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The students gave me a bad time; they were rough and rude and they smelt. . . . in the end we became great friends . . .

Mary Brodrick’s life in archaeology is charted in a slim volume called *Egypt*. Published in 1937, it is a compilation of her lectures, papers and biographical and autobiographical notes. The daughter of a solicitor who described herself as ‘a gregarious wanderer and lover of men and things’, Brodrick’s interest in ancient Egypt began in childhood with the gift of a book – a history of Egypt in French. In the late 1880s she built up a reputation for herself as an expert in Egyptology through her lectures at the British Museum, and in 1892 began attending lectures in archaeology at University College London. She was among many women students attending the College, and in the years that followed she and several of her classmates would have a wide-ranging impact in archaeology. They were the ‘women who did’ – celebrated in the title of this chapter, which references Grant Allen’s novel of 1895. This was the age of the ‘real New Woman’, a time when opportunities – educational, professional, personal – flowered amid a backlash against these developments, from men and women alike. These were promoted in the pages of periodicals for women and girls, and listed in the pages of *The Englishwoman’s Year-Book and Directory*. This chapter charts the evolution of women in archaeology during a critical period over which women fought for, and eventually won, greater political representation and professional and personal opportunities. It examines the ways in which these archaeological women developed a public and commercial expertise through taking part in a broader movement of ‘lady guides’ and lecturing in the 1880s and 1890s. Publishers facilitated the promotion of this expertise through women’s writing, which in some cases was specifically designed for a female
The women carved out a niche for themselves outside the salaried or official positions of their male counterparts, and largely outside what Sheppard has called ‘the domestic space’ of university lectures. Of course, there were women who came before. One of those women was Sophia Lane Poole, who died in 1891. Poole’s letters from residence in Egypt had been published in the 1840s as The Englishwoman in Egypt: Letters from Cairo. Credited with being a pioneering travel writer of Egypt, Poole was noted at her death particularly for her observations on the life of Egyptian women and her status as their ‘privileged friend’. In the 1860s she and her son Reginald Stuart Poole, later the Yates Professor at UCL and a key member of the Egypt Exploration Fund’s Committee, provided descriptions for a series of the photographer Francis Frith’s ‘views’ of sites and activities in Egypt, Palestine and Sinai, available in sets of three for 10 shillings. Presumably both drew on their own experience of seven years living and travelling in Egypt to contribute context for the photographs.

In 1892 Amelia Edwards died. She was a celebrated writer and traveller by the time she took her first trip to Egypt in 1873, in the company of her friend Lucy Renshaw. One of the main results of their trip was her travelogue A Thousand Miles Up the Nile. Published in 1877 to positive reviews, it was eventually reprinted many times. A. L. Burt’s 1888 American edition included it as one of ‘Burt’s Library of the World’s Best Books’. Fifty years later, in the 1930s, it was still being mentioned in travel publicity. For example, Imperial Airways passenger pamphlets for the Empire Flying Boats’ Africa service directly referenced A Thousand Miles up the Nile in the text accompanying the outbound Alexandria to Khartoum route. The other significant result of Edwards’ trip was her role in establishing an organisation key to driving British archaeological interest in Egypt: the Egypt Exploration Fund. The EEF was critical to archaeology – not only for its work in conserving, excavating and publishing research on Egypt’s monuments and artefacts, but also, significantly, as the means by which several of the early Archaeology and Egyptology students at UCL made a name for themselves through lecturing and publishing.

Edwards’ efforts began in 1880 when she approached Reginald Stuart Poole and Samuel Birch, among others, about the possibility of setting up a subscription fund for supporting excavations in Egypt. Formally established in 1882, she campaigned, lectured and fundraised on behalf of the Fund both in Britain and in the United States over the next decade. Her second book on explorations in Egypt, Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers, was published in 1891; it featured the work of one of the audiences.
Fund’s star archaeologists, Flinders Petrie. When Edwards died in 1892, she left a bequest establishing a Chair in Egyptian archaeology at UCL – a position implicitly designed for Flinders Petrie and to which he was duly appointed. Clause B of Edwards’ will made clear that her bequest to UCL was contingent on the College fulfilling (among other specificities) her desire to ensure gender equality would be promoted in Egyptology studies:

the bequest to U. C. is subject to the following conditions wh shall be provided for – in such rules + regulations as aforesaid . . . (b) that the classes, scholarships, + exhibitions – if any – be open to students of both sexes.13

**Perambulating lady lecturers**

In 1892 Reginald Stuart Poole was in his last years as Yates Professor of Classical Archaeology. His course included Egyptian subjects, and alongside Mary Brodrick, mentioned above, were Anna Anderson Morton, Helen Beloe Tirard and Emily Paterson (later EEF Secretary and promoter of Fund interests in Britain).14 Each of them would have a significant role in promoting archaeology and particularly the study of ancient Egypt.15 Although she had entered UCL as a student in 1889, Helen Tirard was by that point already an experienced lecturer in Egyptology.16 A vicar’s daughter from Suffolk, she joined the British Museum’s Reading Room in 1883. Two years later she began lecturing on ‘Ancient Egypt’ at the British Museum, using illustrative materials to enhance her presentation as well as leading a tour through the antiquities on display, moving through the museum.17 She aimed her course particularly at ‘ladies’, thus building a female audience for her expertise. Her students paid for the course, and Tirard donated her proceeds to the Egypt Exploration Fund, raising £10 for the Fund in the first year.18

These lectures continued for several years, and were advertised in periodicals targeted towards the literary and scientific elite such as the *Academy* and the *Athenaeum*, as well as ordinary newspapers and women’s periodicals. In 1887 Tirard’s new course, entitled ‘Life in Ancient Egypt – at Home – at Work – at Play’, suggests that she sought to connect directly to her audience using concepts that would have been familiar to them.19

The following year Tirard expanded her offer to students: two courses and a formal syllabus on Ancient Egypt. In addition, the *Academy*
noted, her lectures would be enhanced by her own direct observations of excavations following a visit to Egypt earlier in the year. Tirard began lecturing during the week at the King’s College Ladies Department in 1889. Although this institution was based in Kensington, the course still included tours at the British Museum – a way for her to maximise and publicise the benefit of maintaining a link to the collections and expertise there.

At this point Mary Brodrick began lecturing at the British Museum on Saturdays. Having trained with Gaston Maspero and other French Egyptologists at the Sorbonne, she became an ‘occasional student’ at the British Museum, receiving further training with Egyptian Antiquities Keeper Philip LePage Renouf. In 1888 Brodrick was accepted to College Hall, the only residence for women university students in London. Established in the early 1880s, College Hall fostered an international community of students embarking on courses mainly at University College London and the London School of Medicine for Women. It gave women a separate space outside their family homes within which they could develop their own social and scholarly networks. Brodrick received very little family support to pay for her residence at College Hall; the British Museum lectures provided her with much needed income and enabled her to remain based there. The Hall also served as her professional address where tickets for her lectures could be purchased. Like Helen Tirard, Mary Brodrick charged for her course on ‘Ancient Egyptian History and Antiquities’, asking 21 shillings for the series and 4 shillings for a single lecture. Unlike Tirard’s lectures, Brodrick’s were open to both men and women (though predominately attended by women), and were aimed particularly at those who had spent or anticipated spending time in Egypt.

The visibility of these women was increasing in the press. In November the Sheffield Daily Telegraph’s ‘Lady Correspondent’ highlighted the number of women writing and lecturing about Egypt, mentioning Tirard and Brodrick’s efforts specifically. Brodrick, an open supporter of women’s education, was clearly interested not only in the history of ancient Egypt, but particularly in women’s experience in the ancient world. The ‘Lady Correspondent’ noted Brodrick’s conclusion: that women’s rights campaigns were unnecessary in ancient Egypt because laws relating to marriage, divorce and other issues favoured them.

By the time Kegan Paul published Helen Tirard’s (guide)book Sketches from a Nile Steamer in 1891, she was, according to the Athenaeum, a noted lecturer. Her Preface explains her qualifications – ‘some years of
study in the British Museum’ – and her role as a teacher who had ‘help[ed] many students … to realize the interest of the study of Egyptology’. At 275 pages it was a slightly more compact and more female-oriented alternative to Budge’s Nile. The first sentences of Tirard’s first chapter address ‘ladies’, offering advice on an appropriate wardrobe for a Nile cruise. Thereafter, in the guise of her own diary, she formed the text as a narrative of her own experience as a tourist on the Cook’s steamer Ramses, giving dates and times for arriving at sites and noting that the number of women on board was double that of men. A long folding map of the Nile was bound in to the back of the book for easy reference.

Readers could follow Tirard on and off board, wandering through or passing by archaeological sites that were explained or described with added contextual information, including short definitions of basic terms such as hieroglyphics and stelae. Tirard also noted the crafts and activities of the Egyptians in their villages, introducing readers to modern transliterated Egyptian terms such as ‘goolahs’ (water pots). Her narrative incorporates reflections on modern and ancient Egyptian women. A drawing of a girl carrying a water jar on her head at Thebes gave readers a glimpse of modern Egypt. On reaching Queen Hatshepsut’s temple at Deir el Bahri, readers were told about ‘the wonderful woman of her time’ who dressed in men’s clothes, commanded an army, funded exploration and commemorated herself ‘with a daring spirit of innovation’.

Tirard continued giving lecture courses at King’s College Ladies Department in the 1890s, expanding her repertoire into Egyptian religious life and death practices and in particular the Book of the Dead. By 1894 the institution was advertising courses with Tirard and the classicist Jane Harrison that were aimed at women aged 16 and over. Her student Jessie Stewart noted the popularity of her ‘perambulating lectures’ at the British Museum, and so inspired the subtitle for this part of Chapter 3.

The substance of these ‘Book of the Dead’ lectures later appeared as a book in 1910. Swiss Egyptologist Edouard Naville, who had been one of the EEF’s excavators, provided an introduction for the book. He praised her ‘profound knowledge’ and ability to present the complexities of ancient Egyptian religious life and ceremonies clearly as the product of extensive study, but rather dismissively characterised her as ‘not an Egyptologist by profession’.

Mary Brodrick increased her intellectual influence as well, publishing in 1891 through John Murray a condensed and edited English translation of the German Egyptologist Heinrich Brugsch’s Geschichte Aegypten’s unter den Pha raonen, which had first appeared in 1877. In order to produce ‘a cheaper and more convenient’ edition
of a book highly esteemed by the public, Murray engaged Mary Brodrick to make Brugsch’s original work reflect ‘the most recent discoveries in Egyptological science’.\textsuperscript{30} She also added sections on recent excavations to ensure the work included the most up-to-date discoveries. Brodrick’s correspondence with John Murray during this time reveals the pressure she was under to complete the work in amongst her lecturing, which, along with other work, contributed to her income.\textsuperscript{31} She initially was offered £50 from Murray’s for the book, published as \textit{Egypt under the pharaohs}.\textsuperscript{32} The John Murray archive also indicates the number of copies of Brodrick’s Brugsch acquired in the first year of publication: of the 1,500 produced, 973 were sold and another 49 presented.\textsuperscript{33}

Shortly after submitting the manuscript of \textit{Egypt under the pharaohs}, Mary Brodrick began contributing revisions to the eighth edition of Murray’s \textit{Handbook to Egypt}. Her correspondence in the John Murray archive indicates that she was asked to look over the text generally rather than taking on a detailed revision, as J. C. Chapman was officially editing the \textit{Handbook}. Brodrick had been in Egypt the year before on a trip down the Nile. Her recent experience there led her to suggest a few practical amendments to the text, including a change of proprietor at the d’Angleterre Hotel (popular with English tourists) and the restriction of \textit{dahabiya} travel (a form of houseboat used on the Nile) above the First Cataract at Aswan.\textsuperscript{34} She also recommended that Murray’s add the services of Henry Gaze, a competitor of Cook’s, to the information given.\textsuperscript{35} Brodrick applied her Egyptological knowledge in assessing site plans and cartouche illustrations and sought to confirm the latest archaeological identifications.\textsuperscript{36} Her amendments turned out to be more extensive than initially expected, and she was offered 100 guineas for her work on the Brugsch translation and the \textit{Handbook}, representing about 10 months work in total.\textsuperscript{37}

Brodrick subsequently began work on another edited translation – this time of French Egyptologist Auguste Mariette’s 1867 work, \textit{Aperçu de l’histoire ancienne egypte}. As she stated in her Preface, this was a book that she routinely recommended for those interested in learning about ancient Egypt.\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Outlines of Ancient Egyptian History}, Brodrick’s English translation of this important general text, had international appeal. William Copley Winslow, the secretary of the American branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund, was eager to see it in an American edition. Winslow’s enthusiasm rendered Brodrick more visible specifically as a female scholar when he requested that, rather than the usual ‘M. Brodrick’, her full name be included on the frontispiece in order that her gender be clearly acknowledged and ‘recognised’. And so it
was; when Charles Scribner’s edition of the work was published, ‘Mary Brodrick’ appeared on the title page. Despite this international publicity coup, Brodrick’s work and expertise were called into question, particularly the decisions she made in the translation that varied at points with other editions available. Brodrick stubbornly stuck by her work, drafting a letter in response to her critics and referring Murray to letters of approval sent by Mariette’s daughter Sophie and her former tutor Gaston Maspero.

Regardless of such criticisms, the American edition of Outlines contributed to Brodrick’s increasing visibility there. During the production process she was named the Egypt Exploration Fund American branch’s Honorary Secretary. Within a year the University of Kansas granted her a PhD degree, as she put it, ‘on the strength of Brugsch + the Outlines…’. Her association with Murray was also benefiting Brodrick professionally in England: she used a letter of recommendation from John Murray to enhance her appeal for attracting lecturing jobs.

She retained an interest in Murray’s Handbook to Egypt, and her editing of the ninth and tenth editions is discussed in detail in Chapter 6. Enabling access to Egypt was in the forefront of Brodrick’s mind; in 1893 she submitted a manuscript to Murray for a short, inexpensive book of ‘useful hints for those going to Egypt’, which outlined some basic travel logistics – updated railway ticket prices, projected expenses of travel, telegram and postal information. She believed such a book would be valuable to those travellers who might not want to invest 18 shillings in a Murray’s guidebook. Her professional relationship with John Murray was also growing – it is clear that she became a reader of submitted manuscripts for the firm as well as providing information to contribute to the Handbook. Four years later, ordered to spend the winter in a warmer climate, she and her colleague Anna Anderson Morton planned to conduct a party of women to Egypt. In a telling demonstration of her personal relationship with the firm, a circular advertising for ‘A Winter on the Nile in a Dahabiyeh’ with ‘Miss BRODRICK, Ph.D’, laying out Brodrick’s full credentials, was sent to Mr Murray for further distribution to interested people of his acquaintance. She and Morton repeated this tour several times.

The tours were a way for Brodrick both to reinforce her own expertise and to draw on the authority of the Murray name to sell through personal networks her own brand of archaeological expertise to female audiences. Brodrick’s Handbook for Murray was listed in the 1899 Englishwoman’s Year-Book as one of the ‘Works of Women Writers, Published 1898’, a list dependent on publishers giving information to
In 1902 Brodrick’s desire to produce a low-cost text came to fruition, but not with Murray. Methuen & Co published Brodrick and Morton’s *A Concise Dictionary of Egyptian Archaeology*, priced at 3 shillings and sixpence. Catering to students and tourists, they drew on the experiences of these tours to shape the work.

While Tirard and Brodrick were publishing and lecturing on Egypt, other women were becoming known for lectures on classical archaeology. Jane Harrison, her near-contemporary Eugénie Sellers and her student Maria Millington Lathbury were named as a triumvirate of knowledgeable women in the field. Harrison began lecturing at the British Museum in the early 1880s, publishing in 1882 her first book, *Myths of the Odyssey in Art and Literature*, in which she promoted the value of archaeology to the study of Greek myths. Three years later came *Introductory Studies in Greek Art*, which drew on several years’ worth of her British Museum lectures. At this time Harrison was also one of the candidates for the Yates Professorship at UCL, but she was not ultimately selected for the position. Her lecturing expanded to the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria & Albert Museum), where her talks were illuminated with electric lantern slide photographs. She also visited Greece and saw archaeological excavations there at first hand.

With this new, personal experience of the country and its archaeology Harrison continued to publish, producing, like Mary Brodrick, edited and enhanced translations of art historical works. Pierre Paris’s *A Manual of Ancient Sculpture*, in which she credited Mary Brodrick for help with Egyptian material, and Maxime Collignon’s *Manuel of Mythology in relation to Greek Art* through H. Grevel & Co were both published in 1890. Such works demonstrate the power of translation for increasing women’s public presence.

The following year, an article interviewing Harrison about the then-current debate on retaining ancient Greek studies at university level was published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. It provides both a literal image of Harrison herself (an illustration from a photograph) and a textual one in which Harrison, joined by Maria Millington Lathbury, is interviewed in a space surrounded by echoes of the ancient world, complete with an artfully draped swatch of ‘mummy cloth’ in pride of place, where ‘The very air ... breathed antiquity’. Harrison’s intriguing interview yields an important insight into the ‘public’ attracted to these women’s archaeological lectures. She divided her audience (mainly though not exclusively women) into three groups: educated women who were particularly interested in supporting and engaging in the intellectual welfare of their children; wealthy women of leisure who wanted a light touch
introduction to the subject; and women for whom the lectures inspired further academic work. With non-working-class women expected to remain at home, the public lectures of Harrison and her contemporaries may have been a welcome escape for those women interested in expanding their intellectual horizons, however briefly. When asked the size of her largest audience, Harrison reported that a lecture on funerary art in Dundee had attracted 1,600 people. Through this interview Harrison and Lathbury are portrayed as living embodiments of a new kind of (female) public intellectual.

Women abroad

Brodrick, Tirard and Harrison all made names for themselves at home before beginning to publish. Other women who had lived abroad within an emerging ‘professional’ archaeological context drew on their personal experiences of foreign countries to establish and solidify their own archaeological expertise, targeting a mobile, seasonal audience more specifically. Mary Wilson Gardner was one of these women. She married the archaeologist Ernest Gardner in 1887, when he was a Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Having been one of the first students at the British School at Athens, Ernest Gardner became the School’s second Director in the year of his marriage. Mary Wilson, a soldier’s daughter, had been brought up partly in Ireland and Scotland. Her educational background is less clear, but she and Gardner certainly met in Cambridge. When Ernest Gardner took up his post at the British School, the Gardners spent a substantial part of the year in Athens. They remained based there for eight years, over the course of which 33 students were admitted to the School. Ernest Gardner’s diary from his first year as Director yields a glimpse of the kind of work he was doing – visiting ancient sites and museums in Athens and surrounding districts, paying social calls and visits, learning Modern Greek and networking with staff of the other archaeological Schools in Athens.

There is currently little archival evidence of Mary Gardner’s experience in Athens – what survives of her incomplete typewritten memoir ‘The Gates of Life’ unfortunately does not include the section on Athens. However, the extant chapters hint at the strength of the Gardners’ connection to the city and to Greece. In the beginning of her chapter on their return to Britain, Mary Gardner states that they had been away so long they felt they were ‘out of things’. It was during this period that
Mary Gardner published her first book. *A Short and Easy Modern Greek Grammar* was an edited translation of Carl Wied’s textbook of the Modern Greek language. This was no straightforward translation, however, as Mary Gardner apologised for ‘the amount of alteration and rearrangement of his text which I have found it impossible to avoid’.59

Gardner’s *Modern Greek Grammar* set out the basics of a language that was at that moment at the centre of an ongoing debate. In brief, one camp advocated a return to a ‘classical’ or ancient/ ‘pure’ form of Greek. The other was in favour of learning and using the form of Greek that ‘ordinary’ people spoke, which incorporated the transmutations and ‘foreign’ elements that had accumulated over the centuries. Mary’s Grammar was placed firmly in the latter camp, boosted by her husband’s introduction outlining the debate. Gardner’s translation of this text is significant to understanding her experiences in Greece. It suggests that her appreciation, knowledge and promotion of Greek was based on the language of the ‘people’ – or, as one *Athenaeum* reviewer put it, ‘out-and-out vulgar Greek’.60 These were the people who would have been employed on the British School’s excavations, or who worked as servants in the Gardners’ Athens home, or were encountered in everyday interactions and local travels. This book went into a second edition in 1910. In her Preface to this edition Mary Gardner noted her pleasure at ‘the widespread use of this little grammar’, describing Modern Greek as ‘the connecting link between east and west’.61 It was included as an ‘indispensable’ volume for travellers to Greece in Murray’s *Handbook to Greece* (seventh edition).62

By all accounts Mary Gardner was an ambitious woman who hoped to become a writer and cultivated relationships with the literary elite.63 Her unpublished autobiography references some of these names, illuminating the circle in which she and her husband moved. It included H. G. Wells and E. F. Benson, the latter of whom had studied at the British School under Gardner.64 Letters from Mary Gardner to Macmillan & Co further illuminate her literary ambitions and her experiences as an archaeological expat in Greece. The correspondence begins with her submission of four ‘sketches’ to *Temple Bar*, a magazine for a ‘middle-class readership’ with a mix of fiction, biography, history and geography essays owned and published by Macmillan & Co.65 Her ambition was to capture the excitement of living in Greece, although she was not completely satisfied with her attempt.66 These short pieces of semi-autobiographical fiction appeared in *Temple Bar* in January 1905 as ‘Samian Wine: Some Greek Sketches’, illuminating local travel and interactions, cultural knowledge and the relationship ‘between East and West’.
Each sketch features a British woman protagonist in Greece; Gardner obviously drew on her own experiences in these short stories. In ‘An Attic Night’, Gardner’s nameless protagonist is on board a small Greek schooner enjoying the scenery from the deck when the Greek captain approaches her and strikes up a conversation. Rather than being annoyed by the intrusion Gardner’s lady is charmed, glad of the opportunity to converse and improve her Greek. It is clear that she already knows the landscape – when a local earthquake forces her to change her planned route, she remembers the unpleasant facilities available at her new destination. But that hotel too has been affected, and instead she takes shelter at the home of a local steamer agent while waiting for her husband, a student of antiquities, to arrive. The home of this Greek family is a far more pleasant space than any hotel could have been; but the story concludes with the lady committing a faux pas by offering payment for the hospitality. It is refused, with the insinuation that despite her familiarity with Greece she is still a stranger.67

When Mary Gardner lived in Athens, the BSA did not have its own student residence; instead, students were expected to take lodgings in the city.68 In her final sketch, ‘Wrecking a Plot’, Gardner explores the role of the BSA Director’s wife as surrogate mother to the (then) all male BSA students in Greece. The story involves one such young man. Attempting to learn Greek from the daughter of the local Greek family where he is staying, it becomes clear that he is a novice in the customs of the ‘East’. In speaking to the girl alone, she and the rest of her family think that the young man is courting and will marry her. The ‘hostess’ (the fictionalised Director’s wife), aware of the trouble he is heading for, warns him that customs in Greece differ from those in Britain.69 In this case, the ‘hostess’ is literally the translator of Eastern customs to Western students.

The Gardners continued their engagement with Greece through taking student tours there after Ernest Gardner became Yates Professor in 1896. Alongside taking classes in Archaeology at UCL, Mary Gardner achieved press notices through her active participation in organising and taking part in UCL’s Greek Plays, and in 1908 she contributed her knowledge in revisions to Macmillan’s guide to Greece, further discussed in Chapter 7.70 By the First World War Mary Gardner’s language skills and knowledge of Greece had a new, more urgent relevance. In October 1915 she offered her services to King’s College London as Honorary Lecturer in Modern Greek, intending to teach nurses heading for the front at Salonica.71 Her husband was also on his way there, having departed England in the same month to take up a post in military intelligence where he, too, used his linguistic knowledge and local contacts to interpret local
newspaper reports for military use. Towards the end of her life in the 1930s Mary Gardner’s ambitions had not dimmed; she hoped to publish her memoirs with Macmillan, citing the value of her extensive network and the popular appeal of archaeological memoirs at the time. She also drew on her archaeological experience to craft a book of antiquarian ghost stories, taking inspiration from M. R. James. She planned for her work to be introduced by her friend of many years, Edward Frederic Benson – who in this instance, as the author of antiquarian ghost stories, was her ticket to authenticity. Unfortunately neither Gardner’s memoir nor her ghost stories were published.

The concept of the Director’s wife as hostess and interpreter is further highlighted in Ellen Sophia Bosanquet’s *Days in Attica*. Published in 1914 by Methuen in the UK and Macmillan New York in the US, it reflected Bosanquet’s experiences in Greece in the previous decade. Ellen Sophia Hodgkin had studied history at Somerville College, Oxford before her marriage to Robert Carr Bosanquet, the then Director of the British School at Athens, in 1902. During the four years that the Bosanquets were based in Greece, Ellen Bosanquet became integrated into Athenian social life, in addition to gaining knowledge of Greek culture, history, archaeology and archaeological sites, and improving her own knowledge of Modern Greek. Her book is a travel guide to the city in which she acts as a tour guide to her Athens. Its ancient and modern landscapes mingle with myths, (pre)histories and lived experiences, simultaneously incorporating elements of archaeological life – knowledge of artefacts, excavators, people and places, routes and byways. The first chapter of *Days in Attica* actively mirrors a Murray, Baedeker or Cook’s handbook, with distinct sections on travel, hotels, climate and supplies. Then readers are presented first to the island of Crete, then to Attica, the region en route to and incorporating Athens. The narrative progresses chronologically through Byzantine to contemporary Athens. The contemporary perspective reflects Bosanquet’s personal experience as an expat in Greece, and it was this context that reviewers of the work felt was the most valuable.

In her own memoir, *Late Harvest*, Bosanquet described the experiences she had on arriving in Greece for the first time as a young and pregnant wife. As the wife of the BSA Director, she was not only part of the British expat community in Athens, which centred around the British Legation, but also the intellectual community of all the other international archaeological schools in the city – Austrian, German, French and American. During Bosanquet’s time in Athens Sir Edwin Egerton, British Minister to Greece, was at the head of the British Legation, and
there were numerous British Consuls or Vice Consuls spread through the country and its islands. The close ties between the British archaeological community and the Legation was reflected in the fact that the Bosanquets dined with the Egertons ‘twice a week’.76

Furthermore, on an international level there was collaboration between archaeologists of different nations. The Bosanquets, at the British School, were next door to their counterparts at the American School at Athens, and the association with other international archaeological schools and local archaeological societies was strong. Ellen Bosanquet's relations with archaeologists are reflected in her book as she describes the various personalities and excavations key to understanding the ancient and modern context of the region. The first chapter, on Crete, contains Bosanquet’s discussion of the evolving separation of Crete from Ottoman Turkey. Alongside a brief reference to the work of British archaeologists Arthur Evans and David George Hogarth at Knossos, she introduces one local scholar whose role in Crete is of particular relevance to the tourist and the student’s experience of the island’s archaeology: Joseph Hazzidakis, Keeper of the Museum in Candia (modern Heraklion). Hazzidakis, readers are told, in addition to directing excavations himself, is at the heart of the archaeological network on the island. He has a thorough knowledge of the latest scholarship and artefacts discovered, and guides those students who come to the Museum in their research.77

Bosanquet’s intended readership is evident in the inclusion of information of direct relevance to women. The most obvious is her chapter ‘Home Life in Attica’, which charts her own experiences as an ‘Athenian’ housewife, signals her personal affiliation to the city and gives her an Anglo-Hellenic identity. She provides her readers with detailed information on the range and characteristics of her servants, rather like an expat Mrs Beeton.78 Yet she also used Days in Attica to draw parallels between the lives of women in the ancient and modern world, and in so doing offered her modern (female) readers alternative narratives for ancient buildings and battles. As Mary Brodrick did in her lecture on ancient Egypt, Bosanquet drew parallels with the ancient world to air her own feelings on contemporary women’s issues. Minoan frescoes showing the women of Knossos in the Candia Museum are brought to life in Bosanquet’s prose. Guiding readers through the exhibits in sequence, on reaching the frescoes she declares that ‘These Minoan ladies are well educated. . . . they often, Ariadne like, took the law into their own hands and interfered successfully in affairs of state . . .’79

Bosanquet’s chapter ‘Legends of the Acropolis’ likewise draws on ancient sources to give the history of Athens a gendered twist, with
reference to the ongoing suffrage campaigns of her own period. She includes an excerpt from the Roman historian Varro on the vote to decide between Athena and Poseidon as the ‘spiritual patron’ of Athens. Attic women, who outnumbered men and were politically active, decided in favour of Athena, ‘But the men had superior strength and punished the suffragatrices by the loss of the vote and otherwise.’ This potent reference to suffrage was picked up by a Newcastle Journal reviewer as evidence of Bosanquet’s skill in making a classical story relevant to contemporary issues.

Her own experience of Greece is framed as a transformational one, in which she sheds her British identity and becomes enmeshed in the local community. The tourist – Bosanquet’s ‘bird of passage’ – does not appreciate the intricacies, annoyances and delights of modern Greek life, and instead is buried in the ancient world. But as a resident Bosanquet can enjoy the ‘pleasures to be had for nothing . . . the exhilarating atmosphere that sends us Athenians about our day’s work with a singing heart.’ As a resident, she explores an Attica not open to the tourist passing through, who is dependent on the routes mapped out in guidebooks. She distances herself from the British tourist in Athens, cloaking herself in an identity that is both alluring, and, to outsiders, unknowable. Only she can reveal a hidden world to us – one informed not just by prolonged residence, but also by a special relationship to the landscape and the people that archaeological life brings, drawing on the explorations of the staff and students at the British School at Athens.

Days in Attica was published in March 1914. The positive reviews heralded it both as a record of a past age and a glimpse of Greece in the midst of great change, as its borders extended as a result of the Balkan Wars against Ottoman rule. In her Preface, Bosanquet described the political context as a ‘new phase’ for Greece. But the change that was just around the corner with the declaration of war in August was even greater than expected. The Preface to Bosanquet’s 1932 travel guide A Tale of Athens begins with a reflection on her earlier work, and it provides a fitting evaluation of Days’ history: that it was intended for ‘leisurably people’ visiting Athens who would walk around the city and use the text to enhance their experience. But with war came the total cessation of such tourism. Instead, in a postwar context, Bosanquet observes a change in seasonal visiting patterns and audiences. Her new book is aimed not at the ‘winter resident’ of prewar days but ‘the yachting visitor with little time for studying monuments on the spot, and with interests wide rather than deep’. Luckily, in the few months preceding the declaration of war in
1914 Days was enthusiastically read, particularly in Liverpool where the Bosanquets resided at the time. In March 1914 the Liverpool Daily Post reported the results of a survey of the six most sought-after books; two of the city’s main libraries and bookshops listed Days among their six. Three years later another work appeared that shed light on the experience of a BSA student in the Balkans on the eve of world war. Agnes Conway’s A Ride Through the Balkans: On Classic Ground with a Camera brings a unique perspective on the context of the British School at Athens, providing an example of how the School acted as a key focal point for facilitating regional travel, scholarly networks and cultural exchange – particularly relating to and relevant for women. As a student at Newnham College between 1903 and 1907, Conway studied ancient history with Alice Gardner (sister of Ernest Gardner and Percy Gardner) and Greek with Jane Harrison. She continued her archaeological studies abroad, first under Eugénie Sellers Strong at the British School at Rome and then as a student at the British School at Athens. During this period she was also writing; in 1909 she and her father, noted art historian and mountaineer Martin Conway, co-authored The Children’s Book of Art, published by A. & C. Black. She also wrote reviews, notes and articles under her own name for (among other periodicals) the Law Quarterly Review, Archaeologia Cantiana and the Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs.

Conway and a Newnham friend, Evelyn Radford, were admitted as students at the British School at Athens for the 1913/14 session. They arrived in Greece in February 1914, staying in Athens initially to do preliminary research. The proximity of, and strong connections with, the other international schools of archaeology in the city meant that BSA students could take advantage of their libraries and meet an international set of scholars. Conway recorded in her diary that at the beginning of the trip in Athens she and Radford attended a party at the German Institute hosted by its Director, Georg Karo. While there they met many American students and also chatted to Wilhelm Wilberg from the Austrian Institute. After spending a short time the city, Conway and Radford embarked on an unofficial ‘tour’ in Greece and the Peloponnese, Asia Minor, Albania and Montenegro. A Ride therefore centres on their experiences as British School students and Western travellers in the East.

The Balkans had significance particularly for British women, who had been involved in travelling and educational work there for decades and had published books on their observations and experiences. Conway’s text examines and presents the many peoples they encountered en route, which Martha Klironomos has highlighted.
as a factor of ‘sociological-anthropological travel’. It also explicitly ties their journey to the archaeological network of researchers in the Eastern Mediterranean, and to their own roles as prospective excavators, highlighting the presence of women in the field. The women’s visit to the excavations of the American archaeologist Alice Walker at Corinth illuminates this presence. Although no full names are used, it is clear that the excavator is female and integrated into the local community. In the passages relating to Walker readers are introduced to a woman who, with her local foreman ‘George’, had travelled round the Peloponnese during the Balkan Wars, blending into the community in disguise in local costume and giving ‘relief’ to soldiers’ families. They allowed her in because she looked like one of them. Once inside their homes, Conway adds, Walker and George ‘in the course of talk heard of the needs of the poor people without the purpose of their visit being suspected’. The melding of excavation life with local modern context in this passage is a critical element in the value of *A Ride* as a form of scripting spadework.

This melding is further emphasised as the book progresses. Although both Conway and Radford had interests in classical sites, ‘New Greece’, as they called it, claimed an equal amount of interest, particularly at a time when political tensions were building to a fever pitch of conflict. Their journey to Corfu was interrupted by a Greek revolt against the Albanian state, which had been created just a few months before Conway and Radford’s arrival. After successfully bargaining with reluctant drivers prepared to charge extortionate prices to take them to Corfu during the revolt, Conway and Radford encountered numerous refugee camps. These were packed with men, women and children who, according to Conway, wanted nothing more than to be incorporated into Greece rather than into the new Albania.

Conway was fascinated by the situation; she and Radford, in their efforts to see all aspects of local life, took it all in. A priest working with refugees conducted them round a camp, hoping Conway and Radford would make public their plight. Once in Corfu and comfortably ensconced in the Pension Suisse, they returned to their classical interests and a more acquisitive scholarly attitude towards the region. Kaiser Wilhelm II, who had a residence, Achilleion, on Corfu, had been involved in excavations on the island’s Temple of Artemis. Conway noted in *A Ride*: ‘There are splendid possibilities for excavation in Corfu, and we envied the Kaiser his facilities.’

On returning from the Balkans in late June 1914, Conway almost immediately began drafting a new book recounting her experiences on her ‘tour’. She continued working on the chapters, arranged
geographically, over the following weeks as the political situation in the Balkans worsened. On 29 July, the day war was declared between Austria and Serbia, she finished the first chapter. Five days later, as the British government was on the verge of declaring war, she was writing the ‘Salonica’ and ‘Athens Regained’ chapters. The next day, 5 August, she had completed her work. The British government had declared war, and she acknowledged her sense of impending anxiety, a pressing need to finish the book. It was eventually dedicated to Jane Harrison, who Conway asked to look over the draft (Fig. 3.1).\footnote{96}

*A Ride* is based primarily on Conway’s personal diary and the letters she and Radford wrote home during the course of their trip. She worked hard to convert these resources into readable and informative text, editing and revising the chapters over a number of months and seeking expert advice on the region and its history. By early 1915 it was finished, and she deposited the manuscript at John Murray, but after a week it was returned to her. She offered it next to Robert Scott, who accepted it in July 1916, along with numerous photographs. With the delay between submission and acceptance, Conway had to bring the text up to date, and the war is explicitly referenced at several points in the text. Her network of friends, all of them women, helped her edit and polish the manuscript to meet the tight deadline: Robert Scott’s manager was in a rush to publish. The Gallipoli campaign in the Dardanelles, an area Conway and Radford had travelled through en route to Constantinople (Istanbul) and

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**Fig. 3.1** Agnes Conway’s inscription ‘from a kindred soul in travel’ in a copy of her *Ride to the Balkans*. (Author’s collection)
Brusa (Bursa), had only ended at the beginning of the year. Forces were concentrating on the Macedonian front. Conway’s observations – and particularly the images she and Radford had taken – would thus have been a marketable commodity, one which (she surmised) was the main reason for the manuscript being accepted.\textsuperscript{97} It was Conway’s scripted identity as a knowledgeable and observant photographer and informal foreign correspondent, ready to go where the action was happening, following the stories picked up on the way, that gave the book its contemporary relevance.

To illustrate this point further, a simple ‘sketch map’ was bound into the book to accompany the Epilogue. It showed Conway and Radford’s meandering, circuitous route, with lines jutting out here and there and loops where they had gone back over ground already covered. In the final sentences of \textit{A Ride} Conway reflects the destiny of the archaeological wanderer, caught between the ancient world and the modern one: ‘That year we seemed fated to be in the vicinity of wars, past and present, little as we suspected that each place as we left it would become more deeply embroiled.’\textsuperscript{98} When the book eventually appeared, in March 1917, it was advertised along with other works relating to the war, adding an archaeological perspective to Robert Scott’s list. Conway’s ‘unconventional journey’ reported in a ‘bright and easy style’ was, Scott’s marketing pitch noted, valuable for its description of ‘scenes which now hold the world’s attention’.\textsuperscript{99} Her hard work paid off in positive reviews.\textsuperscript{100}

Women continued to produce archaeological travel guides and narratives after the war. The Scottish artist and archaeologist Annie Pirie Quibell had been an Egyptology student at University College London in the 1890s. She was among the first women students who travelled to Egypt as part of Flinders Petrie’s Egyptian Research Account to copy tomb paintings at Saqqara and Thebes in 1895, and her work there with fellow artist Rosalind Paget was noted in UCL’s 1896 annual report.\textsuperscript{101} She continued to work as an artist and excavator at Egyptian sites Hierakonpolis/El Kab before her marriage to fellow Egyptologist James Edward Quibell in 1900. At that time J. E. Quibell was a recently appointed Inspector in the Egyptian Antiquities Service, and the Quibells continued to be based in Egypt for the following decades.\textsuperscript{102} During that time she published two short site guides through the Church Missionary Society, \textit{The Pyramids of Giza} and \textit{The Tombs of Saqqara}, as well as a short guide to the Cairo Museum – all of which (it was stated at her death) were greatly appreciated by soldiers stationed in Cairo during the war.\textsuperscript{103}

Annie Quibell’s memoir and travel guide \textit{A Wayfarer in Egypt} was published by Methuen in 1925, three years after Egypt became an
independent nation. It was part of Methuen’s ‘Wayfarer Series of Books for Travellers’, with titles eventually covering regions and countries in Europe, the Americas and the Far East (Fig. 3.2). The series was part of what Maureen Duffy has characterised as ‘a new wave of enthusiasm for armchair travel’ in the mid-1920s that helped keep Methuen financially viable; it drew on both republished older titles and newly written work. 104

Quibell’s Wayfarer reflects the wide range of her experiences as an archaeological artist, tour guide and the wife of an Antiquities Inspector.
and later Director of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Her husband’s positions in the Egyptian government meant a considerable amount of travel within the country, as well as personal knowledge of the scholarly network actively investigating Egypt’s ancient past, which she acknowledged in her Preface. A reproduced photograph of the bust of Nefertiti serves as the book’s frontispiece image, emphasising the underlying thrust of Quibell’s narrative: that it is written by a woman, for women readers and describing a female experience in and of Egypt. As Ellen Bosanquet had proclaimed herself an ‘Athenian’ in *Days in Attica*, through *A Wayfarer* Quibell could define her own Anglo-Egyptian identity.

The opening words of her Preface emphasise the ‘otherness’ of archaeological experience, setting Quibell-as-archaeologist in the position of outsider as she begins ‘We are all wayfarers and strangers in an Eastern land…’. This is the uncertainty of an Anglo-Egyptian existence, and of expat life in general. Quibell’s words are particularly relevant when considering that she arrived in Egypt just over a decade after its occupation by British forces and she was there as it was ending in the early 1920s. Throughout the text Quibell highlights the nature and intensity of her interactions with local communities as a long-term resident in the country, and her relations with these communities on their terms developing her language skills in Arabic. Like many other books by British women travelling to Egypt, Quibell’s book references access to the ‘hidden’ world of the Eastern ‘harem’ – a genre that has been dubbed ‘harem literature’. Quibell’s experience is located in the context of her role accompanying her husband on calls to local notables, part of the life of Antiquities Inspectors.

In one of the most illuminating passages of *A Wayfarer*, Quibell describes the wedding of a village notable (Bey)’s daughter. Rather than approaching the scene from a position of superiority, as Billie Melman notes occurred in some harem literature, Quibell’s recollections of this event set her firmly on the back foot. Feeling as though she ought to do so, she asked to see the ‘harem’, and she immediately sensed that she had stepped out of place: ‘I was a little surprised to see a shade of embarrassment pass over the Bey’s countenance … that night I … felt more uncomfortable than has often been my lot…’. Once she was shown into the women’s dominion, she felt once again that she had intruded: ‘I longed to speak to the two trembling things in the corner, but there, too I felt tongue-tied and could only ask to be allowed to come again…’. Her hesitancy is particularly meaningful – here is a more nuanced and complex experience of British imperial life, in circumstances in which
Quibell feels that she is the intruder. As it turned out the relationship between Quibell and the young Egyptian bride eventually blossomed, so that, through repeated attempts to communicate, Quibell-as-stranger and ‘other’ became Quibell-as-friend – a person with whom (when she was alone) the nameless Egyptian bride could have ‘real human conversation’. The women discussed household matters, customs and visitors, and even ‘in rare bursts of confidence . . . family feuds and scandals’.\footnote{107}

While *A Wayfarer* is an intriguing memoir of Quibell’s experiences, it is also a practical travel guide. Like others in this genre Quibell offers a short list of recommended reading, but, in what I have interpreted as a gesture towards her intended (female) audience, her list of authors includes Henriette Carole Vulliamy Devonshire (‘Mrs R. L. Devonshire’) and Eugénie Le Brun (‘Niya Salima’). Both born in France, these women were, like Quibell, long-term residents in Egypt.\footnote{108} *A Wayfarer in Egypt* was published only two years before her death, but it enjoyed a healthy success posthumously, being sold in the US through Houghton Mifflin. By the outbreak of war in 1939 the work had been reissued four times.\footnote{109} It reached the notice of imperial readers too; a lengthy review in the Melbourne newspaper *The Age* praised Quibell’s knowledge of both ancient and modern Egypt, her ability to penetrate ‘far below the surface of things’ to find the humanity in her surroundings.\footnote{110}

Dorothy Simmons Mackay’s writings highlighted travel, excavations and antiquities during this period. Little information is currently available about her early life, but by the mid-1920s she began publishing on archaeology, drawing on her experiences on site with her husband Ernest Mackay. He had been one of Flinders Petrie’s many students and worked on excavations in Egypt before the First World War. Mackay became part of the small team of archaeologists who undertook initial survey and custodian tasks in British-administered Palestine between 1919 and 1922, subsequently taking a role on the University of Pennsylvania excavation at Beth Shan, or Beisan, a site south of the Sea of Galilee.\footnote{111} He then moved on to excavations in Iraq at the ancient city of Kish, southwest of Baghdad near Babylon.

It was while the Mackays were at Kish that Dorothy Mackay became more publicly visible as a communicator of archaeology, voicing the perspective of, as the *Western Daily Press* put it, ‘an unofficial member’ of the excavation. Her article ‘Housekeeping in the Desert’, published in the *Western Daily Press* in 1925, outlined her domestic arrangements of camp life – a side which remained hidden in most other popular publishing on the subject.\footnote{112} The following year, she published a short guidebook, *Ancient Cities of Iraq*, giving short histories of excavation and key findings
for sites across a country that she noted, unlike Egypt or Palestine or Lebanon, was an ‘uncompromisingly flat, greyish, dusty plain’. But, Mackay emphasised, the region had both allure and potential, particularly for the imaginative archaeological enthusiast: ‘For him who has vision . . . it speedily acquires a subtle and mysterious attraction.’

Mackay superimposes ancient cities on a modern landscape – giving railway and road directions for each site included and featuring a map of the country whose title, ‘Assyria and Babylonia Iraq Railways’, echoes this multi-period context. Her choice of sites incorporated the feasibility of visiting and proximity to a local railway station and was generally ordered according to the Iraq railway system. Readers are brought straight into the domestic day to day in the beginning; Mackay trusts that through her words readers will animate excavated remains with imagined scenes of everyday activities undertaken in them in the past, as ‘some slight knowledge of the daily life and difficulties of the ancients adds so much to the interest of their ruined cities . . .’. A few years later the Mackays had moved to India to work the site of Mohenjo-daro on behalf of Sir John Marshall, the Director of the Archaeological Survey of India. Continuing her interest in improving the intellectual accessibility of sites to visitors, Dorothy Mackay produced a short guide to this prehistoric Indus Valley metropolis, located eight miles from Dokri station in the Sindh province (now in Pakistan), for the Indian State Railways Publicity Department.

**Women’s site stories**

Women also published focused excavation and site histories for a wider readership. One of the earliest examples of such a publication is Margaret Benson and Janet Gourlay’s 1899 book *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, covering Benson and Gourlay’s excavations between 1893 and 1897 at an ancient temple in Luxor. Gourlay was a student in Egyptology at UCL in the early 1890s, while Benson (sister of E. F. Benson) was a writer and philosopher who had studied at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. For these two authors, the field work presented was particularly significant, as they acknowledged in their Preface thanks to then Director of the Egyptian Antiquities Service Jacques de Morgan ‘for the first permission to excavate given to women in Egypt’.

The book, published by John Murray, came about on Mary Brodrick’s recommendation, highlighting the efficacy of women’s networks for publishing. Because Brodrick suggested to Murray that Benson’s work
would be a significant contribution to Egyptology, Murray asked to see a manuscript. Benson submitted writing samples to Murray showcasing three main parts of the book: a description of the site, the history of the eighteenth dynasty and a description of their dig work. In *Temple*, Benson and Gourlay combined investigations of the site, its history and the interpretation of ancient religious beliefs with the surrounding contemporary context of Luxor, the relationships – economic, social and cultural – with those employed to dig, and the field of archaeology, which they infiltrated both as ‘amateurs’ and as women.

The medieval historian Lina Eckenstein, a contemporary of Janet Gourlay’s at UCL, published her experiences on excavation with Flinders and Hilda Petrie in Sinai. Eckenstein’s pioneering work of women’s history, *Women under Monasticism* (1896), was published the year that she became a student in Egyptology at UCL. She joined Flinders and Hilda Petrie in Egypt for the 1902/3 and 1904/5 seasons, contributing to the Petries’ work at Abydos and Saqqara, where she copied tomb-paintings alongside artists Winifred ‘Freda’ Hansard and Kate Kingsford. Eckenstein and Hilda Petrie subsequently travelled with a small group of Bedouin men to Flinders Petrie’s camp in Sinai – a journey Hilda Petrie later described for the woman’s magazine *The Queen*. Eckenstein joined the Petries as a member of the excavation party at a temple at Serabit, copying inscriptions and organising fragments. This work, as she later recorded in her book *A History of Sinai*, inspired her to reflect on ‘the site which meant so much in the history of religion’, as she had a general interest in the peninsula’s ‘hermit life’. The book was published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to whose audience its analysis of the history of religious life at the site would appeal.

One of the best known of Flinders Petrie’s female Egyptology students, Margaret Murray, started her studies at UCL in 1893. She gained her first taste of excavation on Petrie’s excavations at Abydos in Egypt in the first decade of the twentieth century; over the course of her early career in archaeology she was a successful University Extension Lecturer and undertook a well publicised public mummy unwrapping in Manchester. Mainly recognised for her scholarly works on Egyptology and witchcraft, and for her (at that time) unusual academic status as an Assistant Professor in Egyptology at UCL, by the 1920s she expanded her field experience to Malta and Minorca. As Kathleen Sheppard has noted, this field work enabled her to train a number of her female students from UCL. Following her 1937 excavations at the famous ancient city of Petra, Blackie and Son published her guidebook and excavation memoir.
Petra: the Rock City of Edom in 1939. Murray wrote the book for the increasing number of visitors to Petra, which was then being promoted, as it is today, as one of (Trans)Jordan’s main tourist attractions. It was aimed specifically at ‘the “man in the street”, or … for the “visitor to Petra”’.

Murray’s text set out the early history of Petra, but she also used the book to make the case for a more intensive excavation of the site, which before Murray’s work had only been excavated for a few months in the spring of 1929 and very briefly in 1934. Her interest in folklore, customs and women’s experiences is incorporated into the text. In introducing Petra and the Bduls who (then) lived in the site, she notes that ‘The women struck me as more intelligent than the men, but that may have been because they talked to me more . . .’. Her own time on site is couched explicitly in terms of the exotic. ‘Every excavation, no matter where it is,’ she wrote in the Preface, ‘is always somewhat of an adventure.’ Yet she simultaneously tames the exotic with more prosaic observations: ‘I have always found that the more adventurous the work the more uncomfortable is the life . . .’.

There are glimpses of the difficulties that she had on site as a woman, too, and the annoyance of this reality. She highlights particularly ‘the know-all’ who thinks he knows better without having the benefit of Murray’s experience, and those who fail to follow her carefully thought-out instructions. She does not mince her words. The final chapter of Murray’s book is the account of her dig. Entitled ‘The Trials and Troubles of an Excavator’, Murray concentrates mainly on the logistical difficulties of her ‘short and intensive excavation’, outlining not the romance but the monotony of field work. For her, the intellectual thrill of post-exavagation analysis was the real joy of archaeology.

As much as Margaret Murray disliked uncomfortable adventures in the field, so Mary Chubb revelled in them – to her field work was a joy. Chubb’s two memoirs of life on the sites of Tell el-Amarna in Egypt and Eshnunna in Iraq in the 1930s did not appear in print until the 1950s. Chubb had no archaeological background when she had her first experience in the field. As a young art student in London in the early 1930s, she had taken the job of secretary/accountant with the Egypt Exploration Society, providing her with useful income to fund evening classes in sculpture. Chubb’s initial foray in archaeology occurred at Tell el-Amarna, as she described in her 1954 memoir Nefertiti Lived Here. Officially she was ‘Secretary to the Field Director’, but in Nefertiti she clarifies in no uncertain terms the duties additional to this role on site: ‘plasterer,
chemist, sick-nurse, draughtsman, painter, excavator, antiquity-cleaner, carpenter, and above all – diplomat.¹³³

Chubb’s work makes clear the diverse community of an archaeological excavation, drawing distinctions not just between ‘professional’ archaeologists and the rest, but outlining all the different contributors: locally recruited men and children, highly experienced Quftis from Qift, a village to the north of Luxor, and those representing more specialised roles. Among the British members of the Amarna excavation team charted in Nefertiti, beyond Chubb, the Director John Pendlebury and his wife Hilda Pendlebury, there were two architects, Hilary Waddington and Ralph Lavers.¹³⁴ As Chubb was the excavation accountant as well as Secretary, she describes the systems she employed to manage ‘pay day’ in some detail.¹³⁵

Her work has been placed alongside others produced by women in the field as examples of accessible narratives of excavation life with ‘sensitive and lucid insights into the academic contexts of the field projects.’¹³⁶ Chubb’s accounts are more than this, however, as she presents the view from the dig support staff whose contributions are often as invisible in published excavation reports as (in the case of Amarna) the Egyptian workforce. Hilda Pendlebury, for example, is introduced to readers as ‘the right wife for an archaeologist, for as well as running the domestic side of the dig she was a classical scholar in her own right….¹³⁷ A former student at Newnham College, Cambridge, Hilda White had married John Pendlebury after meeting him at the British School at Athens, where both were students.¹³⁸ At Amarna, Hilda Pendlebury was Chubb’s informal mentor on the dig. She is certainly the one with whom Chubb spent the most time, both in the field and in the dig house.

Chubb also puts into words an intangible element of archaeological life to reveal the archaeologist-as-time traveller. She frames her observation in the context of her insider-yet-outsider status (as an amateur) on site. However, her feelings on the mysterious magic of archaeological life in which through the archaeological process temporal boundaries become meaningless are no less important:

There was no padding, no insulation, made up of familiarity, to deaden the shoot of delight that I felt at touching even the poorest of the little everyday things we found…that made me feel as if I had not only travelled to Akhenaten’s capital across space, but through time as well. … this odd feeling of time folding up into nothing….¹³⁹
Margaret Collingridge Wheeler presented archaeological processes, practices and interpretations alongside her experience of life on site in her first book, *Walls of Jericho*, published by Chatto & Windus in 1956. Born in Australia, Margaret Collingridge was among several women archaeology students working on Mortimer Wheeler’s excavations in Britain and France in the 1930s. She married Wheeler in the mid 1940s when he was Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. While Mortimer Wheeler was a Professor at the Institute of Archaeology in London, Margaret Wheeler joined her former colleague Kathleen Kenyon’s excavations at Jericho, where Wheeler was a Field Supervisor for several seasons. In contrast to Chubb, Wheeler’s years of archaeological knowledge and field work experience are evident. She explains the site through both its chronology and the scientific techniques employed to understand the layer or level of history, including a brief but detailed introduction to the relatively new techniques of radiocarbon dating. Kenyon is ‘the Great Sitt’, whose God-like presence is felt throughout.

Like Chubb, Wheeler wore many hats on site. She had a position of ‘archaeological’ responsibility for drawing, measuring and recording bodies in situ as a designated ‘bone person’, as well as directing some parts of the excavation herself. In her chapter ‘Wandering Tribes’, she discusses the excavation and recording of Jericho’s ‘Dagger tombs’ where the skeletons of ancient nomads were found. Wheeler deconstructs the deconstruction of the archaeological context through her own recording of one such body, the so-called ‘Sultan’ found beneath the surface of the modern refugee camp near the ancient Jericho tell. After she had finished recording and the body had been photographed, removed and packed she recounts her sense of loss, but also records her own role in the Sultan’s eventual resurrection in Amman Museum:

One moment he was a personality and the next but a box of bones labelled Tomb L2, right femur, left tibia, mandible and so on . . . from the photographs and my scale drawing he is to be reconstructed as he was. You will see him . . . with his crown and his dagger, and his dignity.

Similarly to Chubb, Wheeler takes us not only to the sites of excavation, but shares the more informal moments, ‘at home’ inside the dig house. Her insider view of the dig space reveals it to be one in the process of cultural transformation. She records the excavation artist’s attempts to capture the colour of the local landscape, so that in his decorative scheme a bland hallway becomes ‘a gay Arab sitting-room’ through the addition
of blue and red tiles and ‘reed mats’ to make the floor more comfortable to sit on. Eventually the tiles, at first considered ‘garish’, became less foreign as familiarity grew.¹⁴³

In 1892 Flinders Petrie recorded the association between women and archaeology in Ten Years’ Digging in Egypt: ‘Probably most people have somewhat the ideas of a worthy lady who asked me how to begin to excavate a ruined town – should she begin to dig at the top or at the side?’¹⁴⁴ Women were as involved as men at promoting archaeology in print – travel and tourism, photography, linguistics, translation and excavation are all key archaeological practices and elements coming through in these works. Beyond this, however, it reveals the transformational power of archaeology for women’s personal lives, enabling them to construct, use and enhance their own works to build visibility for themselves both within and outside the ‘professional’ sphere, and to communicate their expertise to other women. Women’s efforts to script spade-work made archaeology both physically and intellectually accessible. By presenting this information and experience in palatable form they demonstrated their command of the field in both projects and products. As they walked through the past in the present, whether in the museum, lecture theatre or foreign country and archaeological site, they were walking towards a new future.