus

(Fonnesbech-Sandberg et al. 1972:6), the men have persistently outnumbered the women in being able to complete their studies.

The first woman to be awarded the degree of dr. phil. in Danish archaeology was a non-academic: Margrethe Hald for her thesis 'Olddanske tekstiler' (Ancient Danish textiles from bogs and burials) in 1950.<sup>12</sup> In recognition of her fine scholarship, she was promoted from technical assistant to the academic post of assistant keeper at the National Museum in 1947. In Ole Klindt-Jensen's *History of Scandinavian Archaeology*, Dr Hald is the only Danish woman mentioned—as the expert on textiles, who 'capably assisted' Hans Christian Broholm in his studies on Bronze Age clothing (Klindt-Jensen 1975:129). In Jan Filip's *Enzyklopädische Handbuch zur Ur-*

*und Frühgeschichte Europas* of 1966, Dr Hald has her own entry on equal footing with other Danish archaeologists. In the modern Danish handbook of archaeology, *Arkæologi Leksikon* (1985), she has been left out.

In 1987, the first Danish woman archaeologist, Ulla Lund Hansen, earned her doctoral degree. Since then, more women than men have taken the rare Danish doctorate (Table 11.3). This, however, has not meant more women with ‘good jobs’ in Danish archaeology. The first woman mag. art. had to wait eight years after taking her degree to obtain tenure at the National Museum. In the 1960s, however, no less than three women scholars, Margrethe Hald, Elise Thorvildsen and Elisabeth Munksgaard, worked as assistant keepers in the Prehistoric Department of the National Museum. Today, no woman archaeologist holds a permanent academic position in Denmark’s main museum. Several, however, have been employed for years in short-term research-assistant jobs. Some women have found work in regional museums, others are working part-time or employed on short-term contracts, often physically demanding rescue excavations.

Table 11.3 Dr. phil. degrees in prehistoric archaeology in Denmark (women’s names in italics)

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1876: Henry Petersen, University of Copenhagen
1879: Conrad Engelhardt (h.c.), University of Copenhagen
1880: Sophus Müller, University of Copenhagen
1921: Johannes Brøndsted, University of Copenhagen
1927: Vilhelm la Cour, University of Copenhagen
1933: Hans Christian Broholm, University of Copenhagen
1943: Aksel Steensberg, University of Copenhagen
1945: Peter Vilhelm Glob, University of Copenhagen
1948: Carl Johan Becker, University of Copenhagen
1950: <i>Margrethe Hald</i> , University of Copenhagen
1951: Ole Klindt-Jensen, University of Copenhagen
1952: Mogens B. Mackcprang, University of Århus
1966: Mogens Ørsnes, University of Copenhagen
1966: Olaf Olsen, University of Copenhagen
1969: Erling Albrechtsen, University of Århus
1972: Klavs Randsborg, University of Copenhagen
1973: Ebbe Lomborg, University of Copenhagen
1975: Henrik Thrane, University of Århus
1987: <i>Ulla Lund Hansen</i> , University of Copenhagen
1987: Per Ole Schovsboe, Odense University
1990: <i>Lotte Hedeager</i> , University of Århus
1991: Hans Peter Blankholm, University of Århus
1993: <i>Lise Bender Jørgensen</i> , University of Copenhagen
1994: <i>Helle Juul Jensen</i> , University of Århus
1994: Jørgen Ilkjær, University of Århus

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Table 11.4 Tenured positions in prehistoric archaeology in Denmark (women's names in italics)

<i>Position</i>	<i>University of Copenhagen</i>	<i>University of Århus</i>
Professors	1941–51: Johannes Brøndsted 1952–85: Carl Johan Becker	1949–60: Pcter Vilhelm Glob 1961–80: Ole Klindt Jensen 1996–: Henrik Thrane
<i>Amanuens,</i> <i>Docent, Lektor</i> (senior lecturer/reader)	1855–66: Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae 1930–41: Johannes Brøndsted 1965–70: Mogens Ørsnes 1967–74: Ebbe Lomborg 1968–72: Jørgen Jensen 1970–: Erik Brinch Petersen 1971–: Klavs Randsborg 1972–: <i>Ulla Lund Hansen</i> 1975–: Klaus Ebbesen 1992–: Christer Westerdahl	1963–73: Olfert Voss 1968–82: Peder Mortensen 1968–: Jens Poulsen 1972–: Søren H. Andersen 1974–: Torsten Madsen 1982–: Jørgen Lund 1984–: Ulf Näsman 1992–: <i>Helle Juul Jensen</i>

At the universities, only two tenured positions in the Danish departments of prehistoric archaeology are held by women (Table 11.4). Both have the 'heavy' degree of dr. phil. Few of their nine male colleagues have felt it necessary to go that far.<sup>13</sup>

Scholarships and fellowships<sup>14</sup>—the traditional recruitment positions of the universities—were for a long time predominantly given to males (Table 11.5). After 1980, however, women have won most of these attractive posts, especially at the University of Århus. In Copenhagen, men still hold on to half of them.

Many women have worked in temporary positions or as grant riders for years, both inside and outside the university departments. Quite a large percentage of recent Danish archaeology has been written by these women, but hardly any of them have been able to secure tenure at the end of their term. Some have now given up and gone, not to a nunnery, but to jobs outside archaeology. Others have emigrated, to countries like Sweden, Norway, England, Germany or the USA, and several are now teaching archaeology abroad. Some are still hanging on in Copenhagen or Århus, hoping against all odds that something may turn up. The men holding research fellowships, in keeping with convention, have had a far better chance of getting tenure afterwards. By 1995, only two of 11 women holding university fellowships (kandidatstipendier, seniorstipendier) or non-tenured teaching positions (adjunkturer) between 1980 and 1993 have obtained tenured positions.<sup>15</sup> Of the four men, two now have good jobs. A third has sadly died, and the fourth has not yet completed his term.<sup>16</sup> It should be noted that the university fellowships by no means represent the total investment in future scholars made by Danish archaeology 1980–93. Several others held fellowships or grants from the Danish Research Council for the Humanities, from the Carlsberg Foundation and other sources. No official records for these groups are available and as relevant information is scattered, a reconstruction has not been possible within the framework of this chapter.<sup>17</sup>

Table 11.5 Fellowships (recruitment positions) (women's names in italics)

<i>Type of fellowship</i>	<i>University of Copenhagen</i>	<i>University of Århus</i>
1: <i>Kandidat-stipendier</i> Research fellowships, held one year, renewable up to a total of two and a half years	1961: Ebbe Lomborg 1962: Henrik Thrane 1965: Jørgen Jensen 1968: Klavs Randsborg 1968: Erik Brinch Petersen 1972: <i>Ulla Lund Hansen</i> 1973: <i>Birgitte Bille Henriksen</i> 1974: Klaus Ebbesen 1976: Karsten Davidsen 1977: Morten Axboe 1983: Leif Chr. Nielsen 1988: Lars Jørgensen 1991: <i>Anne Nørgaard Jørgensen</i> 1991: <i>Henriette Lyngstrøm</i> 1992: Jes Martens 1993: <i>Iben Skibsted Klasøe</i>	1962: <i>Karen Frifelt</i> 1968/69: Arne E. Thorsteinsson 1970: <i>Else Roesdahl</i> 1974: Jørgen Ilkjær 1977: Kristian Kristiansen 1979: Stig Jensen 1980: <i>Tinna Møbjerg</i> 1982: <i>Anne Birgitte Gebauer</i> 1984: <i>Lisbeth Wincentz</i> 1985: <i>Jytte Ringved</i> 1988: <i>Helle Vandkilde</i> 1991: <i>Marianne Rasmussen</i>
2: <i>Seniorstipendier</i> Senior research fellowships, held three years	1975: Erik Brinch Petersen 1982: <i>Lise Bender Jørgensen</i>	1973: Peder Mortensen 1977: Jørgen Ilkjær 1979: Kristian Kristiansen 1986: <i>Tinna Møbjerg</i> 1987: <i>Helle Juel Jensen</i>
3: <i>Forsknings-professorater</i> Professorial research fellowship, held five years	1990: Klavs Randsborg	
4: <i>Adjunkture</i> Non-tenured teaching positions, held three to four years.	1964: Ebbe Lomborg 1965/66: Per Sørensen 1966: Jørgen Jensen 1968: Jørgen Meldgaard 1987: Bjarne Grønnow	1962: Poul Kjærum 1966: Jens Poulsen 1968/69: <i>Karen Frifelt</i> 1968/69: Søren H. Andersen 1970: <i>Else Roesdahl</i> 1971: Thomas Geoffrey Bibby 1988: <i>Helle Juel Jensen</i>

During the 1970s, many jobs for archaeologists were established in regional museums all over Denmark (Kristiansen 1980:360). This development was halted with the change of government in 1982. A union of Conservative and Liberal parties took power, for what turned out to be more than 10 years. Heavy cut-backs followed in the public services, in fields such as culture and education. The seemingly positive graph of the Århus mag. art. degrees has a bitter snag to it: the 'woman-boom' came when the good times were over. Or was it, perhaps, not felt quite as necessary to make the extra effort to create jobs for them?

In May 1995, six women and one man were listed as temporary research fellows on the personnel list of the Århus department.<sup>18</sup> Come December, two of the women had run out of grants and were no longer listed as members of the department.<sup>19</sup> Three women and three men were registered as research students in May. Half a year

later, they had turned into one woman and five men.<sup>20</sup> Do these ominous figures suggest that in a few years time, academic merits may once again be regarded as the key to a career? We have just seen how quickly and easily Lis Jacobsen has been forgotten. Will the establishment continue to ignore prominent women scholars? It follows that the story of women in Danish archaeology may well end like that of the Prince of Denmark.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to many in connection with this chapter. To the K.A.N. editors Anne Stalsberg and Birgitta Wik, who in 1988 prompted me to tell the story of a Danish woman archaeologist and caused me to discover Lis Jacobsen. To Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, who invited me to their session on Women in European Archaeology at the 1993 TAG conference in Durham, and to the other speakers at that session. To Lone Hvass, who some years ago arranged for me to visit Lis Jacobsen's tomb in Sindbjerg, and helped me in many other ways, as did Kirsten-Elisabeth Høgsbro, Helle Juel Jensen, Anita Laursen, Janni Lindeneg Nielsen, Else Roesdahl, and the many Århus mag. arts who obligingly answered my questions concerning the year of their degrees. Professor emeritus C.J.Becker, formerly of the University of Copenhagen, Department of Archaeology, generously found time to help me with information and to see to it that my lists of Copenhagen mag. art. and dr. phil. degrees were in accordance with his own. The Royal Nordic Society of Antiquaries helped me with information about the admittance of women to the society. DSL's administrator, Iver Kjær, in October 1994 kindly received me in his office, formerly that of Lis Jacobsen, and provided me with valuable information. Fiona Campbell revised my English. Margarita Díaz-Andreu, Oddmund Farbrege, Lotte Hedeager and Marie Louise Stig Sørensen have read earlier versions of the manuscript and given helpful comments.

#### NOTES

- 1 In a letter from Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab, dated 12 October 1995, I received the following information: on 9 January 1951, 172 votes were for, 50 against, 9 blanks. At the following meeting, 13 February, 13 women were accepted as members. The architect, Elna Møller, was the first. Among the others were the three first female Copenhagen mag. arts, Elise Thorvildsen, Elisabeth Munksgaard and Eva Holm (later Ørsnes). One year earlier, on 10 January 1950, a similar suggestion had been voted down (Årsberetning for 1950).
- 2 Thanks are due to the many colleagues passing the library of the National Museum in the spring of 1988 who patiently answered my questions on Lis Jacobsen.
- 3 Most notably the encyclopaedias that she organized: *Ordbog over det Danske Sprog*, *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder*, and *Danmarks Runeindskrifter*. See further her bibliography of 330 titles, assembled by Grete Jacobsen and Karl Martin Nielsen in her festschrift, *Runer og Rids* (J.Glahder ed.) from 1952.

- 4 The degree of mag. art. is—or was—awarded at the successful conclusion of postgraduate studies. At present the Danish degree system is in a transition phase from an older, German-style system to a new, Anglo-Saxon style. In recent years, the Anglo-Saxon style degree of PhD has been introduced, and is now replacing the degree of mag. art. At present, both mag. art. and PhD degrees are around. They are not identical, but their position in the educational system as the degree you take at the end of postgraduate studies is the same. The degree of dr. phil. corresponds to the German dr. habil. To avoid confusion, the Danish terms have been used throughout.
- Gold Medals are awarded by Danish universities for prize essays, and a Gold Medal is an important merit in the academic system. Silver Medals are also awarded. Each year, a competition is advertised, each academic subject announcing a specific theme to be discussed.
- 5 The first woman to take the degree of dr. phil. in Denmark was the historian, Anna Hude, in 1893. The second was the philologist Kirstine Thaning in 1904. In 1925, a total of eight dr. phil. degrees and five dr. med. degrees had been awarded to women (Rosenbeck 1994).
- 6 The author of this paper was elected as a member in November 1990.
- 7 Personal communication from Iver Kjær, administrator of the DSL.
- 8 Aage Hansen obviously did not approve of this, nor of Lis Jacobsen.
- 9 Johannes Brøndsted was the first to hold a university chair in prehistoric archaeology in Denmark. Earlier, Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae and Conrad Engelhardt had had titular professorships, without any connection to the university.
- 10 See note 4 for an explanation of the Danish degree system. It should be noted that only degrees in prehistoric archaeology are considered here. Classical archaeology and Egyptology have produced several remarkable women scholars before (and after) 1952. See Høgsbro (1994:98). For the sake of clarity, medieval archaeology has been left out too. This subject was established as an independent university subject as late as 1971, at the University of Århus. It has produced very few candidates with a 'pure' mag. art. degree in medieval archaeology. Instead, most people have taken combination degrees (cand. mag. or cand. art.), blending medieval archaeology with prehistoric archaeology, history, etc. The combination degree makes it difficult to sort out who is a medieval archaeologist, who a prehistorian, or a historian. In this paper, therefore, only full degrees (mag. art.) in prehistoric archaeology are listed.
- 11 In 1975, the University of Copenhagen stopped the recording of mag. art. degrees, and started listing submitted mag. art. theses instead. The date of the submission of the thesis is rarely identical with the date of the completed degree. Professor emeritus Carl Johan Becker, however, keeps a private list of 'his' mag. arts. He has kindly helped me with the correct dates up to his retirement in 1985. Unfortunately, the equivalent information for the post-1985 mag. art. degrees is not available.
- 12 In 1980, *Olddanske tekstiler* was reprinted in English, as *Ancient Danish Textiles from Bogs and Burials*. This book, as well as Dr Hald's studies (with Hans Christian Broholm) on Bronze Age clothing, ranks as an international classic on the subject of archaeological textiles and clothing.
- 13 In June 1995, the men in tenured positions had the following degrees: one dr. phil. (University of Copenhagen), one Fil. dr. (Uppsala University), one PhD (University

- of Canberra), five mag. arts (three University of Århus, two University of Copenhagen), and a Fil. lic. (Stockholm University).
- 14 Kandidatstipendier of two and a half years were previously given to promising mag. arts and were intended as recruitment posts for the universities. In recent years, they have been changed into scholarships for postgraduate students working towards a PhD and instead it is the adjunkt positions that serve as recruitment posts. Seniorstipendier of three years (now abandoned) were intended to give experienced scholars time to complete a major study, such as a doctoral thesis.
  - 15 Helle Juel Jensen, Tinna Møbjerg, Anne Birgitte Gebauer, Lisbeth Wincentz, Jytte Ringved, Helle Vandkilde, Marianne Rasmussen from the University of Århus. Lise Bender Jørgensen, Anne Nørgaard Jørgensen, Henriette Lyngstrøm and Iben Skibsted Klæsøe from the University of Copenhagen. In 1995, only Helle Juel Jensen and Marianne Rasmussen held tenured jobs. HJJ is senior lecturer at the University of Århus, MR research director at the Archaeological Research Centre, Lejre. In 1996, Lise Bender Jørgensen obtained a tenured post at the University of Trondheim, Norway.
  - 16 Leif Chr. Nielsen, Lars Jørgensen, Jes Martens, Bjarne Grønnow, all from the University of Copenhagen. LCN died 1990; LJ is assistant keeper at the National Museum, BG director of the Archaeological Research Centre, Lejre.
  - 17 For example *Lotte Hedeager*, professor at the University of Oslo, Norway; *Bodil Bratlund*, research fellow at Stockholm University, Sweden; Hans Peter Blankholm, professor at the University of Tromsø, Norway, and Preben Rønne, senior lecturer at the University of Trondheim, Norway, belong to this group. Women's names are in italic.
  - 18 *Charlotte Fabech*, *Karen Høilund Nielsen*, *Jytte Ringved*, *Helle Vandkilde* (forskningslektorer), and Jens B.Andresen, *Berit V.Eriksen* and *Tinna Møbjerg* (forskningsadjunker). Women's names are in italic.
  - 19 The December list of forskningslektorer: *Charlotte Fabech*, *Jytte Ringved*, *Helle Vandkilde*; forskningsadjunker: Jens B.Andresen, *Tinna Møbjerg*. Women's names are in italic.
  - 20 Research students of Århus, May 1995: *Eva Koch*, *Dorthe Kaldal Mikkelsen*, *Anne Pedersen*, Mads Ravn, Per Orla Thomsen, Per Ole Rindel. December 1995: *Dorthe Kaldal Mikkelsen*, Peter Hambro Mikkelsen, Lars Nørbach, Mads Ravn, Per Orla Thomsen, Jens Ulriksen. Women's names are in italic.

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# 12

## GREEK WOMEN IN ARCHAEOLOGY

### An untold story

*Marianna Nikolaidou and Dimitra Kokkinidou*

#### INTRODUCTION

In December 1994 the Greek press announced the death of the ‘great lady of archaeology’: ‘Semni Karouzou, the last representative of the generation of great archaeologists passed away full of days’ (*To Vima*, 11 December 1994). She was the first woman to enter the Greek Archaeological Service, more than 70 years ago. An outstanding scholar of humanistic education, she is perhaps the most important woman in Greek archaeology.

However, this woman is not even briefly mentioned in a number of otherwise useful reviews of Greek archaeology either as an international (Morris 1994; Snodgrass 1987) or indigenous (Kotsakis 1991; Koumanoudis 1984; Lianeris 1983; Petrakos 1987, 1988; Zois 1990) enterprise with a specific historical and epistemological identity. Although produced in the context of growing theoretical interest in archaeological historiography, these surveys do not consider gender issues. This is not surprising, given that the fields of Classical and Aegean archaeology<sup>1</sup> have only recently begun to take gender questions into account (see Brown 1993). Works of feminist orientation, albeit limited in number, have appeared in Classics during the last two decades (for example, Fantham et al. 1994; Pomeroy 1975; Rabinowitz and Richlin 1993; Richlin 1992), while prehistoric studies with a more or less explicit interest in gender do not appear before 1990 (for example, Alexandri 1994; Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou 1993; Pilali-Papasteriou 1992; Talalay 1993; Yiannouli 1992). In Greece, specifically feminist critique is gradually becoming apparent in subjects related to archaeology, such as social and educational history (Avdela 1990; Deligianni-Kouimtzi and Ziogou-Karastergiou 1993) and cultural anthropology (see Papataxiarchis and Paradelis 1992; Skouteri-Didaskalou 1991), but there has been a general reluctance to include it in archaeological writing (see Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou 1993) for reasons that will be explained below. In this respect the archaeology of Greece has fallen behind West European and New World studies where a feminist perspective has provided a range of alternative paradigms (Claassen 1992; Conkey and Spector 1984; Conkey with Williams 1991; du Cros and Smith 1993; Gero and Conkey 1991; Walde and Willows 1991) and has produced historiographic accounts of women in the field (Claassen 1994; du Cros and Smith 1993; Williams 1981).

Female archaeologists, American, European and Greek, are already apparent in research at the turn of the century: Harriet Boyd Hawes (Allsebrook 1992; Bolger 1994), Edith Hall (Bolger 1994), Jane Ellen Harrison (Peacock 1988; cf. Morris 1994:29), Lucy Shoe Meritt, Gisela Richter (Brown 1993:243–4), Winifred Lamb, are perhaps the most widely known names but they are by no means the only ones. Indeed, as in many other areas of the world, a closer look at the history of archaeological exploration in Greece confirms Mary Beard's remark that 'archaeology probably has greater claim than any other...to be women's subject... The story of archaeology has from its very origins been well stocked with notable female characters...' (Beard 1994:8). Nevertheless, a detailed story of Greek women archaeologists in particular has never been written, and their work awaits recognition by younger scholars. Apart from the lack of gender epistemologies, this 'hiatus' has also to do with the fact that it is very difficult to gain access to archival material necessary for such a synthesis, which is in the possession of the Ministry of Culture and the Archaeological Society in Athens.

This essay attempts for the first time to evaluate the role of Greek women in the discipline, then and now. For the reasons mentioned above, our account is far from exhaustive. We hope, however, that it does bring these women into focus and provides food for thought. Our perspective is historical and our viewpoint optimistic. By tracing female archaeological activities in our country in the course of the century, we concentrate on what has already been achieved by women instead of lamenting once more what has been denied to them over the years.<sup>2</sup> The aim is not just to show androcentric biases in the research and professional practices of Greek archaeologists, but to understand why they exist and to suggest what can be achieved through the integration of a gender perspective in the discipline.

The chapter begins with a brief overview of the historical and educational developments in relation to which female involvement in archaeology has to be assessed. Discussion of the discipline itself is divided into two chronological parts. First we outline the 'heroic' stages of Greek archaeology, from the last century until the 1950s, with emphasis on the contribution of pioneer women scholars. A special section is devoted to Semni Karouzou, who provides an eloquent example of the sociohistoric processes under discussion. In the second part we comment on archaeological reality in Greece nowadays, and offer suggestions for future strategies.

## HISTORICAL AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

The status of women in modern Greek history, and of women intellectuals in particular, has to be seen as a correlate of the country's particular social development. From the mid-nineteenth century up to the 1970s, life has been marked by long-term wars, frequent interference of the army in politics, and the relatively late consolidation of parliamentary democracy. These factors have led to the formation of a contradictory sociopolitical environment which combines traits of both advanced and developing countries. They have in turn shaped an idiosyncratic women's movement (Varika 1992), profoundly influenced by the anomalies in political life: in order to safeguard democracy, women have repeatedly been asked to

*Table 12.1* Students at Athens University (1890–1920)

<i>Men (%)</i>	<i>Women (%)</i>
98.68	1.32

Source: Ziogou-Karastergiou (1993b:345, 365)

*Table 12.2* Students at Greek universities (1960–92)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Men (%)</i>	<i>Women (%)</i>
1960–1961	74.60	25.40
1970–1971	68.10	31.90
1980–1981	57.60	42.40
1991–1992	48.90	51.10

Source: Katsikas and Kavvadias (1994:125)

put aside their own special demands. Moreover, strong intervention of political parties into women's organizations has undermined feminist autonomy. As a result, there has been little space left, and this only over the last two decades, to introduce more radical and gender-aware trends into Greek feminism.

Admission of women to higher education was legislated several decades after the founding of the first academic institution, the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens in 1837. The first female student is reported to have registered at the School of Philosophy only in 1890 (Ziogou-Karastergiou 1993b:334). By the early 1920s the distribution of students by sex was as follows (Table 12.1):

The following decades witnessed increased female participation, linked to the foundation of new universities along with the opening up of higher education to the middle and lower classes (Frangoudaki 1985:181–246; Kontogiann-opoulou-Polydorides 1991). As in most European countries, the Greek educational system has seen a steady increase in female enrolment since the 1970s. By the early 1990s women comprised more than half of the overall student population (Table 12.2).

Despite these favourable developments, gender equality is far from being achieved. In fact, statistical studies in Greece have pointed to a persistent disproportion between men and women in terms of subject choices at university level and in career opportunities. Inequality in terms of study area and employment patterns has been a dominant feature of vocational training, as in the rest of Europe irrespective of socio-economic development (Eliou 1988; Frangoudaki 1985; Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides 1991). To give an example, not only has the female presence in academia not increased very significantly during the last two decades—29 per cent in 1970 as compared to 35 per cent in 1986 (Eliou 1993:422)—but it also tends to be concentrated in the lower and middle grades (Table 12.3).

Table 12.3 Representation of women in academic teaching positions (1986)

<i>Upper grades (%)</i>	<i>Middle grades (%)</i>	<i>Lower grades (%)</i>
8.20	24.16	35.55

Source: Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides (1991:109)

### THE 'HEROIC' AGE OF GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY

The intellectual and epistemological roots of Greek archaeology can be traced back to the foundation of the modern Greek state after the War of Independence in 1821. A collective consciousness was then formed, based on the theory of the diachronic presence of the Hellenic nation from ancient times, through the Byzantine era and the following period of Ottoman occupation, to the establishment of freedom (Svoronos 1981:58–69). This ideology, in common with so many other variants of ethnocentrism in post-Napoleonic Europe (Hobsbawm 1990), was meant to serve a twofold political strategy. On the one hand, the emerging Greek bourgeois class, and particularly its literate champions, were in search of a unifying belief which would assert an unbroken historical continuity. On the other hand, irredentist claims over the Greek-inhabited lands that were still under Turkish rule could be justified via this belief. Within such a context, archaeology has been an active participant in the formation of ethnic identity (Kotsakis 1991), through the documentation of cultural descent focused on the concept of Greekness (Svoronos 1983:62). As a result 'national heritage' has been reconstructed as 'heroic' and, as so often happens in ethnocentric archaeologies (cf. Conkey with Williams 1991; Gero and Root 1990), has been identified either explicitly or implicitly with notions of strength and, by extension, of masculinity. The 'male' perspective is obvious in Greek museum exhibitions through which an androcentric view of the past is forwarded to the wider public and perpetuated according to modern stereotypes (Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou 1994).

The funding of antiquities, with the aim of preserving a 'powerful' national heritage (Kotsakis 1991; cf. Avgouli 1994), has been one of the main concerns of the modern Greek state, already since its foundation (Kokkou 1977: 39–46; Petrakos 1982:16–19). This undertaking focused on material remains from the Classical era, the most 'glorious' period of Greek history. The first state museum was founded in 1829, and a few years later the Archaeological Service was established (1833) (initially as a department within the Ministry of Education, later on under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture), to assume responsibility for the excavation, preservation, protection and administrative management of the monuments in the country (ibid.: 18–20). Excavations were also sponsored by the Athens Archaeological Society, founded in 1837 (Petrakos 1987), which is still the most important non-governmental antiquarian institution, with a very dynamic presence in fieldwork and publication (see *Archaiologiki Ephimeris*; *Praktika tis en Athinaiis Archaiologikis Etaireias*; *To Ergon tis en Athinaiis Archaiologikis Etaireias*). Despite

*Table 12.4* The first women in the Athens Archaeological Society (dates in brackets indicate life membership)

Anna Apostolaki	1906 (1925)
Eirini Varoucha-Christodouloupoulou	1931 (1952)
Semni Papaspyridi-Karouzou	1935 (1945)
Ioanna Constantinou	1938 (1959)
Anna Marava-Chatzinikolaou	1952 (1973)

*Source: Praktika tis en Athinaiis Archaïologikis Etaireias* (Annual Proceedings of the Athens Archaeological Society)

its important contributions, the Archaeological Society is nevertheless rather conservative and has not avoided gender biases in its research goals and general policies. Ironically, however, it was the Archaeological Society that first allowed membership to female graduates of archaeology: Anna Apostolaki is reported to have joined the Society in 1906 (Table 12.4).

Anna Apostolaki (Figure 12.1) appears to have been the first woman to conduct archaeological research at a professional level. Her main interests included the comparative study of ancient and contemporary folk textiles. In 1924 she became curator of the National Museum of Decorative Arts at Athens, currently Museum of Greek Folk Art (Kokkou 1977:265), and in 1932 she was promoted to its director, an office which she held until 1954.

There were, however, no women in the Archaeological Service until the early 1920s. In 1921 Semni Karouzou was appointed as the first woman curator of antiquities, to be followed by only a handful of female colleagues until the early post-war period (Table 12.5).

These archaeologists were representative of a new category of educated women that emerged during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as the result of structural changes within Greek society and the ‘first wave’ of feminism (Varika 1987). Emancipated women belonged principally to the middle and upper middle classes where education was appreciated not only for men but also for women (Ziougou-Karastergiou 1993a, 1993b). As graduates of the School of Philosophy, archaeologists were entitled to teach at secondary education level, with the possibility of working in archaeology if they wished. In this way, they had more career opportunities than their counterparts in the sciences and social sciences (Ziougou-Karastergiou 1993b: 384–92, 395–6), which means that choice of the archaeological profession was an expression of a particular inclination. This explains the fact that the Archaeological Service was and is still staffed by highly qualified men and women. In fact, tenured archaeologists in the country even today represent only a very small number of archaeology graduates,<sup>3</sup> for admission to the Service requires special examinations held rather irregularly. In Greece, as indeed in many other countries, the archaeological occupation was highly valued at those early times (and still is to a certain degree), affording prestige and access to research well beyond a graduate level. For these reasons an archaeological career must have been deemed proper for young ladies of some social status, as those early archaeologists were.



*Figure 12.1* Anna Apostolaki (photo reproduced from the *Album for the Centenary of the Athens Archaeological Society 1837–1937*, p. 58. Courtesy of the Athens Archaeological Society, photographic archive)

*Table 12.5* The first women in the Greek Archaeological Service by date of appointment

Semni Papaspyridi-Karouzou	1921–64
Eirini Varoucha-Christodouloupoulou	1921–64
Eleni Filtsoy	1921
Anna Apostolaki	1922
Ioanna Constantinou	1928–64
Venetia Kotta	1943–5
Anna Marava-Chatzinikolaou	1950–69

*Source:* Petrakos (1982:100–2)

Pioneer women archaeologists shared the social and educational interests of the early female intellectuals in Greece. Anna Apostolaki, for instance, was among the speakers in the inaugural public lectures of the Lyceum of Greek Women in 1911 (Ziogou-Karastergiou 1993b:392–3) and participated in the administration of this educational institution. She also contributed regularly to the *Ladies' Gazette* (*Ephimeris ton kirion*), the most widely read feminist magazine of the times (ibid.: 407 n. 77) and seems to have been a close collaborator of Kalliroe Parren, director of the journal and one of the most prominent figures in early Greek feminism. For Parren, the young archaeologist offered the ideal example of the intellectual woman.<sup>4</sup> She writes: 'Miss Anna Apostolaki is young, unpretentious, charming, very cute, without glasses or short hair as foreign scholars usually are' (ibid.: 353). This description eloquently summarizes the social standards of the time for female presence within the male-dominated system of education: women had to be prudent and modest, strict, decent and dignified in their behaviour and display high standards of achievements. This last point is of especial interest for the evaluation of the scholarly work of early women archaeologists, as we will discuss below.

The inter-war period saw intense activity in advocating women's rights (Avdela and Psarra 1985). In 1930 Avra Theodoropoulou, a prominent feminist activist, called the promotion of Semni Karouzou and Eirini Varoucha to the office of Ephor of Antiquities (a position equivalent to keeper) a 'feminist victory' (ibid.: 275). However, this 'second wave' of Greek feminism was brought to an end by the dictatorship of General Ioannis Metaxas in 1936. A law was then enacted which excluded women from the Archaeological Service as part of general gender discriminations within the public sector (Avdela 1990:149). Act 1947 of 1939 (article 3) established that: 'Only male graduates of philology are appointed as curators on the grade and salary of 1st class Secretary.' It also forced the few female archaeologists into professional stagnation: 'The female contingent already on the staff shall continue in the Service but shall not under any circumstances be permitted to undertake the direction of museums or ephorates, in accordance with the provision of article 17, para. 7 of the present law. Should female members of the academic staff happen to be married, they must take obligatory retirement after completing 25 years of public service' (Petraikos 1982: 52). With the exception of the Byzantinists Venetia Kotta and Anna Marava-Chatzinikolaou, who were appointed along with some male colleagues under special circumstances during the war and early post-war period, there were no female entrants to the Service until 1955 when the law in question was eventually abolished (ibid.: 52).

Legislative inequality and social prejudice did not prevent many of the early women archaeologists from pursuing a noteworthy career, some as excavators (for example, Karouzou 1933–5; Varoucha 1925–6a, 1925–6b) but mainly as museum curators. While their male colleagues were out on the dig, directing prestigious projects (see *Archaiologikon Deltion* 1–15; *Praktika tis en Athinais Archaiologikis Etaireias* 1920–50), women worked hard in the management of major museums, such as the National Archaeological Museum (Semni Karouzou) and the Museum of Greek Folk Art (Anna Apostolaki), publishing extensively on the collections (Apostolaki 1932, 1937, 1938, 1942–4, 1950–1, 1953–4; for the publications of



Semni Karouzou see bibliography in Karouzou 1984a). In the 1937 festive centenary issue of *Archaiologiki Ephimeris*, the most important archaeological journal in the country, Semni Karouzou published an intaglio and Ioanna Konstantinou a bronze statuette from the National Archaeological Museum, Venettia Kotta presented a rare icon of the Virgin Mary in the Byzantine Museum, and Anna Apostolaki wrote on Koptic textiles of the Benaki Museum. In the same volume an article on Graeco-Roman sculpture by Gisela Richter complemented the numerically meagre but scholarly substantial female contributions, a counterbalance to 92 articles written by male colleagues!

The museological and publishing activity of early women archaeologists should be especially appreciated, given that in Greece post-excavation management and publication of the archaeological material have very rarely kept pace with excavation. This can be understood, though not entirely justified, in a country so overwhelmingly rich in antiquities that fieldwork, often rescue digs, has been of considerable urgency. Therefore, whenever material from the museum collections is made known it is most welcome, and women professionals, who at those times rarely had their own field projects to publish, very successfully met this need. In this way pioneers, unconsciously or deliberately, subverted a policy that kept them away from the field to their own advantage, turning Greek museums into an arena of significant female activity. On the other hand, their active involvement in museum management, the 'housework' part of the profession (Gero 1985), as well as the interests of scholars like Anna Apostolaki who specialized in weaving and textiles (e.g. Apostolaki 1952), may echo the efforts of these women to achieve a 'double adaptation' (Ziougou-Karastergiou 1993b:353). That is, they tried to establish themselves in an androcentric research environment by excelling in 'female' tasks like the study of crafts or the organization of the archaeological material.

However one might like to interpret these choices, it cannot be denied that in the work of these women we find some of the finest examples of archaeological writing of their time: thorough familiarity with the archaeological and ancient literary evidence, with mythology, religion, and comparative folklore, as well as acquaintance with the current international bibliography, gives their studies a depth beyond the standard typological analyses then so popular in antiquarian studies. Thus equipped they not only produced interesting interpretations of ancient art but also illuminated life, religion and customs on the basis of archaeological remains. As characteristic examples we mention the publications of Anna Apostolaki on antique, medieval and folk textiles, the meticulous architectural and art-historical study of the Byzantine church of Skripou in Boeotia by Maria Sotiriou as early as 1931 (Sotiriou 1931), and the field reports of Eirini Varoucha (1925–6) and Semni Karouzou (Karouzou 1933–5). The high quality of the contributions of early women archaeologists must be associated with, among other things, the strict demands imposed on females who wanted to pursue a scholarly career: if you were to succeed as a woman you really had to deserve it—and these pioneers obviously did! Although their work usually remained within the limits of the decontextualized art-historic and comparative analysis then prevailing in the discipline, sometimes the meticulous

study of the ancient objects led to an understanding of their socio-historic context, too.

This was the case with Semni Karouzou, an archaeologist of broad humanist education, deep knowledge of ancient Greek and Roman culture, and a passionate love for ancient art. Her penetrating discussions focused on both the inherent meaning and the historic environment of the archaeological material, and included, moreover, perceptive awareness of the individuals who created and used these artefacts. These scholarly qualities, coupled with an unusually broad range of research interests (almost every aspect of ancient art, as well as religion, literature, mythology, studies of technology and so forth), have secured her works an outstanding place not only in Greek archaeology but also in the international community of Classical archaeologists.

Semni Karouzou's gifts were already apparent in her first archaeological contribution, as a novice in the Archaeological Service (Papaspyridou 1920) (Figure 12.2), and developed fruitfully with time. She herself defines her epistemological paradigm as an attempt to reveal 'the invisible meaning of ancient works' (Karouzou 1945-7:23), especially those which appear as obscure or meaningless. For example, she interpreted a 'genre' scene of women in an exotic landscape as a unique pottery representation of a mythical subject (the daughters of the giant Atlas) which she ingeniously related to ancient dramatic performances and the decoration of ritual textiles (Karouzou 1945-7). This method, innovative at the time, bridged the gap between earlier exaggerated 'readings' of ancient art and the 'pragmatist' perspective of nineteenth-century empiricists. Her sophisticated treatises of ancient iconography often reached the level of real psychography (for example Papaspyridou 1922; Karouzou 1957), while systematic art-historical analysis invariably retrieved meaning, even in objects of unknown provenance and context from the antiquities market (Karouzou 1945). Aided by her 'uncontrolled imagination' (Karouzou 1937:707), she moved beyond the images to real people, their everyday life, attitudes and ideologies (for example, Papaspyridou 1920; Karouzou 1952). Thus she recognized, for instance, a picturesque detail of female craftwork in a group of Attic lekythoi (perfume jugs) decorated with seated women handling spherical objects: the spherical objects, she argues, are balls of thread or wool which the woman has just wound, and she is giving herself a break by playfully throwing these balls in the air, as still happens in traditional Greek villages where the game is accompanied by a folk rhyme. The same scene had been interpreted earlier by Sir John Beazley as 'women playing balls', but Karouzou tactfully points out: 'it is not surprising that he did not attend to it [the scene] closely, as he is not acquainted from his own country with the customs of the *gunaikonitis* [women's quarters]. In other more "primitive" lands the game is still played' (Karouzou 1945:42).

### SEMNI KAROUZOU

Next we shall look more closely at the career of this exceptional woman. Although this emphasis may seem to overshadow the contribution of her female peers, it in fact has to do with the kind of evidence we have been able to collect. A memoir by Semni



*Figure 12.2* Semni Karouzou early in her career (photo reproduced from the *Album for the Centenary of the Athens Archaeological Society 1837–1937*, p. 58. Courtesy of the Athens Archaeological Society, photographic archive)

Karouzou herself (Karouzou 1984a; cf. Karouzos 1981), accompanied by a list of her publications, has been valuable for our study.

She was born Semni Pappaspyridou in Tripolis in 1897. Her father was a military officer, and her mother, the only daughter of a judge, had received a French education, as did most upper- and upper-middle-class girls in nineteenth-century Greece. Her father's profession required frequent moves and Semni spent her childhood in various provincial towns such as Pyrgos, Mesolongi, Zakynthos, Syros, Volos and Chalkis. The family eventually settled in Athens, where Semni completed her general studies. In recounting those early years, she speaks of the marginalization of girls in state schools, where the great majority of pupils were boys. On the other hand, her parents, themselves brought up in an educated environment, had always encouraged young Semni's studies, and afforded her fluency in languages through private tuition. It was her mother who registered her at the School of Philosophy at



*Figure 12.3* Semni Karouzou in later years (photo reproduced from the magazine *Pantheon* 819 [31 Dec.—14 Jan. 1985]. Courtesy of the Athens Archaeological Society, photographic archive)

Athens University. There, Semni joined a group of young intellectuals including her future husband, Christos Karouzos (1900–67), whom, as she recalls, she early distinguished as the most gifted. Speaking about her fellow female students, she remembers most of them as ‘unimportant’, although she does not forget to praise some outstanding ones (Karouzou 1984a:12). We may sense a slight arrogance when she speaks about the majority of the students, poor youths from the countryside who did not have the background to develop serious research interests, and contrasts them with the ‘somewhat more enlightened’ (*ibid.*) minority to which she belonged. Such comments illuminate the fact that it was class rather than gender alone that often determined scholarly opportunities. Semni, a gifted young student from the upper middle class, although one of the few girls, was already developing personal contacts not only with the best of her colleagues (men and women) but also with mature intellectuals such as the writer Dimitrios Kampouroglou, and her professor,

Christos Tsountas. Her ambition and scholarly zeal were already apparent, and even seem to have led her to an 'elitist' attitude: for example, she did not bother to use the dirty and noisy main university library, which the common students used. Instead, she frequented the reading room which was used by 'more important' members of the university (*ibid.*), where the director, Dimitrios Kampouroglou, allowed her to borrow literary books.

Christos Tsountas, the distinguished excavator of Mycenae, the Cyclades and Neolithic Thessaly, was the teacher who guided Semni's decisions in archaeology. Soon after her graduation she successfully passed the exams for a curatorial position in the Archaeological Service, in which her archaeology paper was marked with distinction by Tsountas. Her first appointment as a curator in 1921 was at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. There, her acquaintance with Ernst Buschor, the director of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens, and Sir John Beazley inspired her interest in Attic pottery. She was also connected with Gisela Richter, director of the Metropolitan Museum at New York who was then working on National Museum sculptures, and she became friends with Emil Kunze, the excavator of Olympia. In 1924 Semni was transferred to Crete to help Stefanos Xanthoudidis with his Minoan research. While in Herakleion, she had the chance to join the circle of the novelist Nikos Kazantzakis whom she had met a few years earlier together with his poet friend Angelos Sikelianos. Indeed literature had always been one of her favourite subjects, not only in its broad sense but also in a creative assimilation of literary style in archaeological writing.

Some of the most prominent and progressive members of the Greek intelligentsia of the time were among her friends, including the education reformer Dimitris Glinos, the linguist Manolis Triantafyllidis, the philosopher Yiannis Imvriotis, and the music conductor Dimitris Mitropoulos. They were all leading figures in demoticism, a language movement that was opposed to the use of Katharevousa, the archaistic idiom officially taught and spoken but little understood by the masses. Semni herself was involved in a number of socio-political issues, as will be shown below. Although not a committed feminist, she was personally acquainted with and greatly valued the ideas and achievements of leading feminists like the musician Avra Theodoropoulou and the educationalist and leftist activist Roza Imvrioti (the latter was the first woman to become head of high school in 1933 (Xiradaki 1988:125–6)).

After Crete she was sent to Euboea where she studied ancient Eretria and compiled a guidebook to the site. In 1928 she and Christos Karouzos were awarded a Humboldt Fellowship to study Classical and Roman archaeology at the universities of Munich and Berlin. Additional courses on Western art, and their enthusiastic participation in the rich cultural life in these cities broadened their interpretations of ancient art, as can be seen in their mature works. As Semni puts it, through her acquaintance with the masterpieces of Renaissance and modern art in Germany and Rome 'a new romantic passion' for Classical antiquities 'warmed' her (Karouzou 1984a:22).

On her return to Greece in 1930, she married Christos Karouzos. At the same time she was promoted to the position of Ephor of Antiquities and was appointed initially in the *ephorate* (archaeological administrative district) of Thessaly and afterwards in Argolid. In Argolid she excavated Mycenaean tombs and the Classical cemetery of

Argos, and studied ancient Epidauros. Nafplion, the picturesque first capital of modern Greece, attracted her special attention, and she took a number of initiatives to protect Venetian and traditional buildings in this town. In 1933 she became head of the National Museum's Pottery Collection, a post she held until her retirement. There she devoted herself to the toilsome task of identifying, recording and redisplaying this vast material, at the same time publishing extensively on ancient Greek ceramics (for example, Karouzou 1954, 1956). In her own words: 'One especially painstaking work was the identification of a great number of vases. I was trying hard, going through the four large inventories, numbers were lost, still many times I was successful. This invisible service proved a blessing later for the burial of the vases' [during the war] (Karouzou 1984a: 27). Her tireless efforts converted the pottery section into the most functional, scholarly and energetic branch of the National Museum. The collection was enriched by a unique assemblage of Archaic Attic pottery from Anagyrous (one of the ancient Attic *demoi*), received in the 1930s and published by herself (Karouzou 1963). Semni was most productive in her research: from the very moment she entered the Archaeological Service and throughout her career she contributed regularly not only to Greek but also to foreign archaeological and antiquarian journals.

The 1930s was a period of political instability which ended in the 1936 coup and the dictatorship of Metaxas. A few years earlier Christos Karouzos had been transferred with disfavour from the National Museum to Mykonos. He managed, however, to take a three-month sabbatical to travel with his wife to Vienna and Berlin. Semni sadly recalls the Nazi atmosphere of the time. On their return to Greece, they were confronted with the conservative establishment who dominated the country's political and cultural life. Karouzos went back to Cyclades while she remained in Athens.

At the outbreak of the Greek-Italian war in 1940, protecting the exhibits of the National Museum became imperative. It was Semni who undertook this serious task, working hard with her husband, the philhellenist Austrian scholar Otto Walter, her colleagues Ioanna Constantinou (Figure 12.4) (later Ephor of Antiquities at Delphi (Dasios 1992)) and Athena Kalogeropoulou. As she vividly recalls:

The moon was often still shining on the sky when I was leaving home to go to the Museum. When all the showcases were emptied we all gathered in the basement, and there Otto Walter came to comfort us. Some nice wives of guards were themselves also wrapping objects, even the most valuable of them. It was with pride for our people that I was assured, in the end of the war when the boxes were opened and the antiquities received, that despite this fatally insufficient supervision not a single gold object, no precious gem was missing.

(Karouzou 1984a:32)

When the Germans finally occupied Athens in 1941, both she and her husband resigned from their membership of the German Archaeological Institute; it was a



*Figure 12.4* Ioanna Constantinou (photo reproduced from the *Album for the Centenary of the Athens Archaeological Society 1837–1937*, p. 59. Courtesy of the Athens Archaeological Society, photographic archive)

risky act of protest against the Third Reich that none of their Greek colleagues proved brave enough to follow.<sup>5</sup>

The German occupation (1941–4) was followed by the Civil War (1946–9). The country was to emerge after the war divided into two, a fact that left a long-standing bitterness and mutual hostility following the defeat of the Left Wing. Not only were communists prosecuted, but liberal citizens were often accused of being enemies of the state. Within a climate of ‘white terrorism’ Christos Karouzos was forced to resign from his position at the National Museum. Semni remained in her post, but she now had to work in a hostile environment and to cope with her new bosses, who disregarded her previous contribution. Karouzos was eventually reappointed to the directorship of the museum to undertake, along with his wife, the rearrangement of the buried objects. Reinstallation was made possible largely thanks to the careful inventories of the museum’s sculptures, bronzes and vases that Semni had earlier compiled (Karouzou 1927). Similar inventories, ‘invisible services’ (Karouzou 1984a:27) of hers in Epidauros and Eretria, had also proved valuable for safely burying the objects in those museums. Re-exhibition at the National Museum was

inaugurated in 1947. The work was internationally recognized: Christos received honorary doctorates from the universities of Basel (1949) and Aix-en-Provence (the latter awarded just after his death in 1967), and Semni was similarly honoured by the universities of Lyon (1956), Tübingen and Thessaloniki.

The complete reorganization of the National Museum, a long-term process (Karouzou 1984b), was interrupted by the obligatory retirement of Semni in 1964 which was imposed by a new law concerning the age limit of civil servants. Sixty-seven years old already, she was forced to leave the Archaeological Service. Karouzou had another year to serve until his retirement. However, he was disqualified by the new bureaucracy within the Service and was moved from the post of museum director. Pressure and stress proved fatal for his health: he died from a heart attack in March 1967.

A month later, on 21 April 1967, a military junta overthrew parliamentary democracy. Spyridon Marinatos, who had been the General Director of Antiquities during the Metaxas dictatorship, was reappointed by the junta, and was soon to fire all dissident archaeologists (Constantinopoulos 1989). Semni Karouzou, now barred from the National Museum study areas and with no access to her research material, received welcome support from her foreign colleagues. Karl Scheffold of the Swiss Archaeological Institute in Athens took the lead in raising funds for the archaeologists who had lost their jobs. Her friends Emil Kunze and Dieter Ohly, former director and deputy director of the German Institute in Athens respectively, and Hommann Wedeking, professor of Greek art at Munich University, invited Semni to Munich. She left the country secretly by boat from Patras to Brindisi to arrive in Munich after a short stay in the German Institute at Rome. On her return to Greece, she was faced with the old accusation of being a communist and was refused the right of free movement. It was then that her British colleagues denounced this prohibition on the front page of the *Times* under the title 'Passport refused', where they stressed her and her husband's scholarly and patriotic work. The military authorities were eventually forced to permit her departure. She spent some time with exiled Greek friends in Rome and Lyon before she visited the universities of Tübingen and Geneva as an invited scholar.

The re-establishment of democracy in 1974 was a new creative period for Semni Karouzou, who became chairperson of the Greek section of the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, a position that gave her the chance of frequent travel across Europe and fruitful scholarly interaction on an international level. Even in her later years (Figure 12.3), she was active and productive in her research. Her work includes some 20 monographs, more than 120 articles and numerous contributions in newspapers and literary magazines. Her concern for bringing archaeological heritage closer to the public is evident, among other things, in several guides to the National Museum (see bibliography in Karouzou 1984a).

The Greek press announced the death of Semni Karouzou as a 'loss', as a result of which 'the circle of great archaeologists becomes dangerously narrow' (*To Vima*, 11 December 1994). Far from any nostalgia or simplistic admiration for a 'heroic' era that no longer exists, such phrases are justified by the continuous scholarly effort, broad intellectual perspective, social contribution and democratic sensitivity of a



Table 12.6 Numbers of male and female professionals in the Greek Archaeological Service (1829–1960)

<i>Years</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
1829–1956	93	86	7
1956–60	22	7	15

Source: Petrakos (1982:100–1)

woman who lived through all the adventures of modern Greek history. ‘I survived two brutal dictatorships and a war (together with hunger)...If one adds to these my shameless exclusion from the places of research of unpublished ancient works during the years of the junta, then the picture is complete’ (Karouzou 1984a:50–1).

Diametrically opposed to the narrow-minded ‘scientific’ attitudes of many contemporary archaeologists, Semni Karouzou’s humanistic education and erudition retain their importance for the orientation and ethics of the discipline:

I cannot but consider it a good fortune, and be grateful to the benevolent fate that guided me to the study of ancient heritage...If some good instinct shows the way to the study of the ancient world, the reward is the strength that this study offers to people even at the hardest moments of life. Miserable are those colleagues who, not having anything to do at the end of their lives, become thirsty for honours and get lost in the pursuit of temporary and doubtful, superficial fame. There is one more thing that I learned from studying antiquity, that is, to value humanism.

(Karouzou 1984a:51)

## CURRENT SITUATION

The years immediately after the 1955 legislation change in the Archaeological Service saw a considerable increase in female participation in the profession (Table 12.6).

The first generation of women professionals who joined the Service after 1950 became actively involved in fieldwork, museum management and scholarly research. Already in the 1953–4 issue of *Archaiologiki Ephimeris*, a festschrift for the distinguished archaeologist Georgios Oikonomos, 10 women contributed articles ranging from Iron Age idoloplastic (Evangelia Protonotariou-Deilaki) to Attic pottery (Varvara Filippaki), Classical and Hellenistic sculpture (Ioanna Constantinou, Semni Pappaspyridi-Karouzou, Evanthia Tornaritou-Mathiopoulou), ancient numismatics (Eirini Christo-douloupoulou-Varoucha), Byzantine art and history (Maria Sotiriou, Maria Theochari), and textile studies (Anna Apostolaki). Angeliki Andreiomenou published Hellenistic mosaics from her own excavations, and Ioanna Konstantinou raised important museological issues from her experience as curator in the Chalkis Museum in Euboea. From 1955 onward women archaeologists, along with their male colleagues, were regularly publishing the results of their fieldwork, notes on restoration and museum management, and scholarly syntheses not only in Greek but

Table 12.7 Staffing of the Greek Archaeological Service (1994)

<i>Total</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
<i>Tenured archaeologists</i>		
359	87 (24.2 %)	272 (75.8 %)
<i>Senior archaeologists</i>		
249	67 (26.9 %)	182 (73.1 %)

Source: Ministry of Culture and Sciences

also in foreign journals, like the *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique*, the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the *American Journal of Archaeology*, the *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens*, and the *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, to name the most well-known. In 1955 Eirini Varoucha was promoted to director of the National Numismatic Museum (Kokkou 1977:265).

The number of women archaeologists in Greece has been significantly increasing, not only in the Archaeological Service but also in the universities and other research institutions. Modern legislation offers equal opportunities to men and women for pursuing an archaeological career, without any formal discrimination between the sexes in payment and promotion. In fact the Archaeological Service is nowadays staffed with a female majority—272 women out of 359 tenured archaeologists—(Table 12.7), and many women hold the posts of curators and ephors.

During the last two or three decades many important field projects have been directed by women academics or Service professionals (see *Archaiologikon Deltion* 1965 ff.; *Praktika tis en Athinais Archaiologikis Etaireias* 1965 ff.; *To Ergon tis en Athinais Archaiologikis Etaireias* 1965 ff.; *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique, Chronique des Fouilles*, 1965 ff; *Archaeological Reports* 1967 ff.; *To Archaiologiko Ergo sti Makedonia kai Thraki* 1987 ff). Equally important, substantial publications of sites and material excavated by women have already come to light (for example, Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992; Lebessi 1976, 1985; Vokotopoulou et al. 1985; Vokotopoulou 1986), not to mention numerous other articles and books contributed by female scholars.

Our account up to now has clearly shown that women have played an important role in the development of Greek archaeology. The question then arises whether, in view of this contribution, gender equality has been achieved in the discipline. There is no easy answer, and raw numbers, whether showing female majority or minority, cannot cover all aspects of an issue as complicated as gender relations in the profession (cf. Beard 1994). For instance, the mere fact that most Service high officials are women does not alone say much, since the overwhelming majority of archaeology graduates are women. We should rather note that within the Service itself the number of men in high-ranked positions is still relatively large (Table 12.7). It is striking indeed that the first woman in the position of the General Director of Antiquities was appointed only in 1989!<sup>6</sup>

In order better to appreciate the situation, it may be useful to point out various explicit or 'underground' ways in which we see androcentrism still operating in the

Table 12.8 Academic staff in Greek universities

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Academic staff in the Section of Archaeology and Art History, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki:		
Full professors	6	1
Associate professors	3	3
Assistant professors	9	6
Lecturers	–	1
Total	18	11
Academic staff in the Section of Archaeology, University of Ioannina:		
Full professors	4	2
Assistant professors	1	2
Lecturers	1	3
Total	6	7

Source: Odigos Spoudon (Studies Prospectus) (1993–4:12; 1994–5:9–11)

discipline. We are concerned with biases as experienced both by archaeologists, in university education, academic research and professional strategies, and by the public, via museum practices.

#### UNIVERSITY VERSUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERVICE: GENDER AND PRESTIGE IN GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY

In contrast to the men—women ratio in the Archaeological Service, university positions are less accessible to women than to men, at least as regards the upper levels of the academic hierarchy. Table 12.8 illustrates the situation in two out of the four archaeology departments in the country.

This differentiated participation should be judged in relation to a basic distinction between the two institutions in terms of working conditions and status. On the one hand, the Archaeological Service, because of its administrative functions, does not have as many opportunities to act as a pioneer in scholarly research (Kotsakis 1993). Much of the fieldwork carried out by the Service employees takes the form of rescue digs, conducted with limited time and funds. Bureaucratic complications often do not leave much leisure or energy to study the material excavated, and even less to follow theoretical advances like gender questioning. Academics can afford more time and facilities for research-orientated field projects and post-excavation analysis and for becoming familiar with current trends in the discipline. Equally important, academic jobs are considered more prestigious than work in the Service. The latter often appears as an obstacle to ‘development’, namely uncontrolled building activity and touristic exploitation, and these archaeologists are not always received positively by the public.

The unequal evaluation of archaeological work conducted in (male-dominated) academia and in (female-dominated) Archaeological Service reveals one level of gender bias in task differentiation, which may be related to a marked sex division in the professional choices of post-war Greeks. We wonder whether it is accidental that

women began to ‘populate’ the Archaeological Service when the profession became less prestigious than it used to be. As a result of the urbanization, ‘westernization’ and technological development that burst out in the country after the 1950s, tradition became synonymous with conservatism, and the study of the past an ‘unproductive’ enterprise. Thus men turned to ‘modern’ scientific jobs, leaving the ground free for women to study what soon became known as ‘female’ subjects, such as classics, archaeology and art history.<sup>7</sup> The fact that humanities graduates could be employed mainly in rather poorly paid positions, like high-school teacher or archaeologist, was another negative aspect that would drive most ambitious young men away. One suspects then that, precisely because these fields were from then on considered as ‘second-rank’, it became relatively easy for women to join them in great numbers. In other words, women’s success would not threaten the social status quo, particularly since men still dominate the most prestigious field left in the humanities, namely academia. This domination is not just numerical but has also to do with the way archaeology is taught: for instance, there are as yet no courses on gender offered in any Greek university.

In this context, the post-1950s favourable legislative changes did not automatically result in a balance between the sexes in the archaeological profession, but rather contributed to the ambiguous status of the modern Greek woman archaeologist. While we cannot deny the advantages of equal opportunities in payment and career advancement, the high proportion of men in academia perpetuate a gender imbalance in terms of prestige and scholarly opportunities. In fact, the building fever after the 1950s, along with thriving international looting activity, has turned much of the work in the Service into a series of unstimulating bureaucratic tasks that might be described as ‘housework’ (cf. Gero 1985). Certainly the ‘household’, which is kept mainly by women, has to run smoothly if more ‘original’ research is to be conducted. However, the endeavours of Service archaeologists do not always receive enough public acknowledgement. It must also be noted that it is often, or used to be until very recently, more difficult for a woman professional to cope with developers and land-owners and to co-ordinate the workmen on the dig, because these men would not always be ready to accept the authority of a female.

#### ‘INVISIBLE’ WOMEN, GENDERLESS EPISTEMOLOGIES: WHY IS IT SO?

In the context of the ethnocentrism and androcentrism of Greek archaeology outlined in the beginning of this essay, men have been unquestionably presented as the protagonists of the ‘heroic’ national past, in war and in peace. Examples abound in museum displays, from remote prehistory, to the Minoan and Mycenaean cultures of Bronze Age, Classical and Roman antiquity (Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou 1994), Byzantine and later periods. To begin with, representation of the Palaeolithic and Neolithic cultures has essentially been an explicit or implicit celebration of the man-the-toolmaker stereotype (cf. Moser 1993). When it comes to better-documented periods, from the Late Bronze Age onward, the assumptions about women’s non-participation in history are even more striking. Although female images feature

prominently in most exhibitions—on frescoes, glyptic art, pottery scenes and so forth—they make their appearance in an artificial spatial and temporal framework where the emphasis is on the aesthetic facets of the culture represented.

Neglect of women in public displays is one side only of the more general problem that archaeological museums in Greece have functioned primarily as art-historic collections of impressive discoveries (Nikolaidou and Touloumis 1993; Papadopoulos 1986). Therefore little space has been left, and this only recently, to investigate the cultural context of these artefacts and illuminate social relations of the people who produced and used them, including gender interaction. Thus the opportunity is missed to 'give faces' (cf. Tringham 1991) to ancient houses, burials and public monuments, which would render the exhibits familiar and interesting to the visitor. Instead history has been reconstructed as 'faceless' (Kokkinidou 1993:54), and, specifically, it has been gendered androcentric (cf. Conkey with Williams 1991:103).

Another aspect of the (assumed) 'invisibility' of women covers female archaeologists themselves, whose presence and contribution can hardly be traced in a museum gallery. To give a striking example, Semni Karouzou is not mentioned in a lavish volume on Greek museums (Andronikos 1974) while special reference is made to outstanding men, namely Christos Tsountas and Panayiotis Kavvadias, who played a major role in the history of the National Museum. Although we cannot claim that in every case female achievements are deliberately obscured, the fact remains that the low-key activity of women is taken for granted by archaeologists as well as by laypeople who visit the museum. In this way the public forms a sexist impression of archaeological endeavour modelled on the debatable image of 'cowboy archaeologist' (Woodall and Perricone 1981), a model so firmly established that neither specialists nor their audience seem to be troubled by it.

These phenomena are, of course, no exception to the international experience that archaeology is still a difficult place for women, whether it is in relationship to the ancient past or the modern world. However, what is most striking in Greek archaeology is not so much discrimination against women, as has been described for Britain, Australia and America (Claassen 1994; du Cros and Smith 1993; Gilchrist 1991:496), but rather the total silence about gender in research, professional ethics or educational strategies. Despite the fact that certain early women professionals were openly sympathetic to 'militant' suffrage, as we mentioned earlier, archaeology and feminism have been leading parallel but unconnected lives. Any official link of archaeologists with the feminist movement, which has been active in the Greek social and political arena for more than a century, is unknown. Nor has a consciously feminist discourse ever been formulated by women archaeologists as a group, which is not strange given that gender and women's studies are not even taught in the universities. The absence in Greek of a standardized term equivalent to the word 'gender' may also be indicative of this epistemological 'hiatus'.

It should therefore come as no surprise that gender issues do not figure among the interests of Greek scholars, women or men. As has been the case with Mediterranean archaeology in general, and classics in particular, the concept of gender is either totally unfamiliar or not deemed a serious issue to pursue (see Brown 1993). There

has, for example, in Greece been very little archaeological discussion on the hotly debated question of prehistoric Aegean 'matriarchy' (but see Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou 1993:98–100; Zois 1994:145–85; cf. Pilali-Papasteriou 1992:167–182, *passim*), where archaeology more than any other discipline would and should have a serious point to make. Instead the topic has been left to classical philologists and mythologists still talking about Bachofen's 'mother right' (Lekatsas 1977; Lentakis 1986), or to the feminist critique of social and cultural anthropologists (Georgoudi 1987, 1989; Skouteri-Didaskalou 1991:37–48), or even to representatives of 'popularized' feminism with its emphasis on the mother-goddess of prehistory (Leontidou 1990; Moschovi 1992). Greek archaeology has obviously hardly been touched by Gimbutas's theories on the 'civilization of the Goddess' (for example Gimbutas 1991) which, however debatable, did stir archaeological, feminist and New Age circles in the United States and beyond (see Meskell 1995).

The lack of gender awareness is but one aspect of the largely atheoretical character of archaeology in Greece. The nationalistic spirit of the discipline as much as the tight connection of archaeology with the state and its political strategies, has not allowed for broader epistemological possibilities; neither has it promoted independent developments in archaeological thought (Kotsakis 1991). As a result Greek archaeology has long remained 'self-sufficient', thoroughly occupied with indigenous ideological needs, and thus indifferent to the theoretical orientations of archaeology in other Western countries. Despite considerable advances after 1980, mainly under the influence of Marxism and processual archaeology (Kotsakis 1991; cf. Zois 1990), Greek archaeology has not yet 'lost its innocence' in peopling and giving gender to the past. This discrepancy has largely to do with the fact that, according to the dominant Marxist and New Archaeology paradigms, the prime concern has been to illuminate the techno-economic and material 'infrastructure' of ancient cultures. Indeed social relations and their symbolic manifestations are still assumed by many to be inaccessible to archaeological inquiry, and by extension, uninteresting for the public.

## CONCLUSIONS

Earlier in this chapter we noted that the mere percentages of male and female participation in archaeology cannot account for all aspects of gender tensions in the discipline, as they have to be read against specific social contexts. What numbers do not tell us in the case of Greece is that, despite their numerical predominance, women professionals are faced with discrimination on various levels. Not only has their scholarly education been filtered through male prejudices in academia (cf. Chamilakis 1993); in their work they are also frequently subject to and themselves reproduce overt or covert sexist assumptions of 'task differentiation' and male models of authority that are so deeply rooted as to appear self-evident. The problem is especially acute with regard to the Archaeological Service which is the main agent for the practice of archaeology and, because of its bureaucratic and administrative functions, also the 'contact zone' between the public and the 'specialists'. In these circumstances it seems inevitable that official archaeology,

through its female or male representatives, should promote to its audience an idea of the past that is entirely consistent with our—the archaeologists' and the public's—biased present.

There is no doubt that Greek archaeologists in the course of the last two centuries have played a principal role in the excavation and preservation of the country's monuments, and have significantly contributed to the development of Classical and Aegean studies on an international level. However, contemporary Greek archaeology as an indigenous enterprise has not kept pace with the epistemological advances in the discipline since the 1960s, including gender theory. As a result, the admittedly substantial scholarly work produced by local specialists lacks a clearly defined theoretical profile or educational orientation, and therefore cannot have the social impact it should. Certainly the incorporation of rigorous, theoretically informed and gender-inclusive epistemologies emerges as an urgent need if Greek archaeology is to maintain a prominent place in the international community. The corresponding transformation of work ethics and educational policies is an equally pressing necessity on the national level.

It has rightly been emphasized (Conkey and Gero 1991) that there are no universal gender principles, but that gender is culture-specific and has to be understood with reference to particular socio-historical contexts. In this chapter we have tried to show that a gender critique of Greek archaeology cannot be applied in the same way as it has been developed in, for example, Britain and the USA, where feminism is being established in the discipline, often with a political profile. Our account of women archaeologists in our country provides, we hope, a case study which helps to understand the local idiosyncrasies of archaeological development. It is from this viewpoint that we should consider the absence of gender, the potential for gender studies becoming a worthwhile issue in Greek archaeology and cultural resource management, and the prospects for change.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like warmly to thank Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Marie Louise Stig Sørensen for inviting us to participate in this volume, for their constructive editorial comments and for their exceptional patience. Access to data from the records of the Ministry of Culture and Science has been possible by courtesy of the late Sotiris Kissas. We are indebted to the Secretary General of the Athens Archaeological Society, Dr Vasileios Petrarkos, for permission to reproduce rare photographs from the Society's photographic archive. The society's staff, archaeologists Mrs Ioanna Ninou and Iphigeneia Leventi, kindly provided every assistance, and Dr Vana Machaira of the Athens Academy shared our enthusiasm for the whole project. Any omissions or errors remain ours.

## NOTES

- 1 The term 'Classical' refers to the archaeology of the Greek 1st millennium BC, and includes the Geometric, Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods. The term 'Aegean' is used for the Neolithic (7th to 4th millennium) and the Bronze Age (3rd and 2nd millennia BC) in the geographic area occupied by modern Greece.
- 2 As Mary Beard points out in her review of Claassen 1994, in writing about gender and professional practices in archaeology there is always the risk of appearing 'keener on female failure than on female success' (Beard 1994:7).
- 3 To give a recent example, in 1994 there were only 359 tenured archaeologists in the Archaeology Service, according to the employee lists of the Ministry of Culture. On the other hand, the numbers of first-year students at the departments of history and archaeology in 1994 and 1995 were as follows:

	1994	1995
University of Athens	200	210
University of Thessaloniki	170	180
University of Ioannina	200	200
University of Crete	70	80

*Source:* Official data of the Ministry of Education, published in the newspapers on 16 March 1995

- 4 When Anna Apostolaki received her degree, Kalliroe Parren devoted to her a special article, published in the March 1909 issue of the *Ladies' Gazette* under the title 'A scholar graduates with distinction' (Ziougou-Karastergiou 1993b:360–1 n. 40).
- 5 'Immediately after the occupation of the Akropolis', writes Emil Kunze in his obituary for Christos Karouzos, 'he [Karouzos] and his wife asked with dignity for their names to be erased from the members list of the German Institute. As everybody who has lived even part of the Occupation years in Greece knows, considerable courage was needed for such an open act of protest which no other Greek colleague followed. Only thanks to the humanitarian feelings of the [German] diplomatic representative in Athens at the time was it eventually possible to cast away the dangers caused by a resignation which was an explicit protest against the brutal and violent methods of the Third Reich' (Kunze in Karouzos 1981: xxiii).
- 6 Men similarly dominate the administration of the foreign archaeological schools in Athens (Brown 1993:243–4; Nixon 1994:14–18).
- 7 Female students are the large majority (75–80 per cent) in humanities, while they make a minority (15–20 per cent) in sciences. In the job market women with academic degrees tend to be employed in less well-paid positions than men (see Deligianni-Kouimtzi 1993:312–15).



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## FROM PICTURES TO STORIES

Traces of female PhD graduates from the Department of  
Prehistoric Archaeology, University of Tübingen,  
Germany

*Sibylle Kästner, Viola Maier and Almut Schülke*

## INTRODUCTION

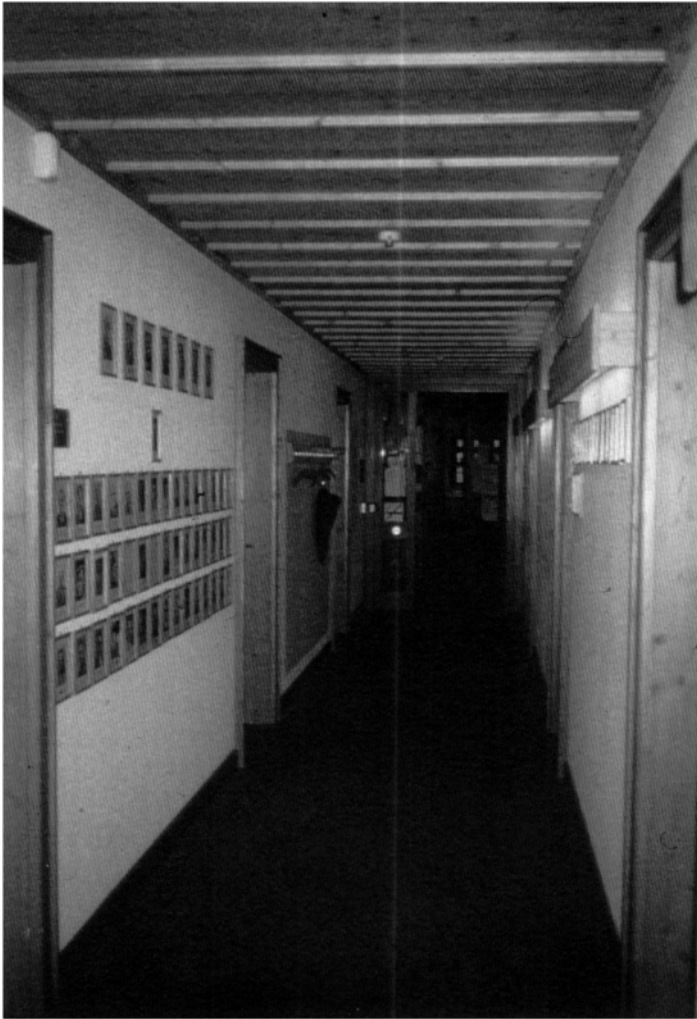
'From Pictures to Stories' is a historiography of female PhD graduates whose 'archaeological lives' crossed at the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology, University of Tübingen, during the first 50 years of its existence. Except for single articles (for example Mertens 1992 and Schwarz 1994 on the subject of Egyptology) the results presented here are the first steps towards an historiography of women in German archaeology. Inspired by the 'ancestors' row' made out of photographs on a wall that everyone has to pass on the way to the library at the department (Figure 13.1), we began to ask ourselves who the few women among the great number of men were. Prior to this, we had only come across the name of one of these women. All the others produced large question marks. In general, the history of the department is not a matter of great importance in seminars and lectures. When historical overviews are given, biographies of 'important' Tübingen archaeologists are described. The product is a history that does not contain any women at all. While following the traces of the seven women who received their PhDs between 1921 and 1971, we not only got to know some of them, but also learnt of the complex, as yet unrevised history of the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology in Tübingen.

After presenting a short summary of the history of the department itself, this article deals with the biographies of three of these female archaeologists. Each biography also contains an excursus on topics, which, in our view, are characteristic of the woman's life or provide necessary background information. Additionally, the methods utilized and the problems resulting from our research are discussed. The chapter ends with a critical reflection about the ongoing process of 'excavating women' with the help of oral history.

## A SHORT HISTORY OF THE DEPARTMENT

The starting-point of our investigation is the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology (Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte) at the University of Tübingen, Germany. Tübingen is an old university town; the university was founded in 1477. It was not until approximately 400 years later, in 1904, that the first three female students were





*Figure 13.1* ‘Ancestors’ row in the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology, University of Tübingen

officially registered (Rupp 1977: 370–2).<sup>1</sup> The first female professor was appointed in 1949.<sup>2</sup>

The Urgeschichtliches Institut—the first Department of Prehistoric Archaeology—was founded at the beginning of the winter term 1921/2 by the lecturer Richard Rudolf Schmidt.<sup>3</sup> It was, as it still is today, situated in the Tübingen Castle. The number of students at Tübingen University at that time was relatively low. During this winter term there were a total of 2756 students, including 198 women; of these, 209 men and 16 women were studying the natural sciences and mathematics.<sup>4</sup>

In the summer of 1926, Hans Reinerth, PhD, became the second lecturer at the department. Reinerth, whose main research topic was the archaeology of Nordic Europe and the Germans, founded the *Fachgruppe für Vorgeschichte* (Group of experts for prehistoric archaeology)<sup>5</sup> in 1932. This group was a part of Alfred Rosenberg's *Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur* (League for German culture) (Keefer 1992b:45), an organization founded by the Nazis to integrate their fascist interests into the German heritage. In 1934, Reinerth left Tübingen and went to Berlin to take over a post in the *Amt Rosenberg*, an important institution established by the Nazi government, which had been ruling since 1933 (Adam 1977a:142).<sup>6</sup> In 1929, Schmidt was relieved of his post as head of the department and he lost his job in 1930, although he continued to lecture on archaeology (Heiligmann 1992:31; Kimmig 1965: x).

Gustav Riek, PhD, was appointed in 1935 (Kimmig 1965: x). Under the Nazi government, Riek was the only officially recognized lecturer in the department. He was a member and also the faculty confidant of the *NSD-Dozentenbund und Dozentschaft*, a national socialist organization of lecturers whose aim was the 'Durchdringung des gesamten Lebens der Hochschule mit nationalsozialistischem Geist' ('infiltration of the national socialist spirit through the whole organism of the university') (*Vorlesungs-verzeichnis Wintersemester 1938/9:42*).<sup>7</sup> In 1940, Riek began his military service and had to be prepared to go to war, if called. From this time on it was uncertain whether lectures would be held each term. From 1941 onwards, the honorary professor Peter Goeßler, the retired director of the prehistoric section of the *Landesmuseum in Stuttgart*, filled the gaps created by the war. He held lectures on the prehistory of southwestern Germany, often for a wider public.

Tübingen, which was full of military hospitals, was peacefully captured by the French army on 19 April 1945 (Schmid 1985:14–16). After the war a change took place in the personnel structure of the department for political reasons (*ibid.*: 89, 113).<sup>8</sup> From the summer term of 1946 it is listed as the *Vorgeschichtliches Institut* and was headed until 1951 by Professor Kurt Bittel (*ibid.*: 89). In 1951, Dr Wolfgang Kimmig began lecturing in Tübingen. He became head of the department, which was by then called the *Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, in the winter term 1955/6. His main research interests lay in the Bronze and Iron Ages of Europe. The Palaeolithic period was once again taught by G.Riek, who had returned to lecturing when he received a chair in Palaeolithic archaeology in 1955.<sup>9</sup>

In the summer term of 1970, 206 male and 119 female students were enrolled in this faculty, while the total number of students in Tübingen was 12,156, three times more than in 1921.<sup>10</sup>

This short summary of the department's history shows that there were no female lecturers in prehistoric archaeology from 1921 to 1971. The first woman to hold seminars in the *Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* was (Honorary Professor) Dr Barbara Scholkmann (from the winter term 1980/1 onwards). She is also the first female professor since the foundation of the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology in 1921 (appointment in 1994). Dr Linda R.Owen, who obtained her PhD at the department in 1985, was the first woman to hold seminars in the *Institut für Urgeschichte* from the summer term 1982 onwards.

How many female students were there? It is extremely work-intensive to reconstruct the proportion of male to female students throughout the history of the department. The figures can only be traced in the university archives by examining the lists of study fees collected from the students for each lecturer each term—a task which cannot be undertaken now, but will hopefully be possible at a later date. Thus, at present, we cannot say when the first woman began studying prehistoric archaeology in Tübingen or who she was. The impression which we have received from our interviews is that the number of female archaeology students could not have been very large. Of the approximately six to ten students majoring in the subject at a given time, one or two were probably females. It is also uncertain how many women broke off their studies in comparison to their male colleagues. The answers given to this question in the interviews suggested that there were not many more women majoring in prehistoric archaeology than those who actually received their PhD. The number of PhD graduates between 1921 and 1971 can easily be obtained from the photos in the ‘row of ancestors’. During this time 36 men received their PhDs (or wrote their dissertation)<sup>11</sup> in contrast to only seven women (Figure 13.1). Who were these women? What have they done? What are they doing now? These questions lead us step by step from the pictures to the stories.

## METHODOLOGY

Before presenting the life histories of the women, we would first like to describe the methods we used and the difficulties that arose during our investigation. An important factor affecting our research was that the work of women in prehistoric archaeology has received little attention up to now.<sup>12</sup> While ‘excavating’ the so-far-unknown female archaeologists, we were quite often confronted with their invisibility, for example while looking for their names in the department’s library indices<sup>13</sup> or in publications that list the dissertations of women.<sup>14</sup> Our most important sources were the interviews and the correspondence we had with former female archaeology students, their publications and previously published interviews. Other useful sources were the Vorlesungsverzeichnisse (official lists of lectures) from the archive of the University of Tübingen, literature on the yet unrevised history of the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology and on the situation of female students at the university, obituary notices and several festschriften.

We began our research by gathering information on the seven female PhD graduates. The qualitative method of our analysis resulted from the small number of former female students: we were unable to find out anything about Beatrice Goering, the first woman who wrote a dissertation at the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology in 1928, except for an indication in the literature that she took part in an excavation in the 1920s. Adelheid Beck, who obtained her PhD in 1970, died in 1979 (Kimmig 1981: xi; Zürn 1979:96). A questionnaire was sent to the remaining five women in which we asked them about their studies and archaeological careers. Three of the women answered and we had the opportunity to interview each of them.<sup>15</sup> We made a list of all the topics which interested us and asked questions on the following: course of studies, financial situation, social status of parents, teachers, fellow



*Figure 13.2* Senta Rafalski after finishing her dissertation

students (any females?), theme of dissertation, position of women at university, family situation, position of female archaeologists in former times and today, career, favourite subject of research. At the beginning of each interview, we gave a quick description of the purpose of our research. An overt investigation was important to us at all times. We also gave the people we interviewed the opportunity to read and criticize the passages in this chapter which dealt with them.

### **Problems with the interviews**

The conversations with Senta Rafalski-Giering (Figures 13.2 and 13.3), Marija Gimbutas (Figures 13.4 and 13.5) and Eva-Maria Bossert (Figure 13.6), the three women we interviewed, gave us the chance to collect both factual information and vivid impressions. This direct encounter enriches but also complicates the interpretation and writing of history. Experiences in the past are now seen from a distance. We observed, for example, that negative events in the past are judged as insignificant today (Glaser 1991:260). Opinions might have changed through the years or remained constant. Dealing with oral history gives the person being interviewed the chance to develop a self-image that often differs significantly from



*Figure 13.3* Senta Rafalski-Giering in the 1980s

the image others have of them (Bimmer 1983).<sup>16</sup> In addition, the age, social status and personal situation of the interviewers and interviewees determine a relationship of power and vulnerability (Cotterill 1992:599–606). While analysing the descriptions of events and life histories, social history can be connected with the history of the individual (Clephas-Möcker and Krallmann 1992:106; Dorochina and Posadskaja 1994:17, 22).

Hoping to obtain more information and to round off the picture, we also questioned six male archaeologists who had studied in Tübingen and/or had been professors or lecturers at the department. We learned that it is quite difficult to evaluate the opinions male archaeologists have about their female colleagues or students: statements made by the various people we questioned (be it women or men) frequently disagreed. Often we were confronted with delicate information about a person that we had not obtained from the person herself/himself. We were quite surprised that the majority of the men were very well informed about the private lives of the female archaeologists, whereas nothing about the private lives of the male archaeologists was mentioned (by either the women or the men). Another problem lies in attitudes towards staffing: we observed a strikingly large gap between the ideal picture the male archaeologists presented in their interviews and everyday



*Figure 13.4* Marija Gimbutas after getting her PhD

reality, where males are definitely preferred over females (for example when vacant posts are filled).

Another difficulty we faced was that the lecturers and professors knew us to a lesser or greater extent—in contrast to the women, with whom we were not acquainted—and that the interview situation therefore had to be placed within the context of our present (power-)relations with those interviewed. As students and as females our position in the hierarchical system at the university is beneath that of the male professors. Furthermore, because we have been studying for about five years in the department, they were able to assess our attitudes and views about some of the topics we raised, and we therefore had to take into account that we might receive answers they thought we wanted to hear (see also Hermann 1983:242–3).

We therefore decided not to integrate the data from these interviews into this article—except information about women on excavations—but to focus on the women's stories as they themselves told them.



Figure 13.5 Marija Gimbutas in 1993

#### TOWARDS A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF FORMER FEMALE PhD GRADUATES: THE STORIES BEHIND THE PICTURES

Before presenting more detailed information, the following list provides an overview of the seven female PhD graduates from 1921 to 1971 (the women are listed under their maiden names, today's family names are given in brackets).

*Beatrice Goering* (?), born 12 January 1901 in Berlin. Date of exam: 16 February 1928. Supervisor: R.R.Schmidt. Dissertation title: 'Die jungneolithische Mischkultur in den Sudetenländern und Ostalpen besonders auf Grund der keramischen Funde' (not published, no degree). In Beatrice Goering's dissertation we found the abbreviation 'cand. rer. nat.' which means that she was working towards a Doctor of Science.

*Gerta Schneider* (*Blaschka*), born 18 August 1908 in Mannheim. Date of exam: 1 March 1933. Supervisor: H.Reinerth. Dissertation title: 'Der vorgeschichtliche Wagen in Deutschland'. Dissertation published and degree gained in 1965; Doctor of Science (Schneider 1965).

*Senta Giering* (*Rafalski-Giering*), born 13 April 1911 in Berlin, died 7 February 1996 in Tübingen. Date of exam: 12 December 1935. Supervisor: H.Reinerth. Dissertation title: 'Nordische Feuersteindolche'. Dissertation not published, degree



Figure 13.6 Eva-Maria Bossert after obtaining her PhD

gained in 1952 after she retyped and duplicated the dissertation; Doctor of Science (Giering 1952).

*Maria Alseikaite-Gimbutiene (Gimbutas)*, born 23 January 1921 in Vilnius/Lithuania, died 2 February 1994 in Los Angeles, USA. Date of exam: 29 March 1946. Supervisor: P.Goeßler. Dissertation title: 'Die Bestattung in Litauen in der vorgeschichtlichen Zeit'. Dissertation published under this title in 1946; Doctor of Philosophy (Alseikaite-Gimbutiene 1946).

*Eva-Maria Bossert (Fischer-Bossert)*, born 2 January 1925 in Berlin. Date of exam: 9 June 1952. Supervisor: W.Kimmig. Dissertation title: 'Die Grabfunde der Kykladenkultur'. Dissertation not published; Doctor of Philosophy (Bossert 1952).

*Hildegard Woche (Nestler-Woche)*, born 26 April 1929 in Langenargen. Date of exam: 21 January 1966. Supervisor: W.Kimmig. Dissertation title: 'Das Gräberfeld von Tannheim und seine Stellung in der Hallstattkultur Südwestdeutschlands'. Dissertation not published; Doctor of Philosophy?

*Adelheid Beck*, born 29 April 1940 in Stuttgart, died 27 February 1979 in Öschelbronn. Date of exam: 13 February 1970. Supervisor: W.Kimmig. Dissertation title: 'Studien zur späten Bronzezeit des nordwestlichen Voralpengebietes. Die Schmuck- und Messerformen', published; Doctor of Philosophy (Beck 1980).



In the following chapters we will give short biographies of the three women PhDs whom we interviewed, including their own appraisals of their life histories and what they think about opportunities for women in archaeology in the past and today.

### **Senta Rafalski-Giering (1911–1996) <sup>17</sup>**

Senta Rafalski (Figures 13.2. and 13.3) began her studies in Tübingen in 1931 when she officially enrolled to become a teacher, thus more or less accepting the wishes of her deceased parents. Having been independent since the age of 19 when her mother suddenly died—her father, a school inspector, having died when she was 5 years old—her initial plans to become a journalist and obtain a doctoral degree were so strong that she changed her subjects after the first term. She changed from literature, arts and geography to geology, geography and prehistoric archaeology. However, instead of journalism she chose prehistoric archaeology as her major subject, a decision she has never regretted. One of her reasons for studying prehistoric archaeology was that this discipline was a young science in the 1930s and each dissertation therefore had a considerable impact on the scientific discussion.

Her status as an orphan exempted her from paying tuition and professor fees each term (almost all lectures and seminars were chargeable), but she had to pass three exams, the so-called *Fleißprüfungen*, each term (Glaser 1991:169, 181).<sup>18</sup> Studying during the first years of the Nazi regime, she was also entitled to free meals, as the professors were expected to support impoverished students (*ibid.*: 193). Under this system, she forged a link with a professor and his family which later helped her get a job at an excavation in Africa and which endured until her death in February 1996.

After studying for one and a half years in Innsbruck (Austria) and Kiel (Germany), Senta Rafalski returned to Tübingen in 1933 and began her dissertation shortly afterwards. The political situation in Germany had changed rapidly in the meantime and can only be understood in the context of the Nazi regime, which had officially begun with Hitler's inauguration on 30 January 1933. The role of prehistoric archaeology during that time is of special interest (Bertram 1991; Hassmann forthcoming; Bollmus 1970: 153–235).<sup>19</sup>

### **Being a (female) student during the Nazi regime<sup>20</sup>**

With the proclamation of the Reichsinnenministerium (Reich Ministry of the Interior) from 28 December 1933, only 10 per cent of the female high-school graduates and 1.5 per cent of the non-Aryans were allowed to enter universities (Glaser 1991:55; Adam 1977a:219).<sup>21</sup> In Württemberg, 611 male but only 61 female high-school graduates could enter university; in Germany as a whole it was 1,500 female high-school graduates (Adam 1977a: 219; Clephas-Möcker and Krallmann 1992:179). Together with conservative and national socialist propaganda about the 'wirkliche Bestimmung der Frau' ('the real destiny of the woman': to be a mother), this sex-specific restriction and the drastic reduction of grants led to a catastrophic situation in the academic world and had to be suspended in February 1935 (Weyrather 1981:144–5; Glaser 1991:56).<sup>22</sup> In addition, beginning in 1934, all

university entrants had to spend six months in the Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich labour service) before they could actually begin their studies.<sup>23</sup> Students who wanted to take a state exam also had to join national socialist organizations which functioned as instruments of ideological control. The obligatory membership of such organizations was a prerequisite for state examinations (Adam 1977a: 220; Clephas-Möcker and Krallmann 1992:178–86).<sup>24</sup> It should be mentioned that in 1938 a change in Nazi policy led to campaigns to attract female students into disciplines such as technology and law. Before this change, women were told to study disciplines that were more woman-like (especially teaching and the medical professions, Glaser 1991:56).

In 1933, one third of the students in Tübingen were female. Between 1933 and 1937, the numbers of both female and male students decreased. This changed significantly with the beginning of the war in 1939 when many male students entered the army. In 1944, there were nine times more female students than in 1939 and they made up 54 per cent of all the students, a proportion that has never been reached since (ibid.: 336–7; Adam 1977a: 221–2).<sup>25</sup>

In autumn 1944, business at German universities nearly stopped and there was a total enrolment prohibition, as Hitler demanded the totalen Kriegseinsatz (total mobilization for war) (Clephas-Möcker and Krallmann 1992:184; Adam 1977a:222). In the first years after the Second World War, the number of female students in Germany did not reach more than 20 per cent on average, in Tübingen only 16 per cent (Clephas-Möcker and Krallmann 1992:185).

For Rafalski, who had nearly completed her studies in 1934 and therefore could not be affected by the restrictions that affected subsequent students, another sort of discrimination is relevant. Professor Hans Reinerth, Rafalski's supervisor, who had been lecturing in Tübingen since 1926, entered the NSDAP in 1931. From 1926 onwards the titles of Reinerth's lectures and seminars noticeably reflect the growing Nationalist influence that formed the discipline for more than 20 years.<sup>26</sup>

Rafalski rejected the first dissertation theme, the Bronze Age in Czecho slovakia, that was given to her by Reinerth. Someone had hinted to her that such a topic was too dangerous in those times—she might face accusations of espionage. In order to gather research material for her chosen dissertation theme, 'Flint daggers and spearheads in northern Neolithic cultures' (Giering 1952), Rafalski rode across North Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Norway by bike and by train, going from museum to museum. By the time she returned to Tübingen in autumn 1934, Reinerth had been appointed professor at the University of Berlin and also held a post at the so-called Amt Rosenberg, an important base of the Nazi regime at that time (Bollmus 1970). When she visited Reinerth to discuss the completion of her dissertation, he wanted her to follow him to Berlin, as all but two of the other students from the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology in Tübingen had already done. Rafalski returned to Tübingen, resisting Reinerth's threats, although he had reminded her that he held a high political position in the Nazi regime and could determine appointments to all jobs in archaeology in Germany.

Instead of being frightened by his intimidation, Rafalski seized another opportunity that was waiting for her. Professor Carl Uhlig of the Department of Geography, whom she knew from the common dinner table, helped her to make a childhood

dream come true: a trip to east Africa. In January 1936, Rafalski went to Africa where she worked first as a housemaid, a teacher and finally, after two years, as a digger on an excavation in North Tanzania led by Ludwig Kohl-Larsen and his wife Margit Kohl-Larsen. While in Africa, she married an engineer and together with him and their two children she went to Italy in 1952, after having spent some years in an internment camp in Africa and returning to Germany as refugees. For a total of 34 years Rafalski-Giering undertook no archaeological research, having decided to fulfil a role as housewife and mother, which also included typing work for her husband. After her husband's death in 1972, she returned to Tübingen, aged 61 years, with the intention of evaluating the finds from the African excavations in which she had participated in the 1930s. In the following years she carried out the analyses and published the results of these investigations with the support of a grant. From 1974 onwards, Senta Rafalski-Giering not only co-ordinated and edited the publication of the African excavations on her own, but also developed a comparative method that would allow her to evaluate the finds from the Kohl-Larsen expedition. Despite the different collection techniques that were used during the expedition, she succeeded in reconstructing an outline of the total sequence of events.<sup>27</sup> Although she retired in 1980, she continued to evaluate the African finds until 1987 and wrote several articles about the African project, some of which have unfortunately not yet been published. Her last work was carried out between 1988 and 1991, when she proof-read Linda Owen's *Prähistorisches Wörterbuch* (Owen 1991). In February 1996 Senta Rafalski-Giering died in Tübingen.

When asked about the times in which she studied, Rafalski-Giering stated that although female students of prehistoric archaeology did doctorates, they were not equal competitors with their male colleagues because they adapted themselves to them. This situation, in her view, had changed in the 1970s, when she came back into the academic world. In her opinion, women should decide whether they want to have a family or a job. Like other female students she also spent her free time together with friends and was invited to many dancing parties as there was often a shortage of women. She never had any female role models in archaeology and cannot remember having missed them at all. Rafalski-Giering has the impression that the difference between the sexes has increased: female students nowadays are more self-confident and know more clearly what they want to do, and are thus more likely to realize their own goals. Today women can choose dissertation themes which they themselves prefer (such as those that consider women's issues), a fact that enriches archaeology and can lead to a balanced view of the past.

### **Marija Gimbutas (1921–1994)<sup>28</sup>**

Marija Gimbutas (Figures 13.4 and 13.5) grew up in a family of doctors in Vilnius and Kaunas, Lithuania. As a school girl at the age of about 15 years, she took part in ethnographic excursions and was very interested in the study of languages, folklore and Lithuanian burial rites. In 1938, she began studying prehistory, Baltic studies and folklore in Kaunas. After two years, she transferred to Vilnius, where she wrote her dissertation on 'Burial in Lithuania in prehistoric time' from 1942 to 1944. In August

1939, Lithuania was occupied by the army of the Soviet Union and in 1941 by the German army. During this time, Marija Gimbutas was also engaged in the resistance movement against the Soviets. She married and soon afterwards her first daughter was born. When the Red Army reconquered Lithuania in 1944, she and her family had to flee from the Soviets in order to avoid deportation to Siberia. Their first stations were Vienna and Innsbruck in Austria. In 1945, they came to southern Germany, where they no longer had to suffer from hunger. Marija Gimbutas went to Tübingen as it was one of the first universities to reopen after the Second World War. Here she continued her studies in prehistory and comparative religions and also translated her dissertation into German (Alseikaite-Gimbutiene 1946). In 1946, she obtained her PhD degree under Professor Peter Goeßler and some time after her second daughter was born.

Marija Gimbutas spent some time in Heidelberg and Munich, from where she was finally able to emigrate to the United States in 1949. From 1950 to 1955 she was engaged as a specialist in European prehistory at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Up to 1953, she was supported by a grant to write a book about the prehistory of eastern Europe (Gimbutas 1956). In those years her third daughter was born. Before obtaining the professorship of European archaeology at the University of California, Los Angeles, in 1963, she was a research fellow in the Peabody Museum at Harvard University. In the 1960s and 1970s she had the opportunity to manage several excavations in the Balkans, of which Sitagroi and Anza in Macedonia and Achilleion in Thessaly are the most well-known. These excavations involved not only archaeologists, but also archaeobotanists, archaeozoologists, geologists and other scientists. Gimbutas published the results a few years after the excavations were finished (for example, Gimbutas 1976; Gimbutas et al. 1989). Altogether she published a total of several hundred articles and some 20 books (Skomal and Polomé 1987:384–95; Gimbutas 1991:506). After her retirement she lived in California until her death in February 1994 (obituary notices: Silbajoris 1994 and Renfrew 1994).

When asked about the position of women in the Department of Prehistory in Tübingen, Marija Gimbutas stated that she did not feel any discrimination and that women were treated seriously. As few students were interested in her special field of research, she had little academic interaction with other female students.<sup>29</sup> She could not remember discerning any differences between the dissertation themes of female and male archaeologists at that time. She mentioned that there are now considerably more women studying archaeology.

### **The research work of Marija Gimbutas**

Marija Gimbutas' earlier research concentrated on the finds from Lithuania, Lithuanian folklore, the Balts and the problems of their origin (for example, Gimbutas 1958; Gimbutas 1963). Two other main themes were central interests for more than 30 years: the Indo-European problem and the finds of the Neolithic cultures of southeast Europe before the so-called 'Indo-Europeanization'. She investigated these problems with archaeological methods and the help of linguistics, folklore, mythology, iconography and symbolism.

In this manner she defined the term 'Old Europe'. In her reconstruction of the social and religious system of the Neolithic and Copper Age cultures of southeast Europe between 6500 and 3500 BC, she created a picture of a peaceful, sedentary society, with a matrilineal and gylanic<sup>30</sup> social structure that lived in unfortified town-like settlements with frescoed temples. In an attempt to decode the symbols painted on thousands of figurines and pieces of pottery, she interpreted them in terms of a goddess symbolism, where the goddess had several main functions: the giving of life, the bringing of death and the regeneration of all life on earth. The results of her approximately 30 years of research into this subject are summarized in two books (Gimbutas 1989; Gimbutas 1991).

The second term which she introduced into the literature is that of the 'Kurgan-tradition', which is—from her point of view—identical to the 'Proto-Indo-European tradition' (Gimbutas 1985:189). The attributes she gave to this tradition are those of a horse-riding society, with a patrilineal, classed social structure, whose religion consisted of male, sky-oriented gods and mythical images that are in complete contrast to the picture she drew of the society from Old Europe. In her view, these different cultural systems clashed between 4500 and 3000 BC, beginning with the first of the three invasions by the Proto-Indo-European Kurgan culture which came from an area between the Volga and the Ural. These infiltrations caused a complete transformation of the society of 'Old Europe'.

Her hypotheses were received by her colleagues and the public in different ways. They were especially well received by linguists (Birnbaum 1974:362–83; Polomé 1982:156–75), but in German archaeology there was hardly any discussion of them until a few years ago. Alexander Häusler (1985:21–74) rejected her migration concept by postulating an autochthone development of archaeological cultures like the Globular Amphora and the Corded Ware. At the end of the 1980s, there was increased interest in the (Proto-)Indo-European problem among archaeologists. New approaches, such as that of Colin Renfrew (Renfrew 1987), called the existence of Proto-Indo-European migrations into question. Different opinions were advocated and Gimbutas' hypotheses were debated, mostly with attempts to revise her 'Kurgan model' (Mallory 1991; Zanolini 1990:7–17; Anthony 1986:291–313; Sherratt and Sherratt 1988: 584–95; Ammermann and Cavalli-Sforza 1984).<sup>31</sup> Congresses on this subject were held (Markey and Greppin 1990; Zimmer 1992). Even today archaeologists are fascinated by it, although it is now generally accepted that material remains cannot be equated with language (Renfrew 1987:75). The 'Indo-Europäische Ursprache' is a disputed construction of linguists.

In *The Language of the Goddess* and *The Civilization of the Goddess* published in 1989 and 1991, Gimbutas not only dealt with a new discipline—the field of archeomythology which includes archaeology, folklore and mythology—she also outlined a new concept of prehistory that questioned previously accepted interpretations. Interest, but also criticism, especially in her methodological approach, was shown by several archaeologists in Great Britain and the United States (Barnett 1992; Renfrew 1991; Tringham 1993). Nowadays her ideas are criticized by gender archaeologists like Ruth Tringham (1991) or Russell G.Handsman (1991). In particular, her idealistic hypothesis of a peaceful, non-hierarchical society in

southeast Europe between 6500 and 3500 BC is controversial (Handsman 1991:339; Tringham 1991: 115–16). While analysing the archaeological data of Lepenski Vir, Handsman (1991:341) stated that Gimbutas' study ignores the complexity and changes in the 'relations between women and men, women and women and men and men' in these societies which in his view can be recognized in the archaeological data.

In Germany, little attention has been paid to this subject by academic archaeologists in the literature, although there are surely archaeologists who are fascinated by her work. However, her interdisciplinary, synthetic approach and her provocative theses engendered challenging discussions about new methods and ways of interpreting material remains in archaeology. In contrast, her last two publications aroused great interest in Germany, especially from women interested in 'matriarchal research'. In the Frauen-museum (Museum of Women, an independent institution founded by women with the aim of showing aspects of women's history) in Wiesbaden, Germany, for example, an exhibition on Marija Gimbutas' work was held, which she inaugurated in June 1993 (Frauenmuseum Wiesbaden 1994). Nevertheless, there is the risk that amateurs may use the theses and archaeological material published in these books as evidence for the 'power of the Goddess and the women' (for example, Francia 1992:92–5; Pahnke 1993: 11–13) (for a discussion of this problem see Kästner 1993).

### **Eva-Maria Bossert (b. 1925)<sup>32</sup>**

Eva-Maria Bossert, daughter of the art historian, archaeologist and hittitologist Helmuth Theodor Bossert, graduated from Spetzgart, a boarding school on Lake Constance, in March 1944.<sup>33</sup> She was therefore one of the last pupils to pass a regular examination before the end of the war. Eva-Maria Bossert was raised first in Berlin and later in Istanbul, Turkey, where her father had received a professorship in April 1934. In the summer term 1944, she began her studies in the subjects of Ancient Near Eastern studies, Classical archaeology, Ancient history and the history of art at the University of Graz, Austria, which at that time belonged to the Großdeutsches Reich. Her teachers were Ernst F.Weidner, Arnold Schober, Balduin Saria, Fritz Schachermeyr and Heinz Egger. At the end of the winter term 1944/5, she was forced to flee to the West as the front was drawing near—the leading group of Russian armoury was already just outside Graz. With the downfall of the Deutsches Reich, she resumed her studies again in autumn 1945 at the University of Bonn. She studied there for three terms, particularly under Ernst Langlotz (Classical archaeology) and Friedrich Oertel (Ancient history). With her move to Tübingen in the summer term of 1947, she changed her course of studies and majored in prehistoric archaeology under Kurt Bittel. Her minor subjects were Classical archaeology—first under Carl Watzinger, later under Bernhard Schweitzer—and Ancient history under Josef Vogt. Fascinated by the early cultures of the eastern Mediterranean, which she had come to know during her stay in Turkey and even more so through the thrilling lectures of Bittel, Eva-Maria Bossert chose her PhD dissertation theme from this area: 'The graves

of the Cycladic culture' (Bossert 1952). She passed her PhD examination in the summer term of 1952 under Wolfgang Kimmig, Bittel's successor.

Eva-Maria Bossert returned to Turkey immediately after finishing university. From 1952 to 1956 she worked on excavations in Cilicia under the direction of her father and Halet Campel and in 1953, 1955, 1956 and 1960 at Bogazköy in Capadocia under Bittel. He gave her the task of analysing the so-called 'Phrygian ware' that had been excavated in Bogazköy since 1907. From then on she worked in the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) in Istanbul and on the excavation at Bogazköy. There she met again her previous fellow student Franz Fischer, whom she married in Istanbul in February 1957.

The couple returned to Tübingen when Franz Fischer took the post of assistant lecturer at the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology. In 1958 and 1965, their two children were born. As a consequence, Eva-Maria Bossert's publication activity, which is still continuing, was interrupted from 1968 to 1982 (Bossert 1954, 1957, 1960, 1963; Bossert and Ehrhardt 1965; Bossert 1965, 1967, 1983, 1993, forthcoming). In 1962 she had the opportunity to investigate and survey the Early Bronze Age settlement of Kastri on the island of Syros (Cyclads) which had been excavated by Christos Tsountas at the end of the nineteenth century. Through years of detailed work, she had previously recorded the finds from this settlement and the nearby cemetery in drawings and photographs.

Eva-Maria Fischer-Bossert answered our questions quite casually. During her time as a student in Tübingen, she mentions two other female students, one of whom broke off her studies. She felt that the relationship between male and female students was 'friendly'. Actually she characterized the males as gentlemen, who accompanied the girls to their houses at night, in contrast to today, where this is unusual. She said that most men in her time believed that women studied to tide over the time until marriage, but that this was different in prehistoric archaeology, which was too dry a subject to study just as a means of passing time. She does not think that women do a different type of archaeology from men, but believes that in certain cases women tend to choose themes on ornamentation and jewellery. She named a whole list of female archaeologists as role models (Margarete Bieber, Erna Diez, Hetty Goldman, Winifred Lamb) but as she states, none of them did prehistoric archaeology, but rather Greek and Roman studies. Asked for her view on writing a historiography of women in prehistoric archaeology, she said that she was not interested in the topic at all.

### **The role of women on excavations**

When asked about the role of women on archaeological excavations, Eva-Maria Fischer-Bossert said that it was not usual in Germany for women to take part in excavations at her time, although it was possible. She said that women did not have to do rough work, instead they were responsible for drawing. She herself was always happy about this and cannot understand why women today like to do hard work on excavations. When she directed her excavation at Syros, she was working with a team of 10 to 12 people who did the rough jobs.

Eva-Maria Fischer-Bossert's view on women on excavations is contrary to the view that Joan M.Gero, for example, expressed in 1985. According to Gero the stereotypical male archaeologist 'public, visible, physically active, exploratory, dominant and rugged, the stereotypic hunter' is working in the field, while female archaeologists, 'the woman-at-home-archaeologists', work 'secluded in the base camp laboratory or museum' (Gero 1985:344). Gero sees this as reflecting the prevailing social and political ideology that aims at giving women a passive role in society.<sup>34</sup> Eva-Maria Fischer-Bossert however considers work such as drawing finds (in Gero's sense 'women-at-home' work) pleasant, agreeable and not an example of discrimination at all. In the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology in Tübingen as far as we could ascertain, nearly all the female PhD graduates had at least taken part in excavations. Beatrice Goering worked in the 1920s in the Federsee area (south- western Germany), where a large wetland-excavation project was initiated by the Tübingen department under Schmidt and Reinert during the 1920s and 1930s (Stern 1992:53 n. 63; Keefer 1992a; see also the curriculum vitae in her dissertation). Senta Rafalski-Giering took part in excavations in Tanzania and Marija Gimbutas later directed excavations in southeastern Europe. Adelheid Beck and Amei Lang dug on the department's excavation on the Iron Age hillfort of the Heuneburg (southwestern Germany) in the 1960s (interview with E.Gersbach; interview with W.Kimmig; see also Kimmig 1983:33 Abb. 12). Hildegard Woche also led an excavation near Tettngang/Lake Constance (Woche 1965).

### Concluding remarks

In the end we discovered that the three women we interviewed had coped with their lives as female archaeologists in different ways. The conditions under which they had studied in Tübingen were similar (Table 13.1) only in that the three women were 'naturally' surrounded by men during their academic life. Surprisingly, none of them touched on the subject of discrimination while talking to us. We had the impression of contented women, who seemed to look back on their archaeological careers with satisfaction. These women also had something more in common than just having studied at the same department; they are all very resolute people.

### CRITICAL REFLECTIONS

We would now like to present a critical and for some of us a feminist analysis of our investigation and discuss how this experience can offer new dimensions for engendered research. It was not until after the first interviews that we discovered that the initial assumptions we had made were to a large degree characterized by a negative point of view, i.e. the underlying suppression of women in the discipline and their status as victims in a system that favours men. This in some ways unreflected procedure caused a fairly strange situation. Sometimes we left the interviews with mixed feelings, arguing about why the women we interviewed did not want to share such a negative view with us, even when it seemed clear that they had not had the opportunities to act or make decisions as freely as men had. However, the way we,



Table 13.1 Outline chronology of women who received their PhD or wrote their dissertation at the 'Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte' in Tübingen from 1921 to 1971

<i>Important events</i>	<i>Head of the department</i>	<i>Senta Rafalski-Giering</i>	<i>Marija Gimbutas</i>	<i>Eva-Maria Bossert</i>	<i>Other women</i>
1921 'Institut für Urgeschichte' founded	1921–9 Richard Rudolf Schmidt				1928 Beatrice Goering; no degree
1933 Nazi government established		1931 beginning of studies			1933 PhD Gerta Schneider
1939 Second World War		1935 PhD thesis			
1945 end of war		1936 journey to Africa			
	1946–53 Kurt Bittel		1945 comes to Tübingen		
			1946 finishes the PhD thesis; leaves Tübingen	1947 continues studies in Tübingen	
	1955–75 Wolfgang Kimmig			1952 PhD; constantly publishing archaeological material	1966 ?PhD Hildegard Woher
		1972 takes up archaeological investigations again			1970 PhD Adelheid Beck

the interviewers, view the situation of female archaeologists today does not necessarily have anything to do with the situation of female archaeologists 50 or 70 years ago. This example clearly reveals the strong bias in our initial procedure, a bias based on the assumption that there was a kind of collective identity associated with universal suppression. Therefore, it is extremely difficult to develop a historiography of women in our department. It is not possible to make any definite statements because on the one hand the male-dominated structure is obvious, and on the other hand the women's estimations are quite positive. We are left with the impression that the women developed their views about their life and 'career' apart from the generally accepted male-dominated hierarchical structures.

The process of making female archaeologists visible turned out to be quite problematic as well. At the very beginning, we tended to idealize Marija Gimbutas, for example, who had not only reached the status of a professor, but had also developed a totally different view of the past, a view that at first glance is quite impressive and revolutionary. After learning more about the lives of the six other women and obtaining more detailed information on the lives of two of them, this idealized view began to change. Now we realize what varied lives female archaeologists actually can choose: we are now called upon to make life decisions that none of us would ever have imagined before. An important consequence of this is that we definitely have to question the common, career-centred way of thinking.

The use of oral history to compile a historiography of women in archaeology has elucidated another important fact. In contrast to oral history, archaeology is a one-way subject as it is no longer possible to communicate with prehistoric people or to study written sources dealing with them. In interviews with female archaeologists this one-sided process is somehow interrupted. Suddenly we were confronted with living beings who not only told us about their lives and feelings, but also asked questions in return. We might experience resistance<sup>35</sup> or friendly support, something we often miss when working with archaeological remains. These often unexpected expressions from both sides not only enriched the interviews and the resulting reports, but also left their traces in our daily lives. These processes can lead to a multi-dimensional and vivid history that is formed dialectically by those archaeologists who talk to other archaeologists about their past and present as well as the archaeologists who record the accounts given. Although this may sound simple in some ways, research of this kind could inspire the daily work of archaeologists more than any other new, abstract and lifeless method.

We would like to finish our analysis by asking one last question: Can an engendered history of the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology in Tübingen change its everyday reality and also influence the process of dealing with the past? We would answer positively, as we have now experienced how enriching it can be to bring to light a neglected field of research. For us this field was opened by seven formerly meaningless pictures that changed to stories as one aspect of a multi-dimensional historical approach.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This chapter is dedicated to the late Senta Rafalski-Giering, the late Marija Gimbutas and Eva-Maria Fischer-Bossert. We would like to thank them and all the other people we interviewed, as well as Linda R.Owen for proof-reading the text.

## NOTES

- 1 During the Deutsches Reich the right for women who had earned their Abitur (a high-school diploma) to study was introduced first in the state of Baden in 1900 and last in Preußen (Prussia) in 1909 (Hausen 1986:32).
- 2 This was Professor Hildegard Gauger, who taught English Literature (pers. comm. Dr Bauer, Archiv der Universität Tübingen). In Germany, the right for women to do a habilitation (the qualification for lecturing) was introduced in 1918. Only two women were appointed professors before 1933 (Förder-Hoff 1987:64), but nevertheless there were about 54 female lecturers throughout German universities by 1933 (Hausen 1986:32). More than half of them, being of the Jewish faith, had to emigrate or were murdered during the Nazi regime (*ibid.*).
- 3 R.R.Schmidt, like his successor Gustav Riek, had the title *Außerordentlicher Professor*, which meant that he was employed as a professor at the university. The highest post which one could get at German universities at this time was the so-called *Ordentlicher Professor*, who had more rights in university politics than the *Außerordentlichen Professoren* (Dr Bauer, Archiv der Universität Tübingen, pers. comm.).
- 4 At this early stage, the institute was a part of the Department of Geology and Palaeontology in the Faculty of the Natural Sciences. As of the summer term 1936, the department was called *Institut für Vorgeschichte* and became part of the Philosophy Faculty.
- 5 Approximate translations are given in parentheses for political terms used during the Third Reich.
- 6 The *Amt Rosenberg*, which was founded in June 1934 under the influence of Adolf Hitler, controlled German cultural life and its education system. In July 1935 another institution—the *SS-Forschungsinstitut Deutsches-Ahnenerbe* (SS-research institute for German ancestors' heritage)—was established by *Reichsführer-SS* Heinrich Himmler. Both institutions were fighting to exercise more influence on German cultural and educational policy (Bertram 1991: 27–31; Hassmann forthcoming: 8, 10).
- 7 It is not possible to go into more detail in this short summary. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to judge Riek's role as a member of the NSDAP and as confidant of the NSD-Dozentenbund (for his membership in the NSDAP see Adam 1977a:31, n. 67). The history of the department throughout the Nazi regime has never been studied thoroughly. Reinhard Bollmus (1970:333–4) states that Riek's archaeological work was scientifically objective and not used politically. A different perspective is given by Hedwig Rieth, wife of the former head of the Tübingen regional office for the preservation of monuments, Adolf Rieth. In a paper she gave on her role as a witness to the history of the University of Tübingen, she states that while studying prehistory there at the beginning of the

Third Reich one had the choice between the two lecturers who were there at the time, 'dem Urgeschichtler, der zur SS avancierte, oder dem Vorgeschichtler, der zum Amt Rosenberg zählte' ('the protohistorian, who advanced to being a member of the SS [SS-research institute for German ancestors' heritage; our comment] or the prehistorian, who belonged to the Amt Rosenberg') (Rieth 1994:71). Therefore, in her opinion, it was best to study prehistoric archaeology privately at home. In comparison, of the 160 lecturers from the University of Tübingen, only 31 were not members of the NSDAP during the Third Reich (Adam 1977b:235).

- 8 G.Riek, together with 18 others, was suspended from his position of head of the department by the French Military Government for being too deeply involved in national socialist affairs (see also Adam 1977b:235).
- 9 The department was split into two units in 1968, the Institut für Urgeschichte which was directed by Professor Hans Jürgen Müller-Beck, and the Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte which was headed by Kimmig until 1975. Both units were centralized in 1994 as the Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte.
- 10 For an overview of student numbers see the tables in Decker-Hauff and Setzler (1977:267) and Glaser (1991: Anlage (appendix) 4; Anlage (appendix) 5, 336–9).
- 11 The PhD is not obtained after the exams but only after it is published or a certain number of copies have been presented to the university. The doctoral degree was the only degree available in the earlier days of the department. This situation changed in 1981 when the so-called Magister (MA degree) was introduced. Today it is impossible to obtain a doctoral degree without passing the MA exam.
- 12 Through our interviews we gathered the names of 75 female archaeologists from different countries and various archaeological disciplines. We were quite surprised about this large number and are planning to follow their traces in the future.
- 13 In one instance, no hint of the woman could be found in the library card index. Without the help of the woman herself it would have been extremely difficult to find her publications.
- 14 Unfortunately, only one publication exists that lists dissertations completed between 1908 and 1933 in Germany (see Boedeker et al. 1939). The absence of Beatrice Goering, the first woman to write her dissertation in Tübingen, in this book can be explained by the fact that she did not have the opportunity (or the money?) to print it. Similarly, Senta Rafalski could not afford to print her dissertation shortly after her final exams. It was only copied 16 years later. Thus she obtained her PhD not in 1935, but in 1952.
- 15 The interviews were conducted by either one, two or all three of us. Second and third interviews were held in some cases. The length of time was one to three hours. Not all the interviews were recorded. For information about qualitative methods in interviews, see e.g. Lamnek 1989:74–8.
- 16 The methods, problems and potentialities of oral history are discussed in Hagemann (1981), Wickert (1981), Kuhn (1989), and Dorochina and Posadskaja (1994).
- 17 The information for this chapter was gained through several interviews and telephone calls that were made between October 1993 and June 1994.
- 18 Rafalski-Giering earned additional money by writing newspaper articles and giving private Latin lessons.
- 19 Literature written by German archaeologists about the role of prehistoric archaeology during the Nazi regime is very scarce. Although the Department of

- Prehistoric Archaeology in Tübingen is one of the institutions that was deeply involved in Nazi ideology (see e.g. Hans Reinerth), no attempt has yet been made to investigate this 'dark age'.
- 20 See Glaser (1991:44–57), Weyrather (1981) and Clephas-Möcker and Krallmann (1992:178–86). There are no special publications about female students during the Nazi regime in Tübingen (but see Adam 1977a).
  - 21 In Württemberg, 611 male but only 61 female high-school graduates could enter university; in Germany as a whole it was 1500 female high-school graduates (Adam 1977a:219; Clephas-Möcker and Krallmann 1992:179).
  - 22 Weyrather (1981:143–4) mentions 1936 as the end of the sex-specific restriction.
  - 23 Organization founded in 1935 that obliged all young Germans between the age of 18 and 25 to work in agriculture and for military purposes. In summer 1939, the so-called Semestereinsätze (term's service) became a duty for all students. Initially this duty mainly meant working during harvest-time, but during the war students had to work in the war industry (Clephas-Möcker and Krallmann 1992:183).
  - 24 Students working for a doctoral degree in prehistoric archaeology did not have to pass a state exam.
  - 25 For Germany as a whole, the number of female students was eight times higher in 1939 than in 1944; in the winter term 1943/4 the number of females was about equal to that of the males (Weyrather 1981:144–5; Clephas-Möcker and Krallmann 1992:183).
  - 26 See the Vorlesungsverzeichnis from the summer term 1926 onwards, i.e. winter term 1926/7: 'Nordische Kultur in Alteuropa' ('Nordic culture in Old Europe'), or summer term 1928: 'Kultur und Rasse im urgeschichtlichen Europa' ('Culture and race in prehistoric Europe'). An assessment of these programmes is quite difficult as the content of the lectures is unknown. Further research will be needed in order to gain deeper insight into this topic.
  - 27 This comparative method has been described in an article with the title 'Ausgrabung im Museum: Methode zur Auswertung alter Oberflächensammlungen' which discusses the problems that occur when analysing archaeological material from old excavations (forthcoming; the article will be published in the journal *Early Man News*). Rafalski-Giering contributed to two issues of the *Tübinger Monographien zur Urgeschichte* (Müller-Beck 1978; Müller-Beck 1985). For an English summary of the German Band 1 see Rafalski et al. (1987).
  - 28 The following information is based on an interview with Marija Gimbutas, the answers to a questionnaire, a previously published interview (Gassner-Vischer 1993:94–102) and a festschrift with a biographical sketch and a bibliography of her work (Skomal and Polomé 1987:384–95). We had the opportunity to become acquainted with Marija Gimbutas when she visited the Frauenmuseum (Museum of Women) in Wiesbaden on her last trip to Europe in 1993. We were greatly impressed by this already seriously ill, but nevertheless vivid and warm-hearted, successful female archaeologist. The meeting with Marija Gimbutas also bolstered our intention to write a historiography of women in the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology in Tübingen.
  - 29 Unfortunately we did not ask her about female role models.
  - 30 The term 'gylany' was introduced by Riane Eisler into literature and means a social structure in which both sexes are equal (Gimbutas 1991: xx).

- 31 In Germany, with the exception of Alexander Häusler's (1985) remarks, hardly any contribution is being made to this theme at present.
- 32 The information given here is from a questionnaire, a telephone call and an interview. She was interviewed alone for about two hours and then joined by her husband who was also interviewed. As Eva-Maria Fischer-Bossert (Figure 13.6) publishes under her maiden name, we have also used it here.
- 33 We have no information about her mother.
- 34 Gero shows the numerical relation between dissertations of male and female archaeologists who engage on research themes that are connected with fieldwork for a small research area in the southwest of the United States.
- 35 It should be remembered that two of the seven female PhD graduates did not respond at all to any of our various attempts to contact them. We also felt resistance during some of the interviews and during the process of writing this article.

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# THE IMPACT OF MODERN INVASIONS AND MIGRATIONS ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLANATION

A biographical sketch of Marija Gimbutas

*John Chapman*

Old Europe had been caught like a fly and squashed between those yellowing pages...

(Philip Marsden, *The Bronski House*, p. 12)

Our writing of the past is the product of many forces—academic and non-academic, intellectual and emotional, social and personal. These influences combine in ways often unsuspected to produce a *new* account of past times, one which not only strives to make sense of the evidence which has survived but which attempts to make sense of the author's individual perceptions of her/his world and worldview. Robin G. Collingwood observed that every archaeological problem 'ultimately arises out of "real" life' (Collingwood 1939:114). An important part of the de-centring processes of the twentieth century has been the chief insight of critical biography—namely that 'authors' are no more autonomous in their cultural work than is the language in which they write. It is no longer absurd to suggest that each book, each article, has its own biography, reflecting and transforming the individual circumstances of its author as well as the academic impulses of the time. Abrupt changes in the field of interest of an author can also be related to shifts of fortune or the time that it takes for individuals to come to terms with their own experiences before they can be penned.

If the complexities of individuals' biographies seem daunting for archaeologists, how much more so would it appear for the history of archaeological thought, with its myriad criss-crossing of individual streams interacting, bifurcating and joining each other to form the main currents. Yet the scale of the investigation has often enabled historians of archaeological thought to focus on the general pattern to the near-exclusion of the subjective and intersubjective factors which create a succession of *Zeitgeisten*, each in turn partly determined by its past trajectory. While accounts of the political context of the formation of processual archaeology and post-processual archaeology are conceivable, the linkages between the social and political proclivities of Lewis Binford, Meg Conkey, Michael Schiffer or Ruth Tringham and their archaeological writings have rarely been made explicit. Given the potential for litigation arising out of such writings, it may be concluded that a safer path is the attempt at critical biographies of famous deceased colleagues. The most obvious example is V. Gordon Childe, the recent anniversary of whose birth spawned at least three international conferences and publications (Harris 1994; Gathercole et al. 1995;

Lech forthcoming). But the life and times of few other archaeologists have been compared so closely with their *oeuvre*. In the latest edition of *The Pastmasters*, Chippindale misses a clear opportunity to set the self-portraits of 11 archaeologists in the context of critical biography (Daniel and Chippindale 1989)—the autobiographical raw material is at hand.

In this chapter<sup>1</sup> I am concerned with the intersection of the subjective, the inter-subjective and the objective insofar as it relates to the use and misuse of invasions and migrations to constitute explanatory models in twentieth-century prehistory. The limits of space and personal knowledge do not permit more than a sketch of some possible linkages between the general patterns and one individual biography. I focus on an examination of the life and works of one of Eastern Europe's foremost prehistorians—Marija Gimbutas (Figure 14.1)—the recent loss of whom will be deeply felt by many of her colleagues.

Gimbutas was one of the most productive and wide-ranging scholars of European prehistory of this century. At her death on 2 February 1994, she was professor emerita of the University of California in Slavic languages and literature, Indo-European studies and archaeology. The official designation summarizes, in a dry and dusty way, the enormous range of her interests and hints at the skills of synthesis which lay at the heart of her scholarship. Her personality, her friendliness and her wisdom will be missed not only amongst her family and friends but also in the wider field of European prehistory and the still vaster world of American and European feminism. Her latest writings were adopted as part of the classical canon of American feminism, an achievement also recognized by European feminists such as those at the Frauen Museum in Wiesbaden by their production of an exhibition entitled 'Sprache der Göttin: Symbolik im neolithischen Alt-Europa' (27 June to 20 December 1993), at which Gimbutas gave a keynote address (Kim Engels, pers. comm.).

It should be made clear at the outset that I shall not argue that the twentieth-century pattern of migrations and invasions is a determining factor, in a strong or a weak sense of the term, in the development of archaeological theory. There are, of course, many factors which influence theory building. But I wish to draw attention to the fact that migrations and invasions are one of the most deeply felt experiences that a human being can encounter. I consider it highly probable that an experience as significant as an invasion or a migration will influence the personal writings of a prehistorian—not, perhaps, in the overt way that the experience of Auschwitz influenced the writings of Bruno Bettelheim or Primo Levi, but as an undercurrent with which the author needs to come to terms in her/his writing. It is also true that the effects of invasions and migrations on other humans can have a strong impact on a writer, especially if she/he is personally connected with the lands where such events take place. It is the purpose of this chapter to assess the impact of these personal experiences on the writings of one prehistorian in the twentieth century.

It is also my aim to explore the importance of Gimbutas' femaleness in her life and work; to make sense of Gimbutas' life, one must turn first to her gender. In such a volume as this, it may appear self-evident that gender makes a critical difference in the life and *oeuvre* of female archaeologists. In the particularly dramatic political



*Figure 14.1* Marija Gimbutas

landscapes of twentieth-century Central and Eastern Europe, the reactions of women to war, destruction, colonization and migration cannot readily be generalized, but analysis of the specific case of a Lithuanian caught between Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia may be instructive. The rarity of female archaeologists, whether in Lithuania, Germany or North America, in any case created obstacles to any female's professional advancement—hurdles which rarely seemed to deter Gimbutas for long. In archaeological writings, the constraints of the personal, the poetic and the subjective imposed by a masculine frame of rhetoric may have affected women such as Gimbutas in different ways from male archaeologists.

In the second part of this chapter, I wish to explore in outline the inter-relationships between Gimbutas' life and her writings. I should stress that I do not have the benefit of a large store of biographical information of the sort now being utilized in the writing of a biography by her companion of later years—Joan Marler (cf. also Polomé 1987). Yet the strong lines of her life story and the clear direction of her archaeological writing combine to yield up the framework of a critical biography whose details require much further study. I begin with a summary of her life ([Table 14.1](#)).

Marija Alseikaite Gimbutiene was born on 21 January 1921 in Vilnius, at that time the capital of an independent Lithuania. Her mother was then 37 years old, mature

*Table 14.1* Chronology of Marija Gimbutas

<i>Year</i>	<i>Events</i>
1921	Born in Vilnius, Lithuania; idyllic childhood in nature amongst nature-worshippers. Parents interested in ethnography, folklore and history.
1938	Started MA at Univ. of Kaunas (Lithuania).
1940	Transferred to Univ. of Vilnius (Lithuania). First Soviet invasion. MG in hiding in forest. Thousands of compatriots killed, tortured or deported.
1942	First German invasion. Return to Univ. of Vilnius and completion of MA.
1944	Second Soviet invasion. Flees to Austria with family.
1944–6	PhD at Univ. of Tübingen (self-financed).
1946–9	Postdoctoral posts at Tübingen, Heidelberg and München.
1949	Emigrated to USA with family.
1950	Unpaid research post, Peabody Museum, with part-time jobs.
1953	Paid post, Harvard University. Suffers from male chauvinism.
1962	Research fellowship, Stanford University.
1963	Moves to UCLA as associate professor.
1964	Appointed full professor of European archaeology (Indo-European studies).
Late 1960s	Flower power/feminism takes off in California.
Mid-1980s	MG becomes heroine of Californian feminist 1980s movement.
1991	Retirement from UCLA; media work, more books, 1994 exhibitions.

and capable of bringing up a large family. In later interviews, Gimbutas described her growing up in the Lithuanian forest as ‘an idyllic childhood’. Her parents were kind and loving doctors, both with strong interests in ethnography, folklore and history. Gimbutas has described her mother, her aunt and their female friends as emancipated—her mother became one of the first female doctors in Switzerland. The encouragement which she received was typical of the attitudes towards girls in her family and presumably made a major impact on her belief in the possibility of female advancement in life and in career.

Gimbutas described her nurses as believers in goddesses and told how they sang to her many of the mythological songs of that region. This home-based stimulus was mirrored in wider society, where ‘people were nature-worshippers—everything was sacred’. The importance of nature and the persistence of ancient beliefs in Lithuania is widely attributed to the maintenance of the farming economy and the avoidance of industrialization until relatively recent times.

Gimbutas began her higher education in Kaunas and went on to register for an MA at the University of Vilnius in 1940, despite the outbreak of the Second World War several months earlier. It was around this time that she married her German husband. The untrammelled world of Marija Gimbutas was shattered not once but twice when first the Red Army, in 1940, and then the German Army, in 1941, invaded Vilnius. There can be no doubt that the adolescent Gimbutas was a strong character, brave enough to join the Lithuanian resistance movement against the Russians in 1940. The

common fate of Poles and Balts caught between Germany and Russia forced early political choices; Gimbutas clearly believed Hitler's Germany was the lesser of the two evils in comparison with Stalin's Red Army. It is difficult to assess the degree to which Gimbutas tacitly accepted Nazi aims; suffice to say that, in spite of the German occupation, which continued until 1944, she recommenced her MA studies in 1942 and was awarded the degree later that year.

The second invasion of Lithuania by the Red Army took place in 1944. This time, Gimbutas, her husband and the first of her three children left Vilnius for good and fled across war-torn Central Europe to Vienna. In several interviews, Gimbutas repeats the account of the flight, with the potent symbol of carrying her one-year-old baby in one hand, her MA dissertation in the other. I suppose that the success of this escape across Poland and Austria increased Gimbutas' self-confidence and immeasurably strengthened her maternal bonds to her child. Yet, at the same time, and along with millions of other women, she would have associated the collective madness of a war fought almost exclusively between men as a dominant trait in the male psyche.

Gimbutas registered for a PhD at the University of Tübingen later in 1944, completing her doctoral thesis under Professor Peter Goessler in three years by 1946 with the topic of 'Burial in Lithuania in prehistoric time' (for details of her time in Tübingen and a full account of the Tübingen department, see Kästner, Maier and Schülke, this volume). Unlike other PhDs at Tübingen, she combined family life and an academic career; her second child was born during the tenure of a post-doctoral fellowship, one of several fellowships held at Tübingen, Heidelberg and München until 1949. In her interview with Kästner, Maier and Schülke, Gimbutas made no complaint about male dominance over female archaeologists at Tübingen; perhaps her character precluded such obstruction. In any case, Tübingen was a centre for important pre-war research on the Aryans and Gimbutas would have been exposed to the academic case for the importance of male warriors and their migrations and invasions in German prehistory—just at the time when she and her family were suffering the consequences of such aggressive movements. It is also highly probable that the German nineteenth-century philosophical traditions of Bachofen and his theories concerning the matriarchy were part of the intellectual currency at Tübingen during Gimbutas' research there.

At this time, Gimbutas brought the second part of her life to an end with the decision that her family, now including two children, would emigrate to America. Like so many educated European refugees, the family settled in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Gimbutas sought academic employment at the local university: Harvard. The only post that could be found was an unpaid research placement in the Peabody Museum, which she accepted but had to fund through various part-time jobs. The androcentric biases of Harvard were maintained even when her tenacity won her a full-time paid research fellowship in the Peabody Museum in 1953. In a recent interview (Knaster 1990), Gimbutas commented on her time at Harvard: 'As a woman, I was a second-rate human being. That made me sick, really sick.' Gimbutas was barred from some university libraries and, when trying to enter one such, was 'brutally pushed out'. She was also excluded from several dining halls, including the Faculty Center. For an emancipated woman, the Harvard period was hard: the



combination of raising three children under the age of 10, working at low-paid part-time jobs to support the family and keeping up academic research in the Peabody Museum put Gimbutas under great strain. As the only female archaeologist in the museum, she found many obstacles to her career; whether they arose primarily from her gender or from her ethnicity is difficult to say. None the less, Gimbutas occupied this post for 10 years, seeing her first major synthesis of Eastern European prehistory through to publication (Gimbutas 1956) and completing the manuscript of her second *magnum opus* (*Bronze Age Cultures of Central and Eastern Europe*: completed in 1958; not published until 1965 (Gimbutas 1965a)).

Finally the stresses of Harvard led Gimbutas to a search for another opening. She moved to the West Coast to take up a research fellowship in Stanford University for the academic year 1962–3. She recalls that the freedom brought by this move revived her. She held the post of associate professor of European archaeology at the University of California at Los Angeles from 1963 for one year, until she was appointed full professor. With full recognition of her professional achievements and appropriate financial remuneration, she would have been under less pressure in her working life, although bringing up three adolescents on the West Coast in the 1960s would have brought its own complications in the family sphere.

Gimbutas remained in this post until her retirement in 1991, at which point she was made professor emerita. It was in Los Angeles that her second period of archaeological writing began to take shape. She has noted that it took a full decade for her studies of female figurines in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic of Eastern Europe to reach full fruition. Her first major monograph devoted to this theme, published in 1974, was entitled *The Gods and Goddesses of Old World Europe*; a revised edition published eight years later reversed the title, to read *The Goddesses and Gods*.... Major syntheses of her analysis of prehistoric ritual and belief systems were published in the late 1980s (*The Language of the Goddess*: Gimbutas 1989a) and the 1990s (*The Civilisation of the Goddess*: Gimbutas 1991). It was these writings that endeared her to the Californian feminists who, ever since Joseph Campbell, had been searching for academic support for a golden age view of matriarchal life before males dominated world prehistory and history. While some supporters of the Goddess theory, such as Campbell, felt Gimbutas to ‘bring her imagination, not just act like a scientist’ (quoted in Leslie 1989:24), other devotees argued that her work gave feminists the seeming stamp of science and the reassurance of history (Steinfels 1990). Yet those parts of her *oeuvre* closest to Gimbutas’ heart were not highly regarded by her archaeological and linguistic peers, who as often as not saw in her accounts of pre-historic religion a subjective farrago of more recent beliefs uncritically superimposed on to a rich substratum of Neolithic material culture (see, for example, the review of *Gods and Goddesses*: Fleming 1974). Gimbutas was strongly criticized by many colleagues; although Riane Eisler claims (quoted in Knaster 1990:41) that the criticism was because she was a woman and because of her media attention, it was surely the implied essentialism and romanticization of women that formed the basis of the critique.

Gimbutas died at the peak of her popularity amongst feminists—indeed as probably the best-known archaeologist in America. In her latter years, she was

'idolized' by many of her students and former students as an incarnation of a mother goddess, whose maternal feelings helped to create the image of a beneficent grandmother.

It is not my primary concern to make a critical review of Gimbutas' work as archaeological writing (for a recent critique of what is dubbed 'alternative prehistory', see Meskell 1995; Conkey and Tringham 1995). Rather, I wish to present the two halves of her output in the context of the varied parts of her life experience. How can we best define the writings on her two main themes and what is the link between them?

There is a common thread running throughout Gimbutas' writings: her interest in and love of Lithuanian ethnography, folklore, religion and material culture. The earliest articles by Gimbutas related to Lithuanian and Baltic prehistory, burial customs and folklore—a theme which continued to play a seminal role in her thinking about wider cultural change. A peak in these interests came about through an invitation from Glyn Daniel to write a book on the Balts for the Thames and Hudson 'Peoples and Places' series. In *The Balts*, Gimbutas writes with great feeling about the landscape of her homeland and about its local ethnography (Gimbutas 1963: 11–13). In an insight that was to be important for her later studies, Gimbutas notes that the Baltic area is exceptional in that language and folklore have survived in a remarkably pure state and that the ancient cultural traits have not been adulterated or destroyed by the many expansions and migrations of the prehistoric and early historic periods, as in most other parts of Europe (ibid.: 16). Here, too, Gimbutas talks about the link between the religion of the Balts and the Great Earth Mother (ibid.: 191–204) and makes the link between prehistoric times and pre-Christian religion (ibid.: 180). The touchstone of her approach to prehistory in the second period of her writing can be summarized by a quotation from the concluding page of *The Balts* (ibid.: 204): 'In speaking of the legacy of Baltic prehistory, we mean above all the ancient religion, which is incarnate in the cosmic and lyrical conception of the world of present-day Lithuanians and Latvians, and is an unceasing inspiration to their poets, painters and musicians.'

This book allowed Gimbutas to reach into the depths of her personal experience, to recapture her childhood and release the emotions and the spiritual depths long excluded from other parts of her writings. In this work, Gimbutas reveals something of her female sensibilities; few male archaeologists have written such passionate and personal introductions to a 'Peoples and Places' volume (contrast the patriotic but cold opening to *Romania* by Berciu 1961). It sets the scene for her long struggle to relate pre-Christian religion and prehistoric religions all over Europe. Gimbutas herself coined the term 'archaeo-mythology', complaining that 'to this day European archaeology is absolutely separate from the research of religion' (quoted in Knaster 1990:69).

The first half of Gimbutas' writings on European prehistory is dominated by the traditional culture-history of 1940s, 1950s and 1960s archaeologists. Working in a male-dominated East Coast academic environment, Gimbutas produced classic texts of synthesis of the male-dominated cultures of Eastern and Central European

prehistory. In her *Prehistory of Eastern Europe Part 1*, she defined three aims: to date archaeological monuments, to update culture groups and to define new culture groups (Gimbutas 1956:3). Her only mention of one of the core cultures of what she later defined as ‘Old Europe’ was to characterize it as one of many cultures in the Eastern European mosaic. Tripolye groups were defined as ‘Western Ukrainian peasants’ (ibid.: 99–113) and their frequent figurines embodied ‘a religious idea pointing to the Mother Goddess’ (ibid.: 103–4). A more vibrant and effective role was defined for the period 2000–1800 BC (nowadays the Chalcolithic period, of much longer duration), where archaeological data attested a sudden change that could be explained by movements and mixtures of culture groups. Gimbutas defined the new south-eastern elements as carried by the immigrant Kurgan people (ibid.: 12). At the major international conference held in Prague in 1959 (Böhm and de Laet 1961), Gimbutas discussed the problems of Kurgan chronology with Nikolai Merpert, who presented a four-stage internal chronology of barrow grave groups in the Eurasian steppe (Merpert 1961). Gimbutas contributed a paper linking these Kurgan groups to changes in cultures to the west of the Black Sea (Gimbutas 1961). She was never to change her views on Merpert’s Kurgan I–IV chronology.

Gimbutas’ next work of synthesis was, in effect, Part 2 of *The Prehistory of Eastern Europe*. In over 600 pages of densely packed culture history, she wrote an artefact-based, weapon-dominated prehistory of the Bronze Age in Central and Eastern Europe (Gimbutas 1965a). As in Part 1, her main aim was to define the cultures of these regions and ‘the formation, distribution, continuity and expansion or disintegration of each’ (ibid.: 20). An important interpretative tool was the definition of two ethnic blocs—the Northern and the Southern—which contained a variety of local cultures but differed from one another in terms of social structure, settlement patterns, art and religion (a clear reference to Cold War superpower politics). Picking up a theme of her 1956 work, Gimbutas proposed that ‘the local culture groups of the Southern bloc were formed after the great expansion of the Kurgan-Pit Grave people from the Eurasian steppes’ (ibid.: 21).

In her contribution to the second edition of Robert W. Ehrich’s *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (Gimbutas 1965b, but written in 1963), Gimbutas introduced major changes to her chapter for the first edition while maintaining continuity with her Kurgan views. Thus, the Kurgan culture was characterized as ‘an extensive and long-lasting Eurasian culture that caused momentous changes in the prehistory of Europe and the Near East’ (ibid.: 477). The identification of the carriers of the Kurgan culture as Proto-Indo-Europeans (1965b:477) was an important link in the historical picture which was being created in Eastern Europe. But Gimbutas’ view of the Tripolye-Cucuteni culture had progressed considerably from one of simple peasants to that of the classical Cucuteni period, ‘characterised by its beautiful bichrome and trichrome pottery and by larger villages’ (ibid.: 465); or, again, ‘this culture’s golden age, cherished for its outstanding painted pottery’ (ibid.). The disintegration of this golden age was clear: it followed Cucuteni B, ‘owing to the conquest of the whole Cucuteni-Tripolye area by the Kurgan peoples’ (ibid.).

Hence, by 1963, the main structures in Gimbutas’ thinking about Eastern European prehistory had emerged in embryonic form: a golden age of painted pottery-making

peasants living in large communities was destroyed by the Indo-European invasions of the Kurgan peoples, who initiated the weapons-dominated period of the Bronze Age.

The move to the West Coast dates to the period after Gimbutas' completion of *The Balts, Bronze Age Cultures* and her chapter in *Chronologies*. She has stated that, although the *Gods and Goddesses* volume was published in 1974 (Gimbutas 1974a), her awareness of the richness and diversity of the south-east European figurine material became obvious a decade earlier. In her museum study tours of south-east Europe in the 1960s, she began to collect material associated with figurines and other ritual paraphernalia. Through contacts reinforced during these study tours, she was invited to co direct with the late Alojz Benac the excavation of an early farming site at Obre in Bosnia (Benac 1973; Gimbutas 1974b). Further co-direction of excavations followed immediately, first at Sitagroi in Greek Macedonia with Colin Renfrew (Renfrew et al. 1986), Anzabegovo in the then Yugoslav Macedonia with Milutin Garašanin (Gimbutas 1976a) and finally Achilleion in Thessaly with Demetrios Theocharis (Gimbutas et al. 1989). But it was the experience of excavating prehistoric figurines in the settlement context at Sitagroi that brought a new urgency to the study of these remains in a framework far removed from the traditional art-historical and typological. The paucity of figurines found in the American trenches at Obre (nine in total: Sterud and Sterud 1974:196) stood in stark contrast to the varied figurine assemblage of 250 pieces from Sitagroi, for which Gimbutas herself wrote the specialist report (Gimbutas 1986). The figurines from Anza were as varied as those at Sitagroi if less spectacular (Gimbutas 1976b:198–241), while the wealth of architectural detail from Achilleion permitted Gimbutas to set Neolithic figurines in their proper settlement and ritual context for the first time in Greece and the Balkans (Gimbutas 1989b: cf. architectural chapter by Winn and Shimabuku 1989).

The cumulative picture which Gimbutas formed of the village life of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic of south-east Europe led her to the definition of a new type of European civilization, which she termed 'Old Europe'. The estimated total of over 30,000 figurines and cult objects found in over 3,000 village sites led her to a belief that Old Europeans expressed their communal worship of a pantheon of deities through the medium of the idol (Gimbutas 1982:11). In brief (*ibid.*: 1): 'The culture called Old Europe was characterised by a dominance of women in society and worship of a goddess incarnating the creative principle as Source and Giver of all.'

It was one of the main purposes of *Gods and Goddesses* to present the spiritual manifestations of Old Europe, a distinct culture developing a unique identity (*ibid.*: 13). Gimbutas took the interpretation of prehistoric figurines further than anyone else: 'myths and seasonal dramas must have been enacted through the medium of the idol (the figurine), each with a different intention and with the invocation of appropriate divinities' (*ibid.*: 236). Importantly, the two main genders were regarded as complementary in Old Europe, the male element regarded as possessing spontaneous and life-stimulating powers but not the life-generating powers of the female head of the pantheon. It was only in the Kurgan period that genders became polarized, with the consequent hierarchization of society (*ibid.*: 1, 237).

The creation of Old Europe relied heavily on two ideological positions: (1) an opposition to the Near East, and (2) continuity in religion and art with the European Palaeolithic. Gimbutas claimed that the dendrochronological revolution demonstrated 'the antiquity of European prehistoric culture and its autonomous growth as the equal rather than the dependent of Near Eastern cultural evolution' (ibid.: 15). Indeed, the traits defining Old Europe—small townships, craft specialization, religious institutions, governmental institutions, metallurgy and a rudimentary script (ibid.: 17)—are reminiscent of V.Gordon Childe's famous list of the 10 criteria of urban civilization (Childe 1950). This is the clearest expression of Gimbutas' attempt to redefine the Neolithic and Chalcolithic of south-east Europe as an autonomous European civilization, without the need for *ex oriente lux*.

Although Gimbutas recognized that 'the inhabitants of Old Europe developed a much more complex social organization than their western and northern neighbours' (ibid.), she extended the notion of Old European civilization to other parts of Europe in her two latest books, *The Language of the Goddess* and *The Civilisation of the Goddess*. These mature works represent the broadest extension of her views on prehistoric religion, yet they rely on a conceptual basis which is identical to that developed for *Gods and Goddesses*. Thus, while these two impressive tomes have made a major contribution to the spread of the fame of the 'Mother Goddess', their core ideas reveal no radical change from that of the early 1970s. It seems clear that the Lithuanian Great Earth Mother lies at the roots of the Old European pantheon; it is hard to believe that a male scholar would have made such a link, let alone constructed such an edifice on top of this image.

In parallel with her writings on prehistoric religion in the second phase of her *oeuvre*, Gimbutas continued to write expressively on the causes of the overthrow of Old Europe. Using Merpert's Kurgan I–IV chronology (Merpert 1961), Gimbutas refined the interpretation of the three waves of Kurgan invasions of the lands west of the Black Sea in a series of important articles (Gimbutas 1978; 1979; 1980). She reaffirmed the importance of the Kurgan peoples as responsible for drastic upheavals in Old Europe, leading to the decline of religious life and the abrupt appearance of thrusting weapons and horses ridden by patriarchal and warlike pastoralists from the Eurasian steppe (1979:113). Despite their trading activity, the Kurgan pastoralists were said to have introduced 'a warrior consciousness previously unknown in Old Europe' (1978:284). The causes of this military expansion were identified as a disequilibrium between the supply of grazing land and the dietary demand of rapidly increasing horse herds (ibid.). It should be noted that Gimbutas argues for a more complex process of Kurganization than that which she proposed in the 1950s and 1960s; instead of transplantation of the entire Eurasian steppe culture into south-east Europe, she identifies the co-existence of different cultural traditions, the dislocation of populations, subjugation by a warrior nobility and cultural amalgamations (ibid.: 280). None the less (ibid.: 281): 'The dramatic upheaval of Old Europe is evidenced in the archaeological record. The abrupt cessation of painted pottery and figurines, disintegration of egalitarian townships, and termination of symbols and linear signs is concomitant with the sudden appearance of horses and weapons.'

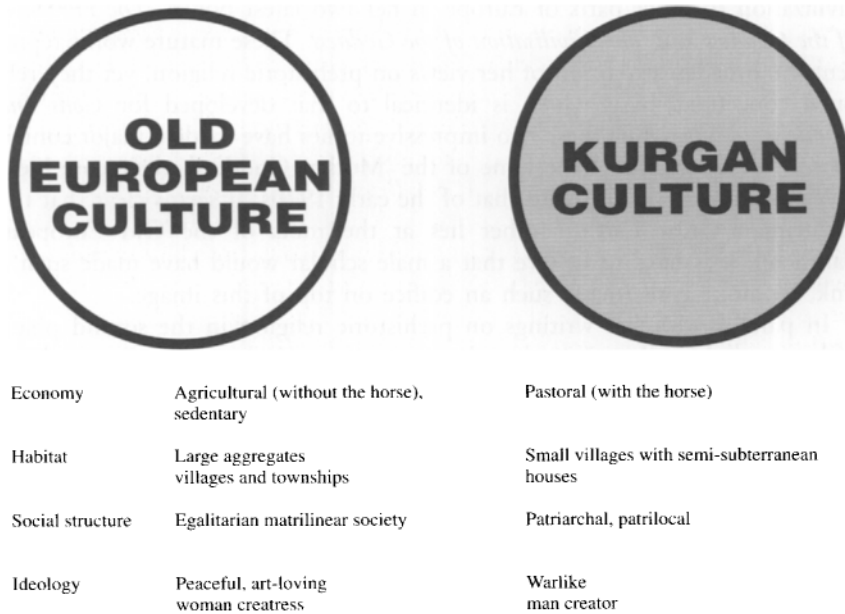


Figure 14.2 The opposition between Old European civilization and the Kurgan invaders (redrawn from Gimbutas 1978, fig. 3)

The opposition between Old Europe and the Kurgan invaders is most strikingly expressed in a famous diagram (1978: figure III: here reproduced as Figure 14.2). The parallel which can be drawn (and which Gimbutas presumably drew) between the Kurgan invasion and the Red Army invasion of south-east Europe can be clearly seen by comparing the distribution maps of these two phenomena (Figure 14.3).

There can be little doubt that Gimbutas believed the antithesis between Old Europeans and Kurgan pastoralists to be the key factor in social, cultural and linguistic change in the 4th millennium CAL BC. Through the 1960s and 1970s, the emergent dichotomy between farmers and nomads, peace-loving and warrior folk and males and females reached full and eloquent expression. But is this a reflection of the archaeological evidence alone? In some of her later interviews, Gimbutas has made telling observations on the way she viewed her own writings: ‘This was the attraction—beautiful pottery, painting. It was like going back to paradise after what had happened later’ (said of Old Europe); ‘Weapons, weapons, weapons,...like TV—war, war, war, whatever channel’ (said of Bronze Age Europe); ‘All the descriptions of swords, daggers and other weapons, and that warrior culture which continued for 5,000 years up till this day, exhausted me. I didn’t like it and I don’t look at it’ (said of *Bronze Age Cultures*); or ‘The Indo-European work was misery..., the later work was a deliverance.’<sup>2</sup>

I believe that there is a pattern to Gimbutas’ life which is, in fact, transformed in her writings and brought out as an archaeological dialogue—a story of the European

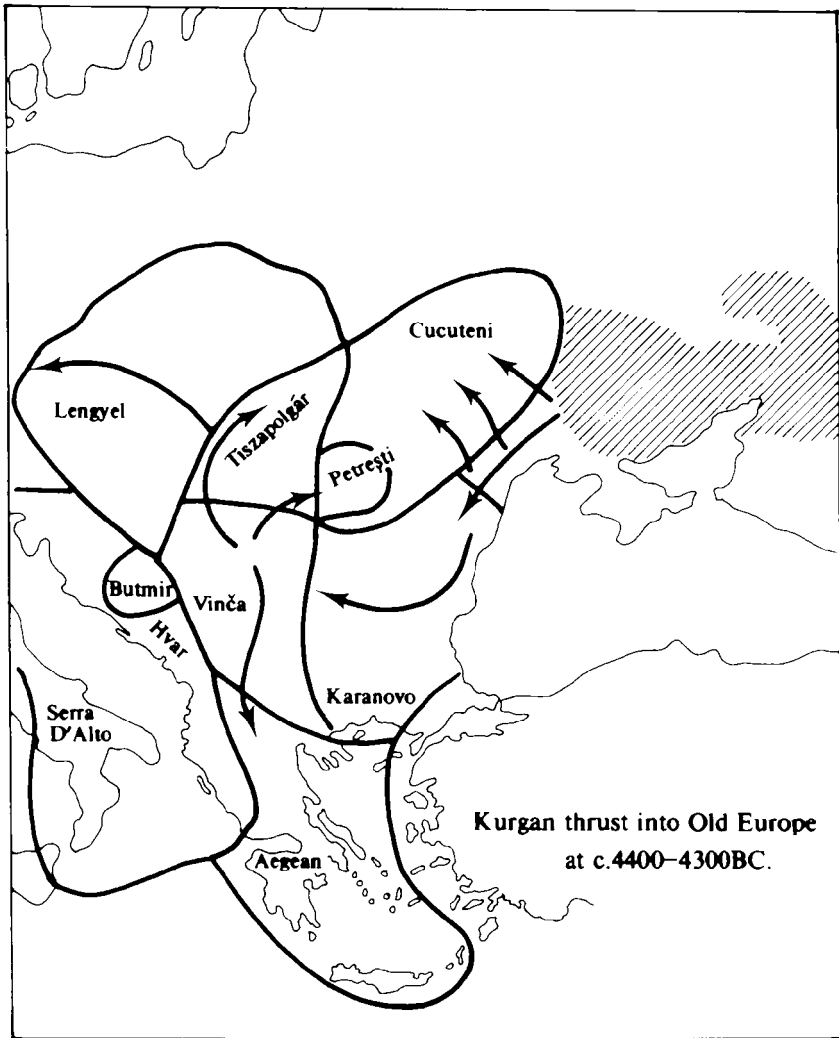


Figure 14.3(A) Parallel invasion routes into south-east Europe: the Kurgan invasions, 4th-3rd millennia CAL BC (redrawn after Gimbutas 1978, map 1)

past. The key structural components are as simple as they are striking: two states, linked by an abrupt transformation (Table 14.2).

The loss of paradise—whether childhood, innocence or past places—is as much a twentieth-century archetype as the alienation of the refugee. Gimbutas' paradise was firmly located in the woods, fields and riverbanks of Kaunas and Vilnius and the love, care and support of her closest family and friends. The multiple invasions of her homeland, and the death of many of those closest to her, led to the loss of that paradise in the most violent form imaginable to an adolescent of such obvious

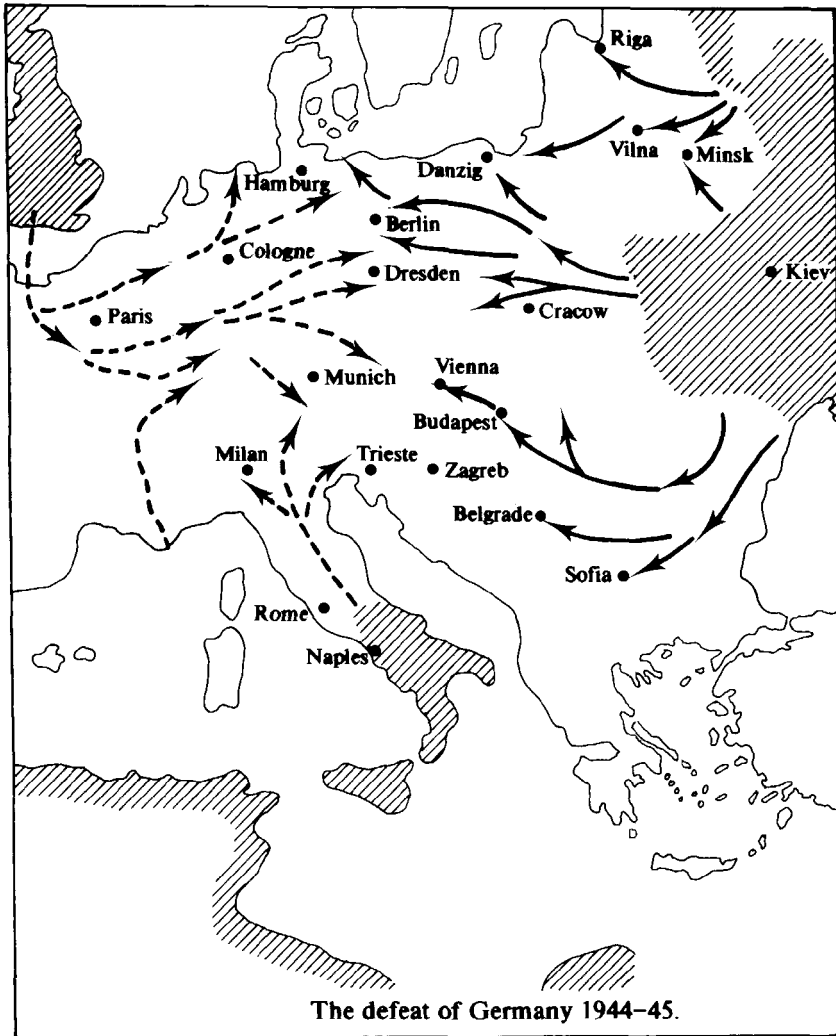


Figure 14.3(B) Parallel invasion routes into south-east Europe: the Red Army invasion of 1944 (redrawn from Gilbert 1972:130)

sensitivity. A successful academic career created the framework for a re-telling of Gimbutas' autobiography through the medium of a prehistoric allegory of good and evil—Old Europe and the Kurgan hordes. It may be argued that Gimbutas was unable to bring the good into the wider archaeological perspective of her writings on European prehistory until she had comprehensively worked through the 'evil' (and I am thinking here in particular of *Bronze Age Cultures*). An alternative interpretation is that the door to the religions of prehistoric Europe and thereby the route to



Table 14.2 States in Marija Gimbutas' life and their transformation in her writings

<i>State 1</i>	<i>Transformation</i>	<i>State 2</i>
Birth, childhood and adolescence in Vilnius	German and Russian invasions of Vilnius	Emigration and exile in Germany and USA
OLD EUROPE	KURGAN INVASIONS AND MIGRATIONS	KURGANIZATION OF BRONZE AGE EUROPE

Gimbutas' own childhood could not be opened until she discovered the key to the Neolithic figurine repertoire, thereby enabling her to extend her 'Lithuanian synthesis' to the whole of Old Europe. Yet a third possibility is that working in a male-dominated academic environment at Tübingen and Harvard inhibited the full development of Gimbutas' views, which could only be released in California, buttressed by the status of a full professorship.

There are two other factors in Gimbutas' West Coast life which may be of significance. The first is the related Californian movements of flower power and feminism. Children of the 1960s, hippies and feminists both rose to power in the immediate surroundings of Gimbutas' home and created philosophies linked on at least one level—that of mother earth and fertility—to the views of prehistoric religion that Gimbutas came to espouse. It was only in the 1970s that feminine deities began to appear in the most hardcore feminist groups and on the fringes of the movement. Later, mainstream feminism started to adopt the Goddess to bolster the notion of women's equality with, if not superiority over, men (Goodavage 1990:11). Yet Gimbutas has claimed that she did not feel attracted to either hippies or feminists at this time and that it was only much later that Californian feminists adopted her rather than vice versa. The second point is one perhaps not easily discussed by a male prehistorian. It concerns the personal fertility of Gimbutas and its loss at the time of menopause; this latter can be dated to some time in the 1960s. It may be no more than coincidence that a woman with strong professional interests in the Mother Goddess, regeneration and fertility begins to write most vividly about fertility symbols at a time when her own personal fertility is disappearing and her own children leave home. Yet this is a factor which I would be loathe to omit from my account of this remarkable woman's life in relation to her writings.

In summary, the projection of a woman's life history of enormous changes, encapsulating in miniature the life-experiences of thousands of people in the twentieth century, back into the deep past to explain the origins of the Bronze Age and the destruction of the oldest civilization found in Europe is a penetrating example of the linkages between personal biography and professional writing which can often remain hidden behind the facade of positivistic 'explanation'. It is apposite that the Free University of Vilnius bestowed an honorary doctorate on Marija Gimbutas in the last year of her life (11 June 1993), since Vilnius and its environs played such a nodal role in her writings.

In passing, it is worth noting that, unlike some East Coasters, Gimbutas did not regard California as a place of total exile and alienation! In the foreword to *The Balts*, she compares the campus at Stanford with the castle hill of Gediminas in

Vilnius, the Californian sand with the white sands of Palanga, and the Pacific sunsets with those of her Baltic homeland. The recreation of past landscapes in present times is one of the most human of acts and often the stuff of poetry. Marija Gimbutas' work was filled with science and poetry in equal measure. It was this mixture that made Marija Gimbutas the woman and the archaeologist she was.

### CONCLUSIONS

The links between the life and works of Marija Gimbutas are a particularly clear case of close biographical connections between the personal experience and the academic *oeuvre* of an eminent prehistorian. The links between her archaeological subject matter and the invasions and migrations from which she suffered in her own life can be investigated more readily because of the contrastive writing about material culture and spirituality. To be sure, there are many male archaeologists who have written about the figurines and ritual paraphernalia of Eastern Europe, but most resemble the surface approach of, for example, Nándor Kalicz, who, in his review of Neolithic and Copper Age studies, tactfully entitled *Clay Gods*, takes the standard line on Neolithic art and ritual: 'Quite naturally, the female became the symbol of fertility, as the source of life' (Kalicz 1970:15). But no male archaeologist has ever taken the question of the Goddess as deeply as has Gimbutas.

The single case of an east European prehistorian may seem very distant from the general changes in modes of explanation with which archaeologists are typically concerned. Even if Marija Gimbutas is the exception, there are several generations of archaeologists living in continental Europe whose life experiences bore the often devastating effects of invasions and migrations in two World Wars and their aftermaths. It is hard to resist the notion that these personal experiences did have an effect on the models of explanation which they proposed. It is not a coincidence, I believe, that the 'retreat from migrationism' arose precisely in countries not invaded in either world war—in Britain, America and parts of Scandinavia. The return to migrationist explanations in the late 1980s may convincingly be related to the upsurge of refugees in that decade and the media attention to the numbers of refugees trying to enter 'Fortress Europe'.

Far from arguing for a reductionist, deterministic role for the history of invasions in the twentieth century on modes of archaeological thinking, I suggest in this chapter that the personal impact of gender on archaeologists has been a factor much underestimated in past 'explanations' of the changing modes of archaeological explanation. In the case of Marija Gimbutas, there can be little doubt that her gender played a role of enormous importance in the way that her career developed and, in many specific instances, the kind of archaeological output which characterized the two halves of her academic *oeuvre*. I contend that there is a yet largely untapped reservoir of information and insight about the writing of archaeological texts relating to the subjective experiences of both female and male scholars and that, in future, we should gain much from attempting to relate the subjective, the inter-subjective and the objective factors impinging upon changing modes of archaeological theory and practice.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I was challenged to write this chapter as a result of a question that arose in relation to the Bosnian war: namely 'Is it possible for a Bosnian archaeologist to write the same kind of archaeology as s/he had written before the war?' I pay tribute to all the Bosnian archaeologists who have endured so much and are now rebuilding the Zemaljski Muzej Sarajevo and other damaged cultural monuments in that city and throughout Bosnia.

I owe an enormous debt of gratitude, naturally, to Marija Gimbutas, whose theories about the social structure of Neolithic and Chalcolithic south-east Europe have been a source of stimulation and provocation to me over many years. I am grateful to Laurie Talalay for comments on Marija Gimbutas' ideas about social power and males and to Ernestine Elster for discussion of Marija's life story. I am pleased to thank David Saunders for helpful comments about modern Russian history. I acknowledge the kindness of Linda Ellis, Barbara Voytek, Dorcas Brown and David Anthony in sending me newspaper articles and press clippings about Gimbutas and the role she played in recent Californian feminism. I acknowledge the kindness of Pavel Dolukhanov and the editors in commenting on the text. Lastly, I am very grateful to Kim Engels and her co-workers in the Frauen Museum Wiesbaden for sending me material about their exhibition and press cuttings about Gimbutas' visit to Wiesbaden.

## NOTES

- 1 The first version of this paper was written for the TAG 93 symposium on 'Migrations and invasions in archaeological explanation: long-term perspectives' (Durham, UK, 13–16 December 1993).
- 2 Note by the editors. John Chapman has not been able to provide the reference for this quotation, due to the unfortunate theft of the relevant source. We, however, have decided to leave the quotation in the text.

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# INDEX

- Academy of Sciences  
(*see also* Research Institute) 92, 97,  
114, 144–145, 180–7, 184, 210, 250
- Adelsö 152, 155
- Administrative archaeological institutions  
(various names) 68, 71–6, 93, 106, 109,  
128, 135, 139, 146, 145, 189, 232, 240,  
246, 249, 251;  
*see also* Archaeological management,  
Service
- Africa 14, 19, 48, 54, 68, 176, 180, 183,  
186, 268, 269–6;  
*see also* Egypt, Tanzania
- Alimen, Marie-Henriette 68
- Almagro Basch, Martín 132–6
- Alseikaite-Gimbutiene, Marija *see*  
Gimbutas, Marija
- Amateur/amateurish activities 2, 11, 16,  
53, 93, 106, 169, 273
- America *see* Argentina, Latin America,  
Mexico, USA, Uruguay
- Amt Rosenberg 259, 269, 278
- Andrés Zamora, Teresa 130
- Androcentrism/androcentric 1, 37, 151,  
164, 229, 231, 236, 245, 247, 291
- Antiquarians iv–v, 7, 10, 11, 14, 65, 88,  
91, 113, 121, 124, 153, 165, 169–8, 198
- Antoniewicz, W. 90
- Apostolaki, Anna 9, 14, 232–236, 245,  
251
- Arabia 40, 180
- Aragón Pineda, Emilia 139
- Archives/archivist v, 23, 47, 115, 123–8,  
127, 128–3, 134, 138–3, 229, 250, 261,  
262
- Archaeological associations *see*  
Archaeological societies
- Archaeological management 102, 107,  
112, 174, 232, 250;  
*see also* Administrative archaeological  
institutions, Service
- Archaeological societies/archaeological  
associations/cultural associations and  
societies (various names) 6–7, 14, 16,  
40, 44, 46, 48, 53, 71, 88, 91, 114,  
169–7, 174, 176, 180–6, 183, 189,  
197–5, 202, 207–18, 214, 216, 223, 229,  
232, 250;  
*see also* Membership
- Argentina/Patagonia 68
- Arocena Torres, Olimpia 132, 142
- Art (studies on ancient) 9, 65, 68–2, 70,  
107, 109, 128–3, 132, 134, 137–3, 151,  
155, 173, 175, 177, 193, 198, 202, 232,  
235–4, 240, 242, 245, 246–5, 273,  
294–5, 300
- Arwidsson, Greta 19, 43
- Asia Minor *see* Turkey
- Aubolyer, Janine 70
- Australia 1, 21, 32, 248
- Austria/Austrian 47, 241, 268, 271, 273,  
291.
- Award 174, 178, 180, 183, 184, 214, 242;  
*see also* Medal
- Bailloud, Gérard 68
- Bártholo, Maria de Lourdes 23
- Basse de Menorval, Eliane 68
- Bate, Dorothea 14, 180
- Beazley, John 143

- Beck, Adelheid 262, 266, 275  
 Becker, Carl Johan 215  
 Bell, Gertrude 12, 40, 171, 173  
 Benson, Margaret 171–8  
 Betham Edwards, Matilda 175  
 Bittel, Kurt 261, 273  
 Blanco Mínguez, Concepción 14, 127, 131  
 Blindheim, Charlotte (née Charlotte Unset Thomas) 20–3, 109–16, 114, 116  
 Blindheim, Marin 109  
 Bøe, Johannes 107  
 Bordes, Françoise 67, 68  
 Bosch Gimpra, Pere 128  
 Bossert, Eva-Maria 21, 262, 266, 273–3, 277, 280  
 Boyd [Hawkes], Harriet 7–8, 12, 18, 34, 191–206, 229  
 Braña de Diego, María 126–127  
 Brazil 68  
 Breuil, Abbé Henri 67–2, 181  
 Britain/United Kingdom/England/Scotland 4, 7–8, 11, 14, 16, 19, 21–4, 31, 43, 44, 46, 59, 62, 73, 75, 93, 104, 138, 158, 169–190, 222, 248, 250, 272, 301  
 Brunton, Guy 180  
 Bulgaria 181  
 Burdett-Coutts, Angela 44  
 Burma 158  
 Buscho, Ernst 240
- Cabré Aguiló, Juan 128  
 Cabré Herreros, Encarnación 19, 127, 128–4, 139  
 Cañas Egea, Catalina 139  
 Carretero Arranz, Francisca 139  
 Cassour de Saint-Mathurin, Susanne 68  
 Caton Thompson, Gertrude 14, 16–17, 34, 40–2, 43, 46, 54–7, 180–7, 183–93  
 Ceballos-Escalera Conteras, Isabel 132  
 Cehak-Holubowiczowa, H. 91  
 Ceylon 158  
 Chadwick, Nora 8  
 Childe, Vere Gordon 43, 185, 287, 295  
 Children 2, 5, 17, 19–2, 51, 62–6, 85, 93, 98, 103–7, 107–11, 109, 123–7, 128, 131, 132–7, 137, 144, 145, 145–61, 159, 161–7, 163–70, 214, 269, 274, 291–291, 293, 300;  
*see also* Family, Marriage, Mother, Single, Wife  
 China 156  
 Christie, Agatha 17, 46  
 Clark, Grahame 14, 16, 41, 47  
 Class/Bourgeoisie 4–5, 13, 16–17, 21, 40, 45–9, 48, 61–5, 68, 71, 86, 104, 112–7, 123–8, 131, 133–9, 144, 151, 155, 171, 175, 180, 194, 204, 230, 231, 234, 237–6, 272  
 Colani, Madelaine 12, 65–9, 74  
 Colonialism/military colonisation 3, 45, 195, 197, 295  
 Conference/congress/meeting/symposium 14, 16, 73, 95–9, 109, 114–19, 130, 133, 153, 158, 176, 180, 197, 202, 210, 224, 272, 287, 294  
 Congress *see* Conference  
 Constantinou, Ioanna 235, 241–9  
 Cornford, Francis 183  
 Costa Arthur, Maria de Lourdes 23  
 Couples working in archaeology 3, 11–12, 16, 18, 20–3, 47, 48, 65, 67–3, 71, 107, 109, 131, 139, 154–62, 159, 173–9, 184, 238, 241, 242  
 Crete 7, 8, 12, 191–206, 240  
 Cruickshank, George 175  
 Cultural associations *see* Archaeological societies  
 Cultural societies *see* Archaeological societies  
 Cunnington, Maud 172  
 Cyclades, the/Cycladic 18, 239, 241, 273, 274  
 Cyprus 21, 174
- Denmark/Dane/Danish 4, 5, 9, 10, 13, 18–1, 21, 32, 51, 207–34, 269  
 Desroches-Noblecourt, Christiane 70  
 Diebolt, Wanda 75  
 Dielafoy, Jane 11, 18, 65–67, 68, 125  
 Discrimination/male-biased/male-dominated v. 5, 11–12, 21–5, 32, 35, 109, 135, 137, 143–8, 145–2, 234, 245, 248–7, 269, 271, 274–4;

- see also* Inequality, Sexism  
 Doctoral degree *see* Thesis  
 Dorabialska, Alicja 86  
 Dybsand, Guri 103
- Eastern Europe 1, 287, 289, 291–5  
 Eckhoff, Emil iv, v  
 Education 2–4, 9–10, 21, 36, 42, 44–8, 51, 61–5, 64–8, 72, 75, 83–88, 91–4, 95, 97, 99, 112–16, 114–19, 123–9, 128–3, 132, 134, 137–2, 143, 145, 158–4, 164, 169–6, 175, 178, 180, 181, 183, 186, 194–1, 209, 224, 228–7, 232, 234, 236–4, 240, 243, 245, 248–8, 278, 289, 291  
 Edwards, Amelia 3, 11, 41, 171, 173–83, 184–5  
 Eguarán Ibáñez, Joaquina 127  
 Egypt/Nile/Fayum 3, 7–9, 12, 14, 42–4, 46, 65, 70, 169–86, 184–4, 224, 258  
 Emancipation 5, 34, 51–4, 151–6, 154, 159, 163–70, 214, 232, 289, 291;  
*see also* Women's movement  
 Emperaire, José 68  
 Employment/employees v, 2, 5, 8, 11, 13, 14, 32, 34–6, 43, 44, 53, 59, 62, 83, 89–2, 92–99, 105, 124–8, 127, 130–5, 133–8, 142–50, 153, 157, 159, 180, 189, 195, 198, 204, 221, 231, 246, 251, 291, 293;  
*see also* Wages  
 Engastromenos, Sophia 196  
 England *see* Britain  
 Enlightenment 3, 66, 69  
 Enríquez Arranz, Dolores 127  
 Evans, Arthur 155, 191–9, 200  
 Excavation 1, 3, 6–7, 11–14, 21, 40, 44, 39–48, 65–72, 89–3, 93, 97, 106, 109, 109, 112–16, 116, 128–3, 132, 134, 139, 142, 144–9, 152, 155–1, 158, 169, 172–9, 176–2, 179–7, 183–92, 188, 193, 195–6, 202, 204, 221, 232, 235, 239–7, 245, 246, 249, 262–1, 268, 269, 271, 274–4, 294;  
*see also* Fieldwork, Rescue archaeology, Survey
- Family 11, 17–20, 40, 47, 51, 59–3, 67, 68, 87, 98, 100, 103, 109, 112, 126–30, 131, 132–7, 137, 144, 151, 153, 156–2, 161–9, 165–2, 171, 175, 180, 194, 196, 209, 237, 262, 268, 270–8, 287, 289, 291, 297;  
*see also* Children, Marriage, Mother, Single, Wife  
 Far East 66  
 Fedorowska, Lidia 89  
 Fellowship *see* Research funding  
 Feminism/feminist 5, 18, 31–2, 34, 36, 31–39, 42, 44–7, 51, 58, 61, 71, 73–8, 126, 151, 164, 171, 179–5, 186–4, 191, 203, 205, 228, 230, 232, 234, 240, 248, 250, 275, 287, 292, 300–10, 302;  
*see also* Suffragettes, Women's movement  
 Férebach, Denise 68  
 Fernández Vega, Pilar 127, 132, 138  
 Fernández-Chicarro y de Dios, Concepción 132  
 Fett, Per 18, 107, 116  
 Fiction/archaeological fiction/literary work/novel/story 8–9, 16, 18, 41–3, 54, 65, 156, 174–80, 177, 187, 242  
 Fieldwork 7, 12, 54, 71, 88, 93, 97, 99, 103, 106–11, 109, 114, 128–3, 132, 146, 151–7, 158, 173–9, 179–5, 185, 191, 197–5, 204, 232, 235, 243–2, 246;  
*see also* Excavation, Rescue archaeology, Survey  
 Figurine *see* Goddess  
 Finds processing/laboratory 20, 42, 69–4, 75, 128, 131, 196, 235, 246, 274  
 Finland/Finnish 73, 165  
 First World War 2, 5, 10, 13–19, 40, 43, 44, 48, 66–67, 83, 87–91, 125, 180, 181, 197, 209, 210, 215, 301;  
*see also* Inter-war period  
 Fischer, Franz 274  
 Fischer-Bossert, Eva-Maria *see* Bossert, Eva-Maria  
 Font, Matilde 131, 139  
 Foreign schools (various names) 7, 12, 66, 69–4, 72–7, 171, 173–9, 180, 184, 195–2, 197–5, 240, 242, 245, 251, 274



- France 4, 11, 18, 20–3, 23, 58–82, 86, 138, 155, 169, 181, 186  
Frödin, Otto 159
- Galván Cabrerizo, María Luisa 127, 132–7  
Garasanin, Milutin 294  
García Bellido, Antonio 131  
Gardner, Elinor 14, 40–2, 180  
Garrod, Dorothy 14, 16, 34, 41, 43, 67–1, 171, 181–93  
Gauger, Hildegard 278  
Geiger, Agnes 9  
Gender archaeology 1, 9, 31, 37, 37, 42, 58, 63, 248–8, 275  
Gender behaviour 8, 42, 43, 45, 146, 193, 234  
Gender difference 9, 39  
Gender identity 196  
Gender ideology 2, 18, 31–2, 35, 42, 43–6, 52, 113, 146, 151, 154, 160–8, 164  
Gender relations 2, 38, 52, 193, 245  
Gender role 9, 45, 72, 98–2, 204  
Gender politics 18, 23, 31, 34–6, 45, 52–6, 83, 91–4, 95, 98–3, 142  
Genière, Juliette de La 70–5  
German Democratic Republic 10, 21, 142–52  
Germany/German 1–2, 4, 10–11, 19, 21–4, 51, 62, 65–9, 68, 73, 85, 104, 114, 130, 138, 142–52, 161, 169, 173, 175–1, 186, 191, 209, 215, 222, 224, 240–50, 251, 258–94, 289–291;  
*see also* German Democratic Republic  
Giering, Senta *see* Ralalski-Giering, Senta  
Gil-Mascarell Bosca, Milagros 132  
Gimbutas, Marija 8, 20, 180, 248, 262, 266, 270–81, 275–6, 280, 286–302  
Glinos, Dimitris 240  
Glob, Peter Vilhelm 215  
Goddess 193, 202–10, 248, 271–81, 289, 292, 294–5, 300–11  
Goering, Beatrice 262–1, 274, 279  
Goebler, Peter 259, 266, 271, 291  
Gómez-Moreno y Martínez, Manuel 127  
Gourlay, Janet 173  
Grants *see* Research funding
- Greece 4–5, 7–9, 12–14, 16–19, 21, 70, 191–206, 228–65, 294;  
*see also* Crete, the Cyclades
- Hald, Margrethe 9, 43, 219, 220, 221, 225  
Hall [Dohan], Edith 7, 198, 205, 229  
Harrison, Jane Ellen 191–9, 229  
Hartman, Fanni von vi  
Hawkes, Jacquetta 9, 19, 41, 47  
Henri-Marin, Germaine 67–1  
Herrera Escudero, María Luisa 127, 132  
Hildebrand, Hans 165  
Historiography 1–2, 5, 24–58  
Holland *see* the Netherlands  
Honorary doctor's degree 114, 174, 176, 178, 180, 183, 242, 300  
Hougen (née Thune) Ellen Karine 113, 116  
Hours, Madeleine 70
- Imvrioti, Roza 240  
Imvriotis, Yiannis 240  
India/Indian/Indianist 70, 156, 157, 158, 178, 185  
Indochina 12, 65–9, 70, 74  
Indonesia 158  
Industrialization 2, 4–5, 11, 60, 87, 104–8, 123, 194, 289  
Inequality/equality/egalitarianism 5, 21, 35, 46, 61–5, 69, 86–9, 98, 100, 123, 126, 134, 137, 160–6, 162, 164, 231, 235, 245, 300;  
*see also* Discrimination, Sexism  
Ingstad (née Moe), Anne Stine 112–16, 114–116  
Ingstad, Helge 113  
Institutionalization 3, 11, 13, 31, 52, 71, 83, 88, 155  
Inter-war period/inter-war years 5–6, 13–19, 44, 67, 87–91, 209, 234;  
*see also* First World War, Second World War  
Italy/Italian/Rome 3, 12, 46, 69–4, 132, 169, 173, 175, 180, 240, 242, 269
- Jacq-Le Rouzic, Mauricette 67–1  
Jacobsen, Lis 5, 12, 18, 34, 207–34

- Japan/Japanese 69, 74–9, 158  
 Jewellery 9, 109, 162, 202, 274  
 Job 5, 8, 10–10, 12–18, 20, 22, 43–5, 52–5,  
 59, 66, 69, 75, 87–88, 92, 93, 95, 99,  
 102, 105, 107, 112–17, 117, 117, 128,  
 131, 135, 143–52, 177, 210, 214,  
 221–30, 225, 242, 246, 251, 259, 268,  
 269–6, 274, 291;  
*see also* Employment/employees  
 Joteyko, Jozefa 86
- Kalogeropoulou, Athena 241  
 Kamieniecka, Wanda 89  
 [Kaminska-] Sokolowska, Janina 89  
 Kampouroglou, Dimitrios 239  
 Karouzos, Christos 238, 240–9, 251  
 Karouzou, Semni 1, 13–14, 16, 18, 228–6,  
 275, 277, 279–9  
 Karpinska, Aleksandra 89, 91  
 Kavvadias, Panayiotis 247  
 Kazantzakis, Nikos 240  
 Kenyon, Kathleen 1, 6, 17, 20, 22, 43, 44,  
 180, 183–93  
 Key, Ellen 162–9  
 Kietlinska, Alina 89  
 Kimmig, Wolfgang 261, 266, 279  
 Klindt-Jensen, Ole 215  
 Kohl-Larsen, Ludwig 269  
 Kohl-Larsen, Margit 269  
 Konstantinou, Ioanna *see* Constantinou,  
 Ioanna  
 Kotta, Venetia 235  
 Krajewska, Teodora 86  
 Kunze, Emil 240, 242
- Laboratory *see* Finds processing  
 Lamb, Winifred 14, 41, 171, 173, 229, 274  
 Laming-Emperaire, Annete 20, 68  
 Lang, Amei 275  
 Lasseur, Denyse Le 14, 69  
 Latin America/South America 68, 157  
 Laubenheimer, Fanette 75  
 Lebanon 14, 67, 181  
 Legislation/act/law/scheduling 5, 59–5, 66,  
 74, 100, 104–9, 109, 109, 113, 138,  
 153–9, 161, 172, 188, 234–2, 242–2  
 Leijonhufvud, Märta VI  
 Leijonhufvud, Sigrid VI  
 Leroi-Gourhan, André 66, 68–3  
 Leroi-Gourhan, Arlette (née Royer) 20–3,  
 68–3  
 Librarians v, 109, 123–8, 127, 130, 132,  
 134, 138–3  
 Lorey, Eustache de 69  
 Low Countries *see* the Netherlands  
 Lumley, Henry de 71  
 Lumley, Marie Antoinette de 71, 75  
 Lund Hansen, Ulla 221
- Malta 179–5  
 Manjón, Regla 139  
 Marchioness of Casa-Loring 125  
 Marava-Chatzinikolau, Anna 235  
 Marinatos, Spyridon 242  
 Marquet Krause, Judith 14, 69  
 Marriage/married 3, 5–6, 13, 16–20,  
 47–48, 59, 62, 65, 67–2, 69, 71, 73,  
 106–11, 109, 112, 126, 128, 131, 132–7,  
 137, 154, 156, 159, 165–2, 188, 209,  
 212, 235, 240, 269, 271, 274–3, 289;  
*see also* Children, Family, Mother,  
 Single, Wife  
 Martens, Irmelin 112, 116  
 Martineau, Harriet 171  
 Martínez Gallego, Ursicina 13, 127, 131,  
 137  
 Martínez Munilla, Carolina 132  
 Martínez Santa-Olalla, Julio 132  
 Matriarchy/matriarchal 193, 202–10, 248,  
 273, 291–1;  
*see also* Patriarchy  
 Mecklenburg, Duchess of 47  
 Medal 180, 183, 209, 214, 224;  
*see also* Award  
 Meeting *see* Conference  
 Membership 4, 6–7, 14, 44–8, 48, 53, 60,  
 70, 114, 124, 135, 157, 165, 169–7, 180,  
 187, 189, 193, 207, 214, 224, 232, 241,  
 251  
 Meritt, Lucy Shoe 229  
 Mestorf, Johanna 10–11, 41, 46  
 Mexico 5, 135  
 Mezquíriz Irujo, María Angeles 132–6  
 Middle East 12, 40

- Military in Colonialism *see* colonialism  
 Millán García de Cáceres, Clarisa 127, 132  
 Missions/missionary activities 3, 45  
 Mitropoulos, Dimitris 240  
 Moffat, Adelene 198  
 Moitia, Irisalva 23  
 Mogensen, Maria 13  
 Montáñez Matilla, María 132  
 Montelius, Agda 165  
 Montelius, Oscar v, 10, 47, 52, 152–9,  
 159–5, 164–1  
 Moreira de Sá, Maria Cristina 23  
 Morocco 65  
 Mother/Motherhood 2–3, 6, 8, 8, 18, 44,  
 46, 48, 51, 62, 73–8, 87–88, 95, 98, 100,  
 112, 123, 127, 131, 144, 148, 155–2,  
 159, 162–9, 175, 178–4, 194, 202,  
 212–20, 216, 248, 268–5, 289;  
*see also* Children, Family, Marriage,  
 Single, Wife  
 Mother-goddess *see* Goddess  
 Müller, Sophus 10–2, 160  
 Munksgård, Elisabeth 9, 43, 221, 224  
 Muntanyola, Mercedes 131  
 Muñoz Amilibia, Ana María 132  
 Murray, Gilbert 191  
 Murray, Margaret 7, 12, 41, 139, 171–8,  
 178–5, 184–4  
 Museum/collection/curator iv–v, 1, 7–8,  
 10–14, 16, 19, 23, 53, 68, 69–4, 75,  
 88–1, 91–4, 93, 97–97, 99, 102, 105–11,  
 109, 112–19, 117, 123–8, 127, 130–8,  
 137–3, 142, 144–51, 152–8, 155–1, 159,  
 172–8, 176, 178, 181, 183–91, 198, 215,  
 220, 221, 222, 224–2, 231–9, 235–3,  
 240–53, 247–6, 259, 269, 271, 273, 274,  
 280, 287, 291, 294  
 Musianowicz, Krystyna 89  
  
 Nationalism/national 1–3, 12, 58, 85–8, 88,  
 91, 99, 104, 113, 123, 231–9, 247–6,  
 269  
 Navarro Mayor, María Luz 19, 126–30,  
 131, 132, 137  
 Nepal 158  
 Nestler-Wocher, Hildegard 266, 275  
 Netherlands, the 11, 23  
  
 Nurses 65, 124, 196;  
*see also* School teachers  
 Norström, Rosa VI  
 Norway iv, 2, 4–5, 8–9, 13, 18–5, 32, 37,  
 43, 51, 102–24, 162, 222, 225, 269  
 Nebenzahl, Helena 90  
 Near East/Orient 3, 8, 42, 48, 66–67, 69–4,  
 169, 172, 176, 180, 183, 186, 273, 294,  
 295;  
*see also* Middle East  
 Network 1, 6–7, 9, 11, 46, 48, 59–3, 72,  
 109, 158, 204, 212  
 New Guinea 63  
 Niño Mas, Felipa 9, 127, 132  
 Nissen Fett, Eva (née Nissen Meyer) 18,  
 107, 116  
 Norström, Rosa v  
  
 Obermaier, Hugo 128  
 Ohly, Dieter 242  
 Orient, the *see* Near East  
 Otto, Karl-Heinz 143  
 Owen, Linda R. 261  
  
 Palestine/Jericho/Mount Carmel 14, 179,  
 180–7, 183–90  
 Palol Salellas, Pedro 131  
 Pappadias, Aristides 196  
 Parren, Kalliroe 234  
 Partnership *see* Team  
 Passive attitude 21, 48, 135, 161, 274  
 Patriarchy/patriarchal 38, 154, 164, 180,  
 193, 295;  
*see also* Matriarchy  
 Patronage 5, 21, 135  
 Patten, Jean 196  
 Peña Pastor, Concepción 130  
 Péquart, Marthe 68  
 Pérez Cobos, Clara 139  
 Persia 65, 173  
 Petrie, Flinders 12, 48, 171, 173–86,  
 183–92, 188  
 Petrie, Hilda 12, 48–1, 173, 184  
 PhD Thesis *see* Thesis  
 Phillipines 158  
 Podkowinska, Zofia 14, 89–2  
 Poland/Polish/Pole 4, 21, 83–101, 289–9

- Portugal/Portuguese 5, 19, 21, 23
- Positive discrimination 5, 21
- Post-excavation tasks *see* Finds processing
- Pottery studies 9, 16, 41–3, 90, 158, 180, 185, 198–8, 237, 240–8, 245, 247, 271, 294–4, 296–7
- Prado Benavides, Mercedes de 139
- Princess Marie of Windischgrätz, *see* Mecklenburg, Duchess of
- Publication/Edit/Publish 2, 10, 11–12, 16, 18–3, 22, 35, 43, 48, 53, 65, 67–1, 69–4, 72, 83, 89, 91–4, 95–100, 107, 109–13, 113, 114–19, 121, 128, 131, 132–7, 152, 155–3, 171, 173, 175–2, 178–5, 183–90, 186, 196, 198–6, 202, 204, 207–15, 210–18, 232, 235–4, 241, 243–2, 262, 266, 269–6, 271, 272–2, 279–9, 287, 291–1, 294–4
- Rafalski-Giering, Senta 19, 21, 262, 266–6, 275, 277, 279–9
- Rau, Virginia 23
- Reinerth, Hans 259, 266, 269, 275
- Religion (influence of contemporary)/calvinism/catholithism/protest antism/secularization iv, 45, 59, 68, 87–88, 95, 98, 100, 104, 123
- Religion (studies of ancient) 107, 116, 156, 177, 179–5, 191–9, 202–10, 212, 236, 271–80, 292–5, 297, 300; *see also* Goddess
- Renfrew, Colin 294
- Rescue archaeology/salvage archaeology 5, 72, 91, 146, 221, 235, 246
- Research 20, 38–39, 43, 53, 66, 68–3, 71, 88, 92, 93, 95, 99, 105–10, 109–18, 116, 128, 132, 135, 137, 139, 146–51, 151, 159–5, 164–1, 172, 180–7, 191–196, 200–12, 221–8, 223, 225, 229, 232, 234, 236, 238, 240–8, 242–1, 245–6, 259–8, 269, 271–9, 273, 275, 277, 280, 291, 293
- Research funding/fellowship/grants/scholarships 35, 48, 95, 112, 127, 128–5, 132, 155, 165, 180–7, 195–2, 198, 222–30, 225, 240, 268–5, 271, 291
- Research Institute/CNRS/CSIC/PAS/Research Council 12, 14, 17, 43, 62, 66–73, 75, 89–2, 92, 97, 114–18, 127, 132, 144, 145–1, 180–7, 183, 189, 196, 197–5, 222, 225, 240–8, 242, 245, 251, 259, 278–8;
- see also* Academy of Sciences
- Revue/la Tubino, Matilde 131
- Ribeiro, Margarida 23
- Richter, Gisela 229, 235, 240
- Riek, Gustav 259–8, 278
- Rieth, Hedwig 278
- Rocha Pereira, Maria Helena de 23
- Rosen-Przeworska, Janina 89
- Rosenberg, Alfred 259;
- see also* Amt Rosenberg
- Rouzic, Zacharie Le 68
- Ruiz Pedroviejo, Francisca 126, 132
- Russia/Russian/Moscow/St Petersburg 43, 85–8, 175, 184, 273, 289
- Ruxer, Mieczysława 90
- Rydh, Hanna 5, 7–9, 16, 18, 34, 41, 114, 151–74
- Saint-Périer, Suzanne Raymonde de 67
- Salary *see* Wages
- Schefold, Karl 242
- Schmidt, Richard Rudolf 259, 264, 275, 278
- Schneider [Blaschka], Gerta 266
- Schnittger, Bror 152, 155–1
- Scholarships *see* Research funding
- Scholkmann, Barbara 261
- Schoolteachers 74, 91, 112, 124, 126, 131, 209, 246;
- see also* Nurses
- Seager, Richard 204
- Sección Femenina 130–4;
- see also* Women's movement
- Second World War 1–2, 5, 14, 19–2, 44, 46, 59, 67, 68–3, 75, 75, 87–92, 98–2, 104–14, 143, 159, 183, 184, 189, 209, 235, 241–9, 259, 268, 271, 273, 280, 289–9, 301;
- see also* Inter-war period
- Sellers Strong, Eugenie 7, 12, 171, 173
- Selling, Dagmar 43

- Service 1, 7, 8, 10, 12, 21, 53, 65–9, 71, 88, 142, 146, 223, 228, 232–43, 240–8, 242–5, 249–8;  
*see also* Administrative archaeological institutions, Archaeological management
- Sex/sexuality/sexual difference 8, 36, 48, 59–7, 71–6, 74, 92, 92, 111, 148, 151, 160, 172, 188, 195, 219, 230, 245, 246, 268, 270, 279–9
- Sexism/sexual 61–6, 133, 248–7;  
 harassment  
*see also* Discrimination, Inequality
- Sikelianos, Angelos 240
- Single/unmarried/spinster 13, 17, 20, 46–9, 48, 65, 69, 105–9, 123, 132–7, 137;  
*see also* Children, Family, Marriage, Mother, Wife
- Skjelsvik, Elizabeth 113, 115
- Slomann, Wencke 19, 107–13, 112, 114–20
- Slovenia 47
- Sommerfeld, Wanda 89
- Sonneville-Bordes, Denise 20, 68
- Soviet Union 91, 143, 270–8;  
*see also* Russia
- Spain/Minorca 2, 5, 7, 9, 13–14, 19, 21–4, 23, 121–45, 155, 179, 186
- Spanish Civil War 125–38, 138–3
- Stamsø Munch, Gerd (née Stamsø) 112
- Stark, Freya 40, 41, 54
- Stelmachowska, Bozena 89, 91
- Stjernquist, Berta 19, 41, 160
- Stuart Poole, Reginald 174
- Stjernquist, Berta 19, 41, 160
- Straume, Eldrid 113, 114–20
- Suffragettes/suffrage 18, 34, 46, 52, 61, 73, 87, 153–9, 171, 187, 203, 216, 248;  
*see also* Feminism, Women's movement
- Survey 91, 93, 106, 109, 112–17, 116, 123, 152, 180, 196–4, 204, 228, 274;  
*see also* Excavation, Fieldwork, Rescue archaeology
- Sweden/Swedish iv-v, 5, 7–10, 13, 16, 18–1, 21, 41, 43, 51–4, 107, 112, 114, 151–74, 176, 214, 222, 225, 269
- Symposium *see* Conference
- Szczawinska, Zofia 86
- Tanzania 269, 275
- Tarradell, Miquel 131
- Team/partnership 3, 11–12, 14, 16–19, 48–1, 70, 112, 194, 196–3, 204–12, 274
- Textile studies 9, 41–5, 162, 220, 225, 232, 235, 245
- Thailand 158
- Theocharis, Demetrios 294
- Theodoropoulou, Avra 234, 240
- Thesis/dissertation/doctoral dissertation/  
 PhD dissertation/doctoral degree 20, 58, 66, 68–3, 89–3, 93, 99, 107, 109, 112, 114–21, 130, 151, 152–60, 159, 164–1, 174, 176, 178, 187, 197, 198, 209, 215–3, 221, 225, 242, 258–8, 262–3, 269–8, 275, 279–9, 289–291, 300;  
*see also* Honorary doctor's degree
- Thorvildsen, Elise 221
- Travellers/travel/Grand Tour 3, 40, 44–9, 52, 58, 146, 147, 155, 157–3, 169–7, 175, 193–197, 198, 204, 241, 242
- Triantafyllidis, Manolis 240
- Troels-Smith, Jørgen 215
- Tsountas, Christos 239–7, 247, 274
- Tubino y Oliva, Francisco 131
- Turkey/Turkish/Asia Minor 70, 172, 196, 231, 273–2
- Uhlig, Carl 269
- Umiastowska-Wasiutynska, Hanna 89
- United Nations 158
- University/École Supérieur/Escuela Superior/lecturer/professor 3–4, 7, 9–14, 16, 19–3, 23, 41, 43, 47, 51, 53, 58, 62–6, 68–7, 75, 86–92, 93, 95, 99, 102, 105–11, 109, 112–18, 117, 121, 124–30, 128–4, 132–9, 138–3, 142–51, 151–7, 165, 169–6, 174, 177–7, 183, 187–5, 191, 198, 203–11, 207–15, 210–23, 222, 223–2, 230–8, 238–7, 242, 245–4, 248, 258–8, 262–1, 268–5, 271, 273–2, 278–8, 287, 289–292, 300, 300
- United States *see* USA
- Uruguay 68

USA 1, 5, 7–8, 12, 16, 21, 42, 43, 51,  
58–2, 61, 63–7, 73, 87, 105, 132, 139,  
174, 188, 191 222, 229, 248, 250, 266,  
287, 289 291–1, 294, 301–12

Varoucha, Eirini 234

Vázquez de Parga Iglesias, María Luisa  
127

Wages/salary/payment 4, 12, 19, 21, 22,  
44, 73, 87, 92, 93, 95, 102, 106, 128–3,  
132–7, 139, 143, 157, 183, 189, 210,  
214, 235, 245, 246, 291;  
*see also* Employment

Walter, Otto 241

War *see* Inter-war period, Spanish Civil  
War, First World War, Second World  
War

Ward-Perkins 183

Wartolowska, Zofia 89

Webb, Beatrice 180

Wedeking, Hommann 242

Wheeler, Blanche E. 7, 198, 202

Wheeler, Mortimer 12, 16, 39, 48, 173,  
183, 185

Wheeler, Tessa 12, 16, 48, 173, 183, 184

Whishaw, Elena 139

Wife/husband 2–3, 5–6, 11–12, 16–17,  
18–3, 36, 45, 47, 48, 51, 60, 65, 67–3,  
87–88, 95, 100, 103, 106–10, 109,  
112–16, 114, 123–7, 131, 133, 139, 145,  
153–62, 159, 162–9, 166, 173–9, 184,  
194, 212, 214, 238, 241–50, 269, 278,  
280, 289–9;  
*see also* Children, Family, Marriage,  
Mother, Single

Wilson, Erasmus 175

Wocher, Hildegard *see* Hildegard Nestler-  
Wocher

Women's movement/women's  
associations 2, 5, 34, 73, 86, 99, 124,  
126, 138, 151, 155, 157–3, 161, 162,  
164–1, 172, 187–5, 194, 203, 214–20,  
230;  
*see also* Feminism, Sección Femenina,  
Suffragettes

Zimbabwe 55, 180, 183, 184, 186