

WOMEN AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTIONS.
2ND WORKSHOP ON WOMEN IN THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF GREECE
Tribute to Veronika Mitsopoulos-Leon

13 March 2024 – Austrian Archaeological Institute at Athens, in collaboration with the École française d’Athènes

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The 2024 workshop on Women in the Archaeology of Greece focuses on the role played by institutions such as the Archaeological Service, universities, research centers and foreign schools in women’s career developments. It will be held in honor of the exceptional achievements of Veronika Mitsopoulos-Leon (1936-2023), the director of the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Athens from 1964 until 2001.

The papers presented in the 2023 workshop¹ drew attention to different modes of inclusion and exclusion of women pioneers, while revealing that these women responded in a myriad of different ways to the obstacles they encountered. Such dynamics are especially evident in institutional frameworks. At the beginning of the 20th century, several foreign archaeological institutes opened their doors to women, albeit with some restrictions. It was, for instance, the case of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, which welcomed female students already in the late 19th century², while however banning them from excavation projects at first, before confining them to the management of storerooms and the study of small finds³ – i.e. the depreciated ‘archaeological housework’. At the Italian Archaeological School at Athens, as was also the case at ASCSA,

¹ DÉDERIX S., RALLI P. & BASTIDE M. (eds), *Unsung Pioneer Women in the Archaeology of Greece*, under review.

² BOLGER D.L., « Ladies of the Expedition: Harriet Boyd Hawes and Edith Hall in Mediterranean Archaeology », in C. CLAASSEN (ed.), *Women in archaeology*, 1994, p. 44.

³ BANKS J., « Alice Leslie Walker Kosmopoulos: A pioneer against all odds », in DÉDERIX S., RALLI P. & BASTIDE M. (eds), under review.

restrictions on travel and fieldwork resulted more from implicit practices than explicit rules, which added to the uncertainty and the vulnerability of young female researchers who could not anticipate their superiors' reaction⁴.

Other institutions, such as the *École française d'Athènes*, were long opposed to women's participation in excavations⁵ and to their recruitment as researchers. Indeed, it is only in 1956 that EFA welcomed its first French female scientific member and, although women members increasingly grew in number starting from the 1970s, parity was not achieved until the 1990⁶.

In parallel, some Greek female archaeologists managed to benefit from their assignment to the 'archaeological housework' by taking charge of national collections⁷. However, their position proved to be precarious in the face of political events, as a law enacted by the dictatorial regime of the 4th of August prohibited women from joining the Archaeological Service from 1939 until 1955⁸. In contrast, in Poland, the post-war communist ideology enabled women to more easily access academic positions⁹. National and regional political conditions evidently affected women pioneer archaeologists in drastically different ways. However, all of them faced similar struggles in combining private and professional life; some therefore gave up fieldwork after marriage, while others opted for a non-conformist lifestyle that exposed them to violent criticisms on the part of their (mostly male) colleagues¹⁰.

Ultimately, the integration of women into archaeological institutions in Greece during the first half of the 20th century owed a lot to their audacity, their tenacity and their resilience. The following generations of women faced less explicit discriminations to enter foreign institutes (after World War II) and the Greek Archaeological Service (especially from the 1980s onwards), but it cannot be denied that this 'feminization of archaeology' over the last four decades is also related to the loss of prestige of the discipline and the limited economic stability it offers¹¹. Careers in the Archaeological Service, in particular, require great dedication and self-sacrifice, whereas Greek

⁴ BOSSOLINO I., « "Manca completamente il senso della disciplina": Maria Luigia Marella, an independent archaeologist in fascist Dodecanese », in DÉDERIX S., RALLI P. & BASTIDE M. (eds), under review.

⁵ DÉDERIX S., « Marthe Oulié and the 1923-1925 excavations of the *École française d'Athènes* at Malia », in DÉDERIX S., RALLI P. & BASTIDE M. (eds), under review.

⁶ VALENTI C., « Les Membres de l'*École Française d'Athènes*: étude d'une élite universitaire, 1846-1970 », *BCH* 120(1), 1996, p. 162.

⁷ EVGENIDOU D., « Eirene Varouha-Christodouloupoulou. The life's journey of the first Greek woman numismatist », in DÉDERIX S., RALLI P. & BASTIDE M. (eds), under review; FRAGOULOPOULOU S., « Becoming Visible at Work: Semni Papaspyridi-Karouzou at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (1921-1939) », in DÉDERIX S., RALLI P. & BASTIDE M. (eds), under review.

⁸ KOKKINIDOU D. et M. NIKOLAIDOU, « From the museum to the trench and beyond: Greek women in archaeology since the 1950s », in DÉDERIX S., RALLI P. & BASTIDE M. (eds), under review; VASSI O., « In the "far west" of the Greek countryside: Spyridoula Konstantinou Alexandropoulou, special curator of antiquities of Aetoloakarnania », in DÉDERIX S., RALLI P. & BASTIDE M. (eds), under review.

⁹ ULANOWSKA A. et K. LEWARTOWSKI, « The first post-World War II generation of female archaeologists at the University of Warsaw: Ludwika Press and the gendered and non-gendered challenges to becoming an Aegeanist within the confines of Marxist ideology and the Iron Curtain », in DÉDERIX S., RALLI P. & BASTIDE M. (eds), under review.

¹⁰ BANKS J.M., « Alice Leslie Walker Kosmopoulos: A pioneer against all odds », in S. DÉDERIX, P. RALLI et M. BASTIDE (eds), under review; VOGELKOFF-BROGAN N. et L. COSTAKI, « Hazel D. Hansen : A Forgotten American Prehistorian », in S. DÉDERIX, P. RALLI et M. BASTIDE (eds), under review.

¹¹ KOKKINIDOU D. et M. NIKOLAIDOU, « From the museum to the trench and beyond: Greek women in archaeology since the 1950s », in DÉDERIX S., RALLI P. & BASTIDE M. (eds), under review.

academia remains predominantly male, even though an increasing number of women are breaking through¹².

The 2024 workshop on Women in the Archaeology of Greece aims to explore these different aspects of the institutional obstacles and opportunities encountered by women, in particular:

- the official or unofficial reluctance towards women on the part of foreign institutes and Greek universities, Archaeological Services, museums and research centers;
- the role of these institutions as springboards or, on the contrary, brakes in the career of women archaeologists, for instance in terms of funding opportunities;
- the strategies adopted by women to pursue their career goals.

Maguelone Bastide, Marie Stahl (École française d'Athènes): *L'admission de membresses à l'École française d'Athènes*

À partir d'une lettre du directeur de l'École française d'Athènes envoyée le 15 mars 1935 au Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, nous retracerons les difficultés opposées par différentes institutions à l'admission des femmes comme membres de plein droit à l'EFA. D'abord exclues du recrutement par les conditions de qualifications données aux candidatures, qui impliquent d'être passé par des formations et concours d'où les femmes sont exclues (École normale supérieure d'Ulm et agrégation de Lettres), elles sont ensuite exclues explicitement par la Commission chargée d'examiner les candidatures. Cette situation prend fin dans les années 1950, avec la première admission d'une femme comme membre de plein droit en 1956 (Nicole Weill). Désormais, des femmes sont régulièrement reçues, bien qu'elles restent très largement minoritaires. Nous verrons que l'admission tardive des femmes à l'École française, liée à l'évolution des institutions d'où proviennent les membres, est cependant accompagnée de conditions officieuses qui limitent considérablement leur recrutement jusqu'aux années 1990.

Manon Dupuy (École des hautes études en sciences sociales): *Les universités pour femmes (Newnham et Girton College) : un tremplin pour les futures archéologues ?*

En quoi les Newnham et Girton College, rattachés à l'université de Cambridge, jouèrent-ils un rôle de tremplin dans les carrières des futures archéologues au tournant du XIXe et du XXe siècle ? Sur les quatorze femmes admises à la British School at Athens (BSA) entre 1890 et 1914, six passèrent par le Newnham College (dont cinq après y avoir étudié l'archéologie) et cinq par le Girton College, dont Eugénie Strong Sellers (1860-1843), première femme admise à la BSA. La

¹² NIKOLAIDOU M. et D. KOKKINIDOU, « Angeliki Pilali-Papasteriou (1945-2007): A pioneer prehistorian at the University Of Thessaloniki », in S. DÉDERIX, P. RALLI et M. BASTIDE (eds), under review.

formation de cette dernière lui permis par la suite d'accéder au poste d'assistante du directeur de la British School at Rome. C'est visiblement ce « gage d'instruction » qui leur ouvrit les portes des écoles d'archéologie et leur permis d'acquérir une légitimité. En analysant le parcours académique de deux figures importantes de femmes classicistes et spécialistes de la Grèce, Eugénie Strong Sellers et Jane Harrison¹³ (1850-1928), nous interrogerons les éventuels prérequis à leur émancipation ainsi que les conditions nécessaires à l'exercice de leur métier et à la publication de leurs travaux. Il s'agit d'une étude en histoire des savoirs fondée sur le dépouillement de leur documentation non officielle (correspondances, manuscrits et autres documents personnels), qui nous a permis de nous interroger sur leur formation classique au sein d'universités prestigieuses et leurs aspirations professionnelles.

Leur formation, comparée à celles accessibles à leurs contemporaines, est exceptionnelle. L'objectif de cette communication sera de souligner autant la rareté de ces parcours de vie que les facteurs exogènes qui les ont rendus possibles, sans faire l'impasse sur leurs origines socio-économiques. En étudiant les témoignages de ces premières étudiantes, conservés aux archives de Girton et Newnham, nous rendrons compte de l'effervescence qui régnait au sein de ces établissements. Le contexte particulier, cette « bulle académique », constitue un élément essentiel dans notre examen de l'éducation de ces archéologues à la fin du XIXe siècle.

Sera enfin abordée l'utilisation actuelle, par les Newnham et Girton College, de la mémoire de ces « pionnières », permettant la mise en avant du caractère précurseur de ces institutions dans le développement de l'archéologie féminine. Les archives nous amèneront en effet à remettre en perspective le rôle de ces institutions dans le domaine spécifique de l'archéologie. Strong Sellers et Harrison témoignent toutes deux d'obstacles institutionnels à leurs carrières de classiciste, faisant part de commentaires de professeurs ou de tentatives de redirection du corps enseignant. Leurs perspectives de carrière se résumaient en effet à enseigner l'archéologie et non à la pratiquer sur le terrain. En sus, elles confirment toutes deux avoir finalisé leur formation archéologique en Allemagne au travers de stages et conférences. Un pays dans lequel leur genre n'aurait pas posé de problème à l'exercice de ce métier, d'après elles.¹⁴

Despoina Evgenidou (Numismatic Museum), **Pari Kalamara** (Historical Archive/NBG), **Evangelia Pantou**, **Danai Charalampous**, **Constantina Douvi** (Ephorate of Lakonia): *Aimilia Bakourou, a Byzantine archaeologist in the southern and eastern Peloponnese*

Aimilia Bakourou (1946-2022) was born in Messenia, studied at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and worked at the Archaeological Service from 1970 to 2006. She initially

¹³ « one the earliest students at the (still tiny) new women's college, founded in 1871. », devenue par la suite une classiciste renommée pour ses travaux sur la religion crétoise et ses cours originalement mis en en scène au Newnham College.

¹⁴ Jane Harrison écrit à propos de son séjour dans les instituts archéologiques allemands : "I received fullest encouragement and help contrasting painfully with the blank effort had drawn in England, more especially from my my own university of Cambridge. Archaeology indeed was a study at that time barely recognised there, whether by classicists or historians." BEARD Mary et BOWERSOCK Glen Warren Préfacier, 2000, *The invention of Jane Harrison*, Cambridge (Mass.), Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, 229 p.

worked at the Byzantine and Christian Museum. She was appointed as permanent civil servant in 1973, one of the few women in that period. In 1974, she was transferred to the Peloponnese, in charge of the Section (*Epimelitia*) of Byzantine Antiquities of Mystras with responsibility for Laconia. When the 5th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities was established, in 1978, with headquarters in Sparta and area of authority the prefectures of Laconia, Messenia, Arcadia and Argolis, she served in it, and as director from 1980 to 2006.

In this period, following the political transition in Greece in 1974, efforts were made to develop the Archaeological Service in the region and emphasis was also placed on the protection of medieval monuments, since 13 Ephorates of Byzantine Antiquities were created across the country. The number of women archaeologists serving increased significantly, although men held the majority of management positions.

Furthermore, the work of the Ephorates expanded as intense construction activity and infrastructure projects led to an increase in rescue excavations. At the same time, the awareness of the central authority for the protection of monuments intensified the efforts to preserve the character of the historical centers of cities, such as Nafplio, Argos, Kalamata, but also the actions for the protection, conservation and restoration of monuments and castles, such as Mystras, Monemvasia, Pylos, etc. However, most of these actions got the reaction of the local community. As the reactions increased, it was easier to demonize and pressure Aimilia's female power. Aimilia tried to respond in the best way to the demanding task she had undertaken, with all the means at her disposal, without compromise and with determination to protect the monumental assets of the area under her responsibility, being in constant cooperation with the central Services of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture as well as with other associate Services, making also early good use of the available European Funds.

Observing, in fact, the new trends in the management of monuments and aiming to strengthen the cultural protection, already in the 90s, she made, in close cooperation with the Directorate of Museums, efforts to increase awareness of the multifaceted importance of monuments and cultural heritage, implementing, especially in the prefectures of Laconia and Messenia, educational programs, lectures, exhibitions (permanent and temporary), publications and other actions that ensured the public accessibility and understanding of the monuments. Women archaeologists are now the majority in the Archaeological Service and local communities have been used to cooperating with them.

Aimilia's long lasting service in the 5th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities as well as the way she managed the human resources determined for decades the way of managing Byzantine and post-Byzantine antiquities in the areas under her responsibility, while her imprint still inspires her younger colleagues.

Tamar Hodos, Stavros Paspalas (Australian Archaeological Institute): *Celebrating the women of the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens*

The formal history of the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens began in 1980, but its establishment by Alexander Cambitoglou was the result of years of planning. Both during its development phase and after the Institute's formal recognition by the Greek Ministry of Culture, women played an important role in its administration, operations and activities. Three stand out: Judy Birmingham, Jill Carington Smith and Olwen Tudor Jones. Each made very significant contributions to the Institute and the practice of archaeology in Australia during the run-up to its foundation and afterwards, while their involvement with Australian fieldwork in Greece and the Institute served as important milestones in their own archaeological careers. Excavations directed by Cambitoglou at the sites of Zagora and Torone offered all three the opportunity not only to employ and develop their varying organisational, field, research and editorial skills but also to mentor a future generation of Australian Classical archaeologists. This talk shares their stories and the impact of their archaeological legacies in both Australia and Greece today.

Dimitra Kokkinidou (Independent researcher): *Γυναίκες αρχαιολόγοι στο Ελληνικό πανεπιστήμιο ιστορικό περίγραμμα*

Από την εγγραφή της πρώτης φοιτήτριας στη Φιλοσοφική Σχολή του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών (1890), οι Ελληνίδες θα χρειαστεί να διανύσουν μακρύ δρόμο, μέχρι να γίνουν ορατές, πρώτα, μεταξύ του φοιτητικού πληθυσμού και, στη συνέχεια, μεταξύ του ακαδημαϊκού προσωπικού. Η μαζικοποίηση της εκπαίδευσης και, κατ' επέκταση, η σταθερή αύξηση του αριθμού των φοιτητριών, από τη δεκαετία του 1960 και εξής, θα οδηγήσουν, βαθμιαία, και σε αύξηση του αριθμού των γυναικών πανεπιστημιακών. Ωστόσο, έως τις αρχές της δεκαετίας του 1980, οι γυναίκες παραμένουν στη βάση της ακαδημαϊκής κλίμακας, καθώς το καθηγητικό σώμα των ανδρών περιφρουρεί, ζηλότυπα, την εξουσία του.

Το τοπίο θα αναδιαμορφωθεί με την καθιέρωση νέου νομικού πλαισίου (1982), το οποίο θα αντικαταστήσει τον θεσμό της έδρας με τον ενιαίο φορέα διδακτικού και ερευνητικού προσωπικού, δίνοντας, συγχρόνως, τη δυνατότητα αυτόματης ένταξης σ' αυτόν του επικουρικού προσωπικού που ήδη κατείχε διδακτορικό τίτλο ή επιθυμούσε να αποκτήσει. Ως αποτέλεσμα, σημαντικός αριθμός επιμελητριών και γυναικών βοηθών θα εισέλθει στον νέο φορέα. Η ίδρυση νέων πανεπιστημίων και πανεπιστημιακών τμημάτων θα ενισχύσει την γυναικεία συμμετοχή.

Τέσσερις και πλέον δεκαετίες μετά την εν λόγω μεταρρύθμιση, η κατά φύλα σύνθεση των ελληνικών ανωτάτων εκπαιδευτικών ιδρυμάτων, αναμφίβολα, έχει βελτιωθεί. Παρ' όλα αυτά, η επιλογή σπουδών των φοιτητριών και, κατ' επέκταση, το γνωστικό αντικείμενο των διδασκουσών παρουσιάζουν ανομοιομορφία: οι γυναίκες σχετίζονται, κατά κανόνα, με τα συνεχώς υποβαθμιζόμενα ανθρωπιστικά πεδία, ενώ υποεκπροσωπούνται στα πεδία τα οποία οδηγούν σε πιο «παραγωγικά» και καλύτερα αμειβόμενα επαγγέλματα. Επιπλέον, τείνουν να συγκεντρώνονται στις χαμηλότερες ακαδημαϊκές βαθμίδες και να αναλαμβάνουν διευθυντικές θέσεις λιγότερο συχνά από τους άνδρες. Αλλά, ακόμη και στις επιστημονικές περιοχές όπου οι

γυναίκες υπερέχουν αριθμητικά, αυτή η υπεροχή δεν συνεπάγεται, αυτονόητα, αμφισβήτηση στερεοτύπων, τα οποία αναπαράγονται συνειδητά ή ασυνείδητα. Όσο και αν η γυναικεία παρουσία στην κορυφή της όποιας ιεραρχίας θεωρείται δείκτης θεσμικής προόδου, δεν ισοδυναμεί, κατ' ανάγκην, με ουσιαστικές αλλαγές, εφόσον οι γυναίκες αυτές εξυπηρετούν, πρωτίστως, τα συμφέροντα της κοινωνικής τους τάξης.

Οι παραπάνω διαπιστώσεις ισχύουν και για την ακαδημαϊκή αρχαιολογία. Στην παρούσα ανακοίνωση επισκοπείται η διαδρομή των γυναικών αρχαιολόγων στο ελληνικό πανεπιστήμιο, από την απόρριψη της πρώτης γυναικείας υποψηφιότητας στο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης (1933) έως τις μέρες μας. Καθώς η επέλαση του νεοφιλελευθερισμού μετατρέπει το δημόσιο αγαθό της μόρφωσης σε εμπορεύσιμο προϊόν, τίθεται το ερώτημα τι μπορεί να σημαίνει μια «γυναικεία» (ή/και φεμινιστική) αρχαιολογία και πώς μπορεί να ευεργετήσει τον κλάδο και την ευρύτερη κοινωνία.

Anastasia Loudarou (The Jewish Museum of Greece), **Katie Fine** (American School of Classical Studies at Athens): *Excavating the past, caring for the future: the case of Hetty Goldman (ASCSA) and her efforts to rehabilitate and relieve the Jewish communities of Greece after World War I*

Hetty Goldman (1881-1972) was an American archaeologist, the first female faculty member at the Institute of Advanced Studies, and one of the first women to undertake excavations in Greece and the Middle East. Born into a prominent Jewish family in New York, Goldman's career blossomed in the early 20th century when she first came to Greece as the Charles Eliot Norton Fellow at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA). While Hetty Goldman's life and archeological work has been researched and published on extensively, little is known of her participation and efforts towards the relief of the Jewish Communities of Greece after World War I and in the lead up to World War II. The role and the participation of women — and in particular the role, efforts, and participation of Jewish women during wartime — is a subject which has recently garnered new attention due in large part to the publication and study of women's testimonies either as volunteer nurses or/and as members of the Jewish Resistance movement during World War II in Greece. In this paper, we will discuss the work carried out by Goldman, relying heavily on archival material from the ASCSA and the final report of her visit to Balkan Jewish communities in 1918, titled “Investigation of the Needs of the Jewish Communities of Greece, Southern Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria”. In so doing, we highlight a largely unknown side of her, one that was inextricably linked to her identity as a member of the Jewish community and her efforts, either on a moral or practical level, to help these communities from the suffering of war. Through Goldman's report, we can unravel the complexities and (personal) dilemmas female archaeologists faced during war, and the tremendous efforts and difficulties Goldman herself had to overcome. At the same time, we may examine her report as a valuable and rare historical document of great importance for the research and study of the Jewish Communities that were largely destroyed in World War II.

Natacha Massar (Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles): *Violette Verhoogen: a life at the museum*

Violette Verhoogen (1898-2001) trained as a classical philologist, graduating from the Université libre de Bruxelles in 1924. In 1929, she started to work at the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels, where she assisted the head of the Antiquities Department, the Egyptologist Jean Capart, and especially the curator of the Greek and Roman collections, Fernand Mayence. By the time she retired, in 1962, she had been appointed Director of the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels. Although she was not the only female assistant or curator working at the museum in the years before and after the Second World War, she was the first woman to become its Director, and the only one before the year 2000.

After her studies in Brussels, she spent some time in Oxford and in Athens, as a member of the American School of Classical Archaeology, before starting at the museum. In addition to her curatorial work, she published the invaluable volumes 2 and 3 of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* for Brussels, which she co-authored with Fernand Mayence, although she clearly did most of the work on them. In 1946, two years after Verhoogen had replaced Mayence as Head of the Greek and Roman Department, the Antiquities wing of the museum burned down. Violette Verhoogen was actively involved in the reconstruction project, and prepared the new presentation of the Greek and Roman collections, although the rebuilt wing was only opened in 1966, several years after her retirement. Even if she did not work regularly on an archaeological excavation, she was invited by Capart to join his first excavation campaign in el-Kab, in Egypt in 1937, and in 1953, she took part in a study campaign at the site of Apamea, in Syria, where Mayence had excavated in the 1930s. In addition to her professional activities, during World War II, she was an active member of the Resistance intelligence network “Clarence”.

To study and understand the life of this remarkable woman, and the challenges she faced, we not only have museum archives, but also some of the letters she sent to her family during her stays in Athens, el-Kab and Apamea. It is her life story, her achievements, the obstacles she faced and the support she received that I would like to present at the upcoming workshop on Women and Archaeological Institutions.

Marie Mauzy (Independent researcher): *Alison Frantz, photographer and scholar – dual paths in archeology*

This paper will discuss and introduce the life and career of Alison Frantz (1903-1995), an American photographer and Byzantine scholar. Brought up in Scotland and Princeton, USA Alison Frantz was home schooled by her mother. At the age of 17 she entered Smith College- a small liberal arts college for women. Her main field of study was Latin, Roman history and topography but she also completed a teacher's course in Latin. When she graduated in 1924 she spent a year

as a member of the American Academy in Rome. At the end of her stay in Rome Frantz travelled to Greece for the first time, but the country did not seem to impress her as much as Italy.

After returning to America she taught Latin and history at a private girl's school for two years. In 1927 she joined the staff of the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University (today called Index of Medieval Art) where she worked with the file card index and photographic archive. The same year Frantz makes a second trip to Greece and a deeper interest in Greek culture and history develops. In 1929-1930 she became a member and librarian at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens (ASCSA).

It is now that her parallel path in photography and classical studies come together. Her interest in photography was sparked when she was given a camera by one of her brothers when she was a young girl. During the ASCSA trips she captures the antiquities with her camera with a fondness for Byzantine churches. While working at the Index of Christian Art, she became interested in the Late Antiquity and the post classical era and in 1930 she enrolled at Columbia University to write a dissertation entitled *Byzantine illuminated ornament; a study in chronology*. In 1933 she joined the staff of the newly established Agora excavations in Athens, but not as a photographer. Her previous experience working with at the Index of Christian Art secured her a position with the indoor female staff cleaning and cataloging the huge amounts of excavated objects.

When the staff photographer was unable to return, Frantz was asked to fill in. In 1939 she was appointed photographer of the excavation, a position she held until 1964. She also studied and published articles on Byzantine and post-Byzantine material from the Agora. The material that she jokingly referred to as the *grubby period*. The highpoint in Frantz's career would come late in her life after she stopped working at the Agora. It was her images that illustrated books of the Parthenon frieze and Olympia sculpture that brought her appreciation, admiration and acknowledgment as a photographer. As a scholar she would continue to study and publish the material of Late Antiquity.

Christina Mitsopoulou (École française d'Athènes): *Veronika before "Archaeology". A long voyage towards Greece – Η Βερόνικα πριν την «Αρχαιολογία». Ένα μακρύ ταξίδι προς την Ελλάδα*

My paper intends to offer a contribution towards a better understanding of the life and work of Berlin-born Austrian archaeologist Veronika Mitsopoulos-Leon (1936-2023), my mother. It will be the first time I talk in public about her.

Having progressively observed and understood her and her times from changing perspectives over the decades of my childhood and adulthood, it is my intention to sketch a clarifying introduction to her later life story, which remains to be told, interpreted and written in full.

Woman, foreigner, repeatedly unrooted, field archaeologist and scholar; daughter, mother and wife; following her own career with determination, while supporting the challenging one of

her husband and staying an always-present mother, she juggled many roles, wearing various hats. An open but also distant personality of intense discipline and devotion to her field and duties, she came to Greece at the end of the 1950s and chose to never leave again. Grown out of the WWII generation, into a period of constant opening of horizons and new challenges, she found her path towards the Mediterranean south and invented her style and self, by building on her inner drive and passion. She moved beyond the norms of her generation and the harsh reality of her microcosm, creating a persona she stayed true to until her final years.

Perpetually grateful for the privilege life had offered her, being graced to follow her heart and live from and in her discipline, she was not longing for praise. She deliberately chose not to open up to extended autobiographical narratives and kept the story of her private life discreet, never making it public. Most importantly, she never tended – or dared? – to juxtapose her personal fate to the larger picture, as it became clearer towards the end of the last century. It is a challenge to stay true to her desired discretion, yet fairly describe the context that can give her story further meaning, within the field, but also beyond 'Archaeology'.

We will follow her journey, from a brief lost childhood in wartime Berlin, to a period of isolation in the shelters of the snow-capped mountains of Austria. The solitary adolescence in post-war Tyrol, the student years in Innsbruck, as the first trips to Italy and Greece in the late 1950s, will contribute to the formation of this *Veronika*, which her Greek and international colleagues got to know from the early 1960s onwards.

Η παρούσα συμβολή στοχεύει να συμβάλει προς μια βαθύτερη κατανόηση της πορείας ζωής και του έργου της γεννημένης στο Βερολίνο Αυστριακής αρχαιολόγου Βερόνικας Μητσοπούλου Λεόν, της μητέρας μου. Είναι η πρώτη φορά που θα μιλήσω δημόσια για εκείνη.

Έχοντας παρατηρήσει και κατανοήσει προοδευτικά την ίδια και την εποχή της, από μεταβαλλόμενες οπτικές γωνίες κατά τις παιδικές και ενήλικες δεκαετίες της ζωής μου, πρόθεσή μου είναι να σκιαγραφήσω μια διαφωτιστική εισαγωγή στην ιστορία της μετέπειτα ζωής της, που μένει ακόμη να ειπωθεί, να ερμηνευτεί και να γραφτεί πλήρως.

Γυναίκα, ξένη, επανειλημμένα ξεριζωμένη, αρχαιολόγος πεδίου και ερευνήτρια. Κόρη, σύζυγος και μητέρα. Ακολούθησε με στοχοπροσήλωση τη δική της καριέρα, συνδράμοντας παράλληλα και εκείνη του συζύγου της -εξίσου απαιτητική, μένοντας όμως παρούσα και ως μητέρα. Συνδύασε με ταχυδακτυλουργικό τρόπο πολλές ιδιότητες. Προσηνής αλλά συνάμα και απόμακρη προσωπικότητα, πειθαρχημένη και αφοσιωμένη στον τομέα και τα καθήκοντά της, ήρθε στην Ελλάδα στα τέλη της δεκαετίας του 1950 και επέλεξε να μην ξαναφύγει. Μέλος της γενιάς του Β' Παγκοσμίου Πολέμου, ωρίμασε σε μια περίοδο συνεχούς διεύρυνσης των οριζόντων και νέων προκλήσεων. Βρήκε τον δρόμο της προς τον μεσογειακό νότο και επινόησε τον προσωπικό της τρόπο και ύφος βασιζόμενη στην εσωτερική της ορμή. Κινήθηκε πέρα από τα πρότυπα της γενιάς της και την αυστηρή πραγματικότητα του μικροκόσμου της, δημιουργώντας μια περσόνα στην οποία έμεινε πιστή μέχρι τα τελευταία της χρόνια.

Ήταν διαρκώς ευγνώμων για το προνόμιο που της είχε προσφέρει η ζωή, τη χάρη να μπορέσει να ακολουθήσει την καρδιά της και να ζήσει από και μέσα στην επιστημονική της

ειδικότητα. Υπήρξε απαλλαγμένη από τη λαχτάρα για επαίνους. Επέλεξε συνειδητά να μην ανοιχτεί σε εκτενείς αυτοβιογραφικές αφηγήσεις, διαφύλαξε με διακριτικότητα την ιστορία της ιδιωτικής της ζωής, την οποία δεν δημοσιοποίησε. Κυρίως, ποτέ δεν επιχείρησε - ή δεν τόλμησε; - να αντιπαραβάλει την προσωπική της συνθήκη προς την ευρύτερη ιστορική εικόνα, καθώς εκείνη γινόταν πιο ξεκάθαρη προς τα τέλη του περασμένου αιώνα. Είναι πρόκληση να μείνει κανείς πιστός στην επιθυμητή της διακριτικότητα, περιγράφοντας ωστόσο με δίκαιο τρόπο το πλαίσιο που μπορεί να δώσει στην ιστορία της περαιτέρω νόημα, εντός του πεδίου, αλλά και πέρα από την «Αρχαιολογία».

Θα παρακολουθήσουμε την πορεία της, από μια σύντομη χαμένη παιδική ηλικία στο εμπόλεμο Βερολίνο, προς την περίοδο απομόνωσης στα καταφύγια των χιονισμένων βουνοκορφών της Αυστρίας. Η μοναχική εφηβεία στο μεταπολεμικό Τιρόλο, τα φοιτητικά χρόνια στο Innsbruck, και τα πρώτα ταξίδια στην Ιταλία και την Ελλάδα στα τέλη της δεκαετίας του 1950, θα συντελέσουν στη διαμόρφωση αυτής της *Βερόνικας*, την οποία γνώρισαν οι Έλληνες και διεθνείς συνάδελφοί της από την αρχή της δεκαετίας του 1960 και εξής.

Elli Papazoi (University of Graz): *Adelheid and Annie Netoliczka von Baldershofen: the pioneering paths of the first Austrian classical archaeologists and their contribution to Greek archaeology*

The contributions of women to classical studies, particularly in archaeology, have garnered increasing recognition over time. Historically, women encountered barriers to accessing higher education, and within the field of Archaeology, they often faced marginalization or insufficient acknowledgment of their work. This presentation explores the pioneering journeys of Dr. Adelheid and Annie Netoliczka von Baldershofen, the first Austrian women to achieve doctorates in classical archaeology. Both sisters completed their doctoral studies concurrently at the University of Graz (Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz) in 1910, amidst limited educational opportunities for girls in Austria and the early integration of women into the philosophical faculty.

Adelheid Netoliczka emerged as a trailblazer, breaking down barriers in the male-dominated world of classical archaeology in Austria. Following her dissertation on "Studies on Greek Costume" (Zur griechischen Tracht), she became the first woman to receive a travel scholarship from the Imperial and Royal Ministry of Education, enabling her research in Athens in 1911. Similarly, Adelheid's younger sister, Annie, pursued a parallel academic trajectory, presenting her dissertation on "Greek Archaizing Sculpture" (Zur griechisch-archaisierenden Plastik). Despite their significant scholarly contributions, neither sister managed to establish a career in this field.

Furthermore, this study incorporates significant archival documents from investigations conducted in Austrian archives to analyse the diverse socio-political factors that shaped women's educational opportunities and career paths in the field of archaeology during this period. Finally, this research seeks to shed light on the remarkable achievements of the Netoliczka sisters,

emphasizing their profound dedication and impact not only in the realm of archaeology but also across other professional domains.

Archontoula Papoulakou (Ministry of Culture): *Ευαγγελία Πρωτονοταρίου-Δεϊλάκη (1931-2002) ... άγνωστες πτυχές του βίου και του έργου της μέσα από τα Αρχεία – Evangelia Protonotariou-Deilaki (1931-2002) ... unknown aspects of her life and work through the Archives*

Η Ευαγγελία Πρωτονοταρίου-Δεϊλάκη ανήκει σε μια γενιά πρωτοπόρων γυναικών για τα δεδομένα της εποχής εκείνης, με ανώτερη πανεπιστημιακή μόρφωση, που κατάφερε να σταδιοδρομήσει και να διαπρέψει σε ένα «κλειστό» ανδροκρατούμενο χώρο όπως ήταν αυτός της ελληνικής αρχαιολογίας.

Το πλούσιο ανασκαφικό της έργο, η πληθώρα των επιστημονικών της δημοσιεύσεων αλλά και το πολυσχιδές διοικητικό της έργο στις Διευθύνσεις του Υπουργείου Πολιτισμού, αποτελούν παρακαταθήκη για την Αρχαιολογική Υπηρεσία και τους νέους ερευνητές.

Η Ευαγγελία Πρωτονοταρίου (κατόπιν Δεϊλάκη) γεννήθηκε στην Αθήνα. Προερχόμενη από μεσοαστική οικογένεια απεφοίτησε από την Ελληνογαλλική Σχολή Αθηνών (Άγιος Ιωσήφ) και έλαβε ανώτερη Πανεπιστημιακή μόρφωση, γεγονός όχι πολύ συνηθισμένο για μια γυναίκα της εποχής της. Σπούδασε Αρχαιολογία στη Φιλοσοφική Σχολή του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών και στο Λονδίνο. Το 1955 εισήχθη στην Αρχαιολογική Υπηρεσία κατόπιν Διαγωνισμού, σε μια περίοδο εξαιρετικά δύσκολη για την πρόσληψη γυναικών σε δημόσιες θέσεις και ιδιαίτερα στον χώρο της Αρχαιολογίας, ενώ από το 1956 διορίσθηκε Επιμελήτρια Αρχαιοτήτων στην Εφορεία Αργολιδοκορινθίας (1964-1973) με έδρα το Ναύπλιο, στην οποία υπηρέτησε για πάρα πολλά χρόνια. Εν συνεχεία ως Έφορος Αργολίδας, έχοντας έρθει συχνά σε σύγκρουση με τα συμφέροντα εργολάβων και επιχειρηματιών, εφαρμόζοντας με αυστηρότητα τον Αρχαιολογικό Νόμο και την Χάρτα της Βενετίας για τη διάσωση της παλιάς πόλης του Ναυπλίου, κατάφερε μαζί με αρχιτέκτονες με τη νομοθέτηση βασιλικού διατάγματος να ανακτήσει πλήρως τον αρχιτεκτονικό έλεγχο της παλιάς πόλης. Την εμμονή της αυτή στην προάσπιση της φυσιογνωμίας του παλιού Ναυπλίου την... πλήρωσε με δυσμενή μετάθεση επί Χούντας στη Μαγνησία, όπου υπηρέτησε ως Έφορος Βόλου (1973-1974) ενώ εν συνεχεία υπηρέτησε ως Διευθύντρια στη Διεύθυνση Αρχείων Μνημείων και Δημοσιευμάτων (1977-1985) και στην Εφορεία Παλαιοανθρωπολογίας και Σπηλαιολογίας μέχρι το 1991, όπου και συνταξιοδοτείται.

Η παρούσα Ομιλία προσπαθεί να φωτίσει άγνωστες πτυχές μέσα από τα Αρχεία του Ιστορικού Αρχείου Αρχαιοτήτων και Αναστηλώσεων : α) το επιστημονικό της αρχείο αρχαιολογικού κυρίως περιεχομένου (ημερολόγια ανασκαφών, φωτογραφίες, σχέδια, αντίγραφα της διδακτορικής της διατριβής «οι Τύμβοι του Άργους»), το οποίο περιήλθε στο Ιστορικό Αρχείο Αρχαιοτήτων του ΥΠΠΟ από την ΕΦΑ Σπηλαιολογίας το 2011, β) το Διοικητικό Αρχείο της ΔΑΜΔ στην οποία υπηρέτησε ως Διευθύντρια και γ) τον τύπο της εποχής κυρίως στην περιοχή της Αργο Ναυπλίας στην οποία υπηρέτησε. Και τέλος τις προσωπικές της σημειώσεις, που

φωτίζουν άγνωστες πτυχές της προσωπικότητάς της και προβάλλουν την ευαισθησία και τις μεταφυσικές αγωνίες που την απασχολούν σε μια κάπως μεγαλύτερη ηλικία.

Evangelia Protonotariou-Deilaki belongs to a generation of pioneering women for the standards of that time, with a higher university education, which managed to make a career and excel in a ‘closed’ male-dominated field such as that of Greek archaeology.

Her rich excavation work, the abundance of her scientific publications and her multifaceted administrative work in the Directorates of the Ministry of Culture, constitute a legacy for the Archaeological Service and young researchers.

Evangelia Protonotariou (after Deilaki) was born in Athens. Coming from a middle-class family, she graduated from the Greek-French School of Athens (St. Joseph) and received a higher university education, which was not very common for a woman of her time. She studied Archaeology at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Athens and in London. In 1955 she entered the Archaeological Service by competition, at a time when it was extremely difficult to recruit women to public positions, especially in the field of Archaeology, and from 1956 she was appointed Curator of Antiquities at the Ephorate of Argolidokorinthia (1964-1973), based in Nafplio, where she served for many years. Subsequently, as Curator of Argolida, having often come into conflict with the interests of developers and businessmen, strictly applying the Archaeological Law and the Charter of Venice for the preservation of the old city of Nafplio, she managed, together with architects, to regain full architectural control of the old city by Royal Decree. She paid for her insistence on defending the physiognomy of the old Nafplion with an unfavourable transfer during the Junta to Magnesia, where she served as Curator of Volos (1973-1974) and then served as Director of the Directorate of Monuments and Publications (1977-1985) and in the Department of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology until 1991, when she retired.

The present speech seeks to illuminate unknown aspects through the records of the Historical Archives of Antiquities and Restorations: (a) her scientific archives of mainly archaeological content (excavation diaries, photographs, drawings, copies of her doctoral thesis “the Mounds of Argos”), which came to the Historical Archives of Antiquities of the Ministry of Culture and Culture from the EAF Speleology in 2011, (b) the Administrative Archives of the DAMD where she served as Director and (c) the press of the period mainly in the area of Argos Nafplia where she served. And finally her personal notes, which shed light on unknown aspects of her personality and highlight the sensitivity and metaphysical anxieties that preoccupied her at a somewhat older age.

Rachel Phillips (British School at Athens): *The activities and experiences of women in the British School at Athens, 1890-1920*

This paper examines the role of women in the British School at Athens between 1890 and 1920, a time when women were under-represented in the field of Greek archaeology. The first woman to be admitted to the BSA was Eugenie Sellers in 1890, four years after the foundation of the school.

Other female students at this time included Hilda Lorimer and Amy Hutton, who was also the editor of the *Annual of the British School at Athens*. From the early 20th century, women were allowed to hold scholarships at the school, albeit with some resistance from the BSA committee. Margaret Hardie, for example, became school student in 1911 and Agnes Conway took up the same position in 1913. Women were not able to stay at the British School until 1920, however: the first women to stay at the hostel were Winifred Lamb, Mary Herford, and Lilian Chandler, who was also the first recipient of the Sachs studentship in 1921.

This paper examines the activities and experiences of these female students in the early years of the British School at Athens. It looks at the various roles of these women in relation to the institution and tracks developments in their treatment over time, both before and after World War One. It draws on records held in the BSA archives in its examination of the attitude of the British School towards its female students. These documents unfortunately do not include many of the personal papers of these early female researchers, but the corporate records contain details about their activities, as well as decisions taken about the role of women in the school and how this role transformed over time.

I aim to draw out two key strands that shaped the relationship between women and archaeological institutions in these decades. First, the importance of personal networks and female mentorship in the promotion of women's careers within the BSA. Many of the earliest women at the BSA were mentored by Jane Harrison at the University of Cambridge, for example, who encouraged her female students to travel to Athens and campaigned for their admission to the school. Women seem to have pursued their career aims through these networks: their relationships with other scholars allowed them to advance within institutions. Second, this paper expands outwards from archaeological institutions to look at the broader social institutions that impacted women's careers, such as their financial situation, their familial support, and their marital status. These factors, in most cases, seem to have dictated how much power women had within institutions such as the BSA.

Rosario Rovira Guardiola (Institute of Classical Studies Library): *Female archaeologists in British institutions. The example of Caroline Amy Hutton*

Caroline Amy Hutton was a British archaeologist that specialised in Greek epigraphy and published the first monograph in English dedicated to Greek terracottas. She started her career in 1879 by studying Classics in Girton College in Cambridge, at the time one of the few colleges that admitted women. Like many other female archaeologists and classicists of the time, she carried on earning her living through private tuition, teaching in schools and giving lectures at the British Museum with Greek material culture as her preferred subject. While others progressed towards an academic career, Hutton followed a different path. One that has contributed to her work in Greek archaeology having been mostly forgotten. She worked, on a voluntary basis, at the department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum, the Hellenic Society and the British School at Athens where she edited the *Annual*. The aim of the paper is to explore the nature of her work

and her relationship with these institutions that, during the 19th and beginning of the 20th century contributed to the development of Greek archaeology in the UK.

Hutton started collaborating in the British Museum in 1892 where she undertook curatorial tasks such as the accessioning of pottery from the excavations in Naukratis and Rhodes and the study of Greek inscriptions; she carried on doing so until, at least 1925. Hutton would also hold important roles (always voluntarily) at the Hellenic Society. First as an acting librarian and then as an honorary secretary. The minutes of the Council show the dedication with which Hutton undertook these roles. She insisted on the need to provide a better catalogue for the slides and photographic collection of the library and proposed that this collection could be loaned by schools that were members of the society, which allowed for a wider number of people to use them. By the time she retired in 1930 due to ill health, she had become so indispensable that the Council struggled to replace her, leaving the post vacant *sine die*.

However, Hutton's career was not exempt from difficulties. After the teaching positions of the late 1880s, she does not seem to have held a paid position, even if her work was respected by her colleagues. When she held a fellowship at the British School at Athens between 1896 and 1897, she had to stay in the Hotel d'Angleterre, as being a woman, she could not stay at the school. Accessing the material she was interested in was not easy either and she had to rely on the help of a French colleague, Paul Perdrizet. Despite the initial difficulties she published several articles on the objects that she had studied in Athens, including one in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*; she was one of the few British archaeologists that published there.

Life as an archaeologist might not have been easy for Hutton but no doubt her tenacity paved the way for those who were to follow.

Dimitra Voutyrea (ÖAW – Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen & Universidad Complutense de Madrid): *Women and maritime archaeology in Greece: an overview*

Maritime archaeology – the sub discipline of archaeology that studies the material remains of man and his activities on the sea – has gone through various stages of development: from pure salvage actions aiming to the collection of underwater artefacts for their artistic, cultural, or economic values to a specialized field, characterized by high theoretical and methodological standards. In Greece, the perception about the importance and protection of the national underwater cultural heritage was already reflected in the first Archaeological Law of 1834, which declared the State as the owner of antiquities found on land and underwater. Despite this pioneering legal framework, the seabed remained inaccessible for archaeologists until quite recently. It was the development of the Self-Contained Underwater Breathing Apparatus (SCUBA) in 1946 by Emile Gagnan and Jacques-Yves Cousteau that marked a turning point for maritime archaeology. During the 1950's and 1960's, this new generation of scuba divers launched an important number of underwater investigations in the Greek territorial waters, organized mainly by foreign archaeological institutions in collaboration with the Greek Archaeological Service. However, it took a number of years before the first institution dedicated to the advancement of underwater

archaeology in Greece was established. In 1973, the Hellenic Institute of Marine Archaeology, a private non-profit body was founded, followed by the establishment of the State Department of Marine Antiquities (Greek Ministry of Culture and Sciences) in 1976.

It becomes apparent that the transition from the standard diving dress (*skafandro*) to scuba was a milestone for Maritime Archaeology. In these early steps, male archaeologists and divers conducted important fieldwork research and they are often mentioned as directors, participants, or just volunteers in publications and newspaper articles. But what about women's involvement? In the case of Greece, the appearance of scuba diving was strongly connected with the Navy and for many years it was considered as a male dominated field. How this common view affected the participation of female archaeologists/specialists in the first systematic underwater archaeological projects and which was the attitude of the different Institutions, Departments and Foreign Schools towards this matter? This paper aims to examine the aforementioned questions through bibliographical research and personal interviews and bring to discussion the current state of female underwater archaeologists in Greece, the challenges and future perspectives.