Engendering Prehistoric ‘Stratigraphies’ in the Aegean and the Mediterranean
Organising Committee
Katerina KOPAKA (Department of History and Archaeology)
Yota PAPAGEORGIOU (Department of Sociology)
Vasso PETOUSSI (Department of Sociology)
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Ζαχαρίας ΠΑΛΗΣ (Τμήμα Φιλοσοφικών και Κοινωνικών Σπουδών)

Secretariat
Galateia NTANALAKI
Assisted by Evita KALOGEROUPOULOU

Γραμματεία
Γαλάτεια ΝΤΑΝΑΛΑΚΗ
Με τη βοήθεια της Εβίτας ΚΑΛΟΓΕΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ

Poster by Vangelis PAPIOMYTOGLOU
Assisted by Natasa ANTONAKI

Αφίσα: Βαγγέλης ΠΑΠΙΟΜΥΤΟΓΛΟΥ
Με τη βοήθεια της Νατάσας ΑΝΤΩΝΑΚΗ

The Symposium is hosting an Art Exhibit by Greek artists entitled
‘Worlds’ of women and men. Perceptions and representations
Organised by Chryssoula SKEPETZI
[XENIA Hall, Rethymno]
Το Συμπόσιο φιλοξενεί Έκθεση Ελλήνων Καλλιτεχνών με τίτλο
‘Κόσμοι’ γυναικών και ανδρών. Θεωρήσεις και αναπαραστάσεις
Οργάνωση: Χρυσούλα ΣΚΕΠΗΤΖΗ
[Πολιτιστικό Φοιτητικό Κέντρο ΞΕΝΙΑ, Ρέθυμνο]

With the assistance of the Prefecture of Rethymno
Με την υποστήριξη της Νομαρχίας Ρεθύμνου
ΠΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑ / PROGRAMME

Πέμπτη 2 Ιουνίου 2005/Thursday 2 June 2005

[Πολιτιστικό Φοιτητικό Κέντρο ΞΕΝΙΑ / XENIA Hall, Rethymno]

15:30–19:00 Εγγραφές / Registration
19:00–20:00 Υποδοχή – Χαιρετισμοί / Opening session - Greetings

Liv Helga DOMMASNES
K.A.N. - Women in Archaeology in Norway.
A story of gendered agency in an academic environment
20:00 Δεξίωση και επίσκεψη της Έκθεσης / Welcome Reception and Visit to the Art Exhibit

Παρασκευή 3 Ιουνίου 2005/Friday 3 June 2005

[Πανεπιστημιούπολη ΓΑΛΛΟΥ, Αμφιθέατρο Δ3-7Α / GALLOS Campus, Room D3-7Α]

1. ‘Κόσμοι’ των γυναικών και των ανδρών: ρόλοι, διαδράσεις, συμβολισμοί
‘Worlds’ of women and men: roles, interactions, symbolisms
9:00–11:00 Πρόεδρος / Chair Eddie PELTENBURG
Diane BOLGER
Beyond male and female: recent approaches to gender in prehistoric Cypriot archaeology
Γιώργος ΒΑΒΟΥΡΑΝΑΚΗΣ
Μια «έγχειος Αφροδίτη» της Προϊστορικής Εποχής του Χαλκού
από την Αυδή της Κύπρου
Marga SANCHEZ ROMERO
Women during the Bronze Age in the Southeast of the Iberian Peninsula: daily life, relationships and identity
Paloma GONZALEZ MARCEN, Sandra MONTON SUBIAS,
Marina PICAZO GURINA
Time, women and material culture. Death and life in Arcaric communities
11:00–11:30 Λήμμα / Coffee break
11:30–13:30 Πρόεδρος / Chair Gerald CADOGAN
Χριστίνα ΜΑΡΑΓΚΟΥ
Έμφια και άμφια άντα στην Προϊστορία: αναγνώσεις του αόρατου φύλου (Νεολιθική Εποχή – Πρώιμη Χαλκοκρατία)
Lucy GOODISON
Gender, genus, body: contemporary and prehistoric perceptions
Christine MORRIS
The iconography of the bared breast in Aegean Bronze Age art
Tina McGEORGE
Meta-analysis of the social gender of prehistoric skeletal remains: the case of Tomb 2 from the Pylona cemetery in Rhodes
13:30-14:00 Συζήτηση / Discussion
14:00–15:30 Γεύμα / Lunch break
15:30–17:30 Πρόεδρος / Chair Iris TZACHILI
Marika ΖΕΙΜΒΕΚΙ
The inaccessibility of gender: a problem in prehistoric archaeological interpretation?
Judith WEINGARTEN
The Zakro Master’s monsters and questions of gender
Louise HITCHCOCK
Knossos is burning: gender bending the Minoan genius
Kim SHELTON
Who wears the horns? Gender choices in Mycenaean terracotta figurines
17:30–18:00 Λήμμα / Coffee break
18:00–19:30 Πρόεδρος / Chair John YOUNGER
Alexander UCHITEL
The Minoan Linear A sign for 'woman': a tentative identification
Barbara OLSEN
Was there unity in Mycenaean gender practices?
The women of Pylos and Knossos in the Linear B tablets
Τζαχιλή ΙΡΙΣ
Στις λέξεις: συµβολισµοί και υπεξαιρέσεις
19:00–19:30 Συζήτηση / Discussion
20:00-20:30 Προβολή φιλµ /Film projection
“Pashka. Ein portrait” by Karin Michalski [Germany, 2002-3]

Σάββατο 4 Ιουνίου 2005/ Saturday 4 June 2005
[Πανεπιστηµιούπολη ΓΑΛΛΟΥ, Αµφιθέατρο D3-7A / GALLOS Campus, Room D3-7A]
9:00–11:00 Πρόεδρος / Chair Yota PAPAGEIORGIOU
II. Γυναίκες και παιδιά: διαστάσεις της µητρότητας και της παιδικής ηλικίας
Women and children: dimensions of motherhood and childhood
Françoise AUDOUZE
Can we hope to identify women’s and children’s activities in Upper Palaeolithic settlements?
Nena GALANIDOU
Mothers, children and the elderly: emerging Stone Age identities in illustrated children's books
Maia POMADÈRE
Où sont les mères? Représentations et réalités de la maternité dans le monde égéen protohistorique
Κατερίνα ΚΟΠΑ
Μητέρες και παιδιά στο προϊστορικό Αιγαίο: ένας ολόκληρος κύκλος ζωής σε υλικές και συµβολικές στρωµατογραφίες;
11:00–11:30 Λειτουργία / Coffee break
11:30–13:30 Πρόεδρος / Chair Susan ALLEN
III. Μεγαλώνοντας: πολιτισµική διαµόρφωση γυναικών και ανδρών
Coming of age: cultural formation as women and men
Anne CHAPIN
Constructions of youth and gender in Aegean art: the evidence from Crete and Thera
John YOUNGER
We are woman: girl, maid, matron in Aegean art
IV. Ξαναδιαβάζοντας το κοινωνικό φύλο στο Αιγαίο: με ‘γυναικεία’ και ‘ανδρική’ µατιά;
Re-reading Aegean gender: through ‘women’s’ and ‘men’s’ eyes?
Isabelle BRADFER-BURDET
Phèdre ou la Goulue, l'Antiquité travestie. Les femmes de l'Âge du Bronze mises à nu par les archéologues du XXème siècle
Gerald CADOGAN
Gender metaphors of social stratigraphy in pre-Linear B Crete.
Or is “Minoan gynaecocracy” (still) credible?
13:30–14:00 Συζήτηση / Discussion
14:00–15:30 Λειτουργία / Lunch break
15:30–17:00 Πρόεδρος / Chair Geraldine GESELL
V. Εµφυλίες δράσεις πεδίου στο Αιγαίο: η συµβολή γυναικών αρχαιολόγων
Engendering Aegean fieldwork: the contribution of women archaeologists
Susan ALLEN
Excavating women: power pairs in early Aegean archaeology
Anna Lucia D’AGATA
Female archaeology and non-palatial Greece: a case-study from Crete ‘of the hundred cities’
Μεταξία ΣΠΙΠΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ
Μερικοί διευθυντές ανασκαφών και επιφανειακών ερευνών
στην Κρήτη είναι γυναίκες
17:00–17:30 Συζήτηση / Discussion
17:30–18:00 Διάλειμμα / Coffee break
18:00–20:00 Ολομέλεια / Plenary session
   Στη μνήμη του Paul Rehak
   A tribute to the memory of Paul Rehak

John YOUNGER
Some unpublished studies by Paul Rehak on gender in Aegean art
Δήμητρα ΚΟΚΚΙΝΙ∆ΟΥ, Μαριάννα ΝΙΚΟΛΑΙ∆ΟΥ
Η έρευνα του φύλου: πρό(σ)κληση για την ελληνική αρχαιολογία
Alexandra ALEXANDRI
Envisioning gender in Aegean Prehistory

20:30 Δείπνο / Dinner
[Πρόσκληση της Νομαρχίας Ρεθύμνου /Hosted by the Prefecture of Rethymno]
Sunday 5 June 2005/ Κυριακή 5 Ιουνίου 2005

9:30-10:30 Καταληκτήρια συζήτηση / Concluding discussion
[Πολιτιστικό Φοιτητικό Κέντρο ΞΕΝΙΑ / XENIA Hall, Rethymno]
11:30 Περίπατος στην Παληά Πόλη του Ρεθύμνου / A walk through the old city of Rethymno
ENAPKTHRIA OMIΛIA / OPENING LECTURE

K.A.N. - Women in Archaeology in Norway.
A story of gendered agency in an academic environment

by Liv Helga DOMMASNES*

On the K.A.N. organisation and the journal 1985-2005. The K.A.N. journal was the only archaeological journal dedicated to women’s/feminist archaeology, and survived for twenty years of changing academic environments. A short survey is given of its profile and impact on archaeological research. Suggestions for future organisation and structure of gender research.

* University of Bergen
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Some unpublished studies by Paul Rehak on gender in Aegean art

by John YOUNGER*

At his death, Paul Rehak left behind a couple of hundred unfinished studies on subjects ranging from Middle Minoan vases to the portraits of Livia. Many of these studies concern gender and sexuality in the Aegean Bronze Age. For example: the close association of figure-8 shields and Sacred Robes amplify the construction of the Warrior Goddess; the Mycenae fresco depicting a girl in the hand of a large seated woman and the Xeste 3 fresco of the Veiled Girl are similar enough to establish a topos; Minoan hairpins are markers of female transition through puberty; and the color conventions in fresco for gender (red for males, white for females) are consistent enough to be standard - the refusal of some scholars to accept these "may reveal more about our own attitudes toward gender and sexuality than it does about the nature of Minoan and Mycenaean art and society".

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A tribute to the memory of Paul REHAK

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Envisioning gender in Aegean Prehistory

Alexandra ALEXANDRI*

The last decade has seen a steadily increasing number of studies that use gender as an analytical tool in an attempt to re-evaluate our understanding of Bronze Age Aegean societies. The majority of these studies have focused on the available iconographic material, which is both rich and varied. This is not surprising since iconography has always played a fundamental role in shaping our perceptions of the Bronze Age past and, in particular, in the ways we visualise and discuss gender. Aegean iconography, especially that of the Late Bronze Age, has become a natural «reference point», for the interpretation of how gender was constructed and expressed in various contexts.

This paper will focus on the question of variability which underlies the representation of gendered images in the Aegean Late Bronze Age. A survey of the iconographic material suggests that there is both regional and temporal variation in the depiction of gendered images across a variety of artefacts (frescoes, sealstones, vases etc). The use of these artefacts and the contexts in which they appeared determined to a great extent their efficacy, or even their appropriateness, as vehicles for the construction and expression of gender ideologies. The interpretation of this variability poses fundamental questions regarding archaeological methodology and our understanding of gender as a fluid social construct.

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Excavating women: power pairs in early Aegean archaeology

Susan ALLEN*

I examine the modern social and intellectual stratigraphy of the study of archaeology at home and in the field. Unlike their classical sisters, from the outset women in Aegean Bronze Age Archaeology had an important role in excavation, inquiry, and publication. This is no coincidence. The field was largely created by the maverick Heinrich Schliemann who stood outside of accepted power structures of the day. Because of the otherness of the field as well as the liminal political status of Crete, opportunities arose for those who had not necessarily followed the cursus honorum. One of those groups was women.

Unbroken chains of influence from mentor to protégée and student reach back to Sophia Schliemann and her lonely excavations on the plain of Troy, at Mycenae, and Orchomenos. Back in Athens, she met and mentored a young American woman through their shared involvement in relief work and nursing. Harriet Boyd’s service and focus on Modern Greeks as well as ancient provided an entree that enabled foreign women to gain credibility as philhellenes with the Greeks. This, in turn, led to access to excavation permits.

Boyd pioneered an acceptable working model for unmarried women who wished to be field archaeologists. They would go as pairs. These power pairs of undaunted women brought stability and security in a hostile environment. The model insured a cooperative mode of working and publication. She provided an inclusive working atmosphere for women as did her younger counterpart on the mainland and in Turkey, Hetty Goldman. Her familiarity with Greeks and the countryside informed innovative ethnographic and environmental research while Goldman’s later partnership with Carl Blegen led to their fully integrated digs in the “Roaring Twenties” and his subsequent gender-blind leadership.

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Can we hope to identify women’s and children’s activities in Upper Palaeolithic settlements?

Françoise AUDOUZE*

In spite of the numerous papers written about gender in prehistory, very little can be used for bridging the gap between theory and data. However comparative ethnography, actualistic studies and experimentation can open a way to it.

Flint knapping experimentation and refitting of knapped flint flakes have evidenced knapping stages through which children have to go, to get a good psycho-motor control of their knapping gestures. Once the core reduction sequences have been identified in a given cultural context, it becomes possible to identify repeated mistakes that result in the prematurate abortion of the manufacturing sequence, and thus to identify youngsters.

Turning to ethno-archaeology, we can use recent work by Douglas Bird and Rebecca Bliege Bird on the Meriam (shell collectors of the great reef barrier of Australia) and the Mardu hunters-gatherers of the Australian desert. Comparing children and adults strategy for collecting shells and for hunting, they identify a recurring children strategy. Children do not only imitate adults’ behaviour but look for an immediate return: the distance at which they get away from camp is smaller than for adults and they look for smaller preys easier to collect or catch and select species that adults neglect.

Concerning women, following Alain Testart's comparative study on hunters-gatherers, I will argue that there is indeed a sexual division of work among hunters-gatherers. This differentiation is not due to a lack of mobility from women, or the necessity of giving birth or of feeding babies but to ideology. Women can and do hunt, men do gather plants. It is the way they do it that differs. The basis for this differentiation is the ideological necessity to exclude
contacts between the dangerous menstrual blood of women with the equally dangerous or powerful spilled blood of game. Thus women are excluded from hunting with perforating weapons and only hunt with nets or clubs or participate to driving herds. However, this model is not a fixed one but a model gliding along a continuum according to the economic balance between hunting, gathering, fishing and other activities in a given culture. The economy general requirements set the limits beyond which the ideological danger arises: women can drive the reindeer herd if hunting is the main resource, but will be banned from any kind of hunting if gathering is the main food source; they will only do the hide working if men have time to process the carcass and the meat, but will process the meat if men are too busy hunting. And while under higher latitudes where hunting is predominant, the taboo is very clear and enforced (men and women have separate toolkits in Eskimo societies), in temperate zones, it is more difficult to identify the way it works. Nevertheless, according to Alain Testart, there is a tendency related to this ban on perforating/piercing for women, to relate tools that work in "percussion posée/pressure" with a larger area of contact (cutting, pounding, scraping, crushing…).

Prehistoric hunters-gatherers are related to modern ones, not only by their lifestyle but also because of their shamanistic beliefs. It is one more reason for arguing that the ideology of blood that is shared by all contemporary and subcontemporary hunters-gatherers was also present in their societies. This model does not give a turnkey solution but may help building scenarios. I will present very briefly an example derived from the Magdalenian settlement of Verberie in Northern France.

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Μια «Εγχειρία Αφροδίτη» της Προϊστορικής Εποχής του Χαλκού από την Αυδήμου της Κύπρου

Γιώργος ΒΑΒΟΥΡΑΝΑΚΗΣ*

Η ανασκαφή του τάφου 27 (LM 1853) στη θέση Αυδήμου-Καμάρες της Κύπρου έφερε στο φως ένα σπάνιο συνδυασμό ευρημάτων, χρονολογούμενο στην Προϊστορική (ύστερη Πρώιμη – πρώιμη Μέση) Εποχή του Χαλκού: μία λόγχη και ένα εγχείριδιο, εκουσία τοποθετημένα ως προσωπικά κτερίσματα, δίπλα σε ένα σκελετό γυναικάς. Τα ευρήματα αυτά προβληματίζουν για τον τρόπο της κοινωνικής κατασκευής του φυλίου στο πλαίσιο των ταφικών εθνικών κατά την Προϊστορική Εποχή του Χαλκού στην Κύπρο. Η καθιερωμένη εικόνα της έρευνας για την εποχή αυτή θέλει πατρογραμμικές κοινωνικές, όταν οι γυναίκες περικαλλίζονται στην ανατροφή των παιδιών, τη διαχείριση οικιακών ζητημάτων και ενδεχομένως την οικοτεχνική παραγωγή υφασμάτων και κεραμικών, ενώ αποκλείονται από θύραθεν δραστηριότητες όπως η χαλκουργία ή τα κοινά. Νεότερες έρευνες όμως αποσυχτιζούν το φύλο από το ζήτημα της πολιτικής εξουσίας και της κοινωνικής ισχύς και δίνουν έμφαση σε ανδρόγυνα ειδώλια και άρα στη ρευστότητα της κοινωνικής ταυτότητας του φυλίου, καθώς και τη δυναμική της (επανα-) διαπραγμάτευση στο πλαίσιο τελετουργικών δραστηριοτήτων, ιδίως των ταφικών.

Το παρόν έργο έκφραζε την ευρήματα από την Αυδήμου στο πεδίο του παραπάνω προβληματισμού. Το ουλικό συγκρίνεται με άλλα ταυτικά σύνολα της περιόδου για να φανεί ο ιδιαίτερος χαρακτήρα του, ο οποίος υπογραμμίζει το δυναμικό ρόλο του γυναικείου φυλίου στην κοινωνική ζωή, παρά τις τεχνολογικές, οικονομικές και γενικότερα κοινωνικές αλλαγές της περιόδου, οι οποίες μακροπρόθεσμα ευνόησαν την πατρογραμμική αναδόμηση των κοινωνικών της προϊστορικής Κύπρου. Η αντίθεση αυτή αποτελούσε ένα από τα κατ’ εξοχήν θέματα των ταφικών διαβατηρίων τελετών, οι οποίες είχαν επομένως ανάγκη μια εύκαμπτη και ρευστή συγκράτηση της έννοιας του φυλίου, ώστε να καθίσταται δυνατή η κατά το δυνατόν αποτελεσματικότερη (επανα-) διαπραγμάτευσή του.

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Beyond male and female: recent approaches to gender in prehistoric Cypriot archaeology

Diane BOLGER*

Recent research on gender has been highly critical of binary gender constructs, which assume the existence of two, and only two, categories of gender (male and female). The failure to move beyond modern Western modes of thought by considering the possibility of gender ambiguity or multiplicity has also been a common pitfall of archaeological studies of figurines and other anthropomorphic art, which have traditionally relied on binary divisions as the basis for typological classification and functional interpretation. These issues, and a detailed consideration of alternative views that understand the figurative art of prehistoric Cypriot society in terms of ambiguous or “third gender” categories will form the core of this presentation.

Despite the persistence of traditional approaches to the study of figurative art in Cypriot prehistory, a number of important studies have moved beyond traditional binary models by addressing issues of gender ambiguity and multiple genders. Hamilton argued more than a decade ago that the study of Cypriot prehistoric figurines be approached from the perspective of sexual ambiguity, noting that figurines lacking indications of sex should not be assumed to be female: the absence of breasts, for example, may have been deliberate and may impart important information about social attitudes to gender identities. These ideas have been reinforced and extended by more recent work, such as Talalay and Cullen’s study of Early Bronze Age plank figures, which they interpret as deliberately ambiguous in terms of gender; and Elinor Ribiero’s unorthodox interpretation of figures in Bronze Age scenic compositions as examples of “third gender” adolescents.

In my own recent work on prehistoric figurative art from Cyprus, I have adopted a somewhat different approach by considering figurines from the perspective of the human lifecycle and by correlating stylistic variations with bio-behavioral changes of individuals through the life course. As key instruments involved in rituals of birth, death, and other crucial phases of human existence, figurines, pendants and other types of portable art served as a medium through which the experience of the body was enacted and performed within a larger social sphere. Moreover, as Talalay and Cullen have suggested, the ambiguous nature of much of the figurative art of ancient Cyprus may have allowed individuals to negotiate and reconstruct gendered identities at a time when increased levels of socio-economic complexity, including the emergence of elite groups, were beginning to create new social tensions.

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Phèdre ou la Goulue, l'Antiquité travestie. Les femmes de l’Âge du Bronze mises à nu par les archéologues du XXème siècle

Isabelle BRADFER-BURDET*

Lorsque, au début du XXème siècle, Arthur Evans met au jour les peintures murales de Cnossos, c’est l’Antiquité et la Préhistoire qu’il découvre, chamarrées, provocatrices, anti-classiques. Il suffit de lire Edmond Pottier, alors conservateur au Louvre, pour constater la surprise de ces hommes pour qui l’art hellénique, fusse-t-il préhellénique, était immaculé et empreint d’une grandeur toute épurée.

Cette contribution a pour ambition d’observer la place que les savants du début du siècle ont conférée à la femme de l’Âge du Bronze. Ils avaient imaginé Phèdre, toute de blanc vêtue, digne et réservée, mais leur confrontation avec des images plus riantes les a contraints à inventer un univers féminin.

Les découvertes témoignent de cet engouement pour la femme: gynécée, appartement des femmes, salle de bains de la Reine… Ces pièces apparaissent fort à propos lors de chaque fouille et prennent place dans un ensemble architectural défini par sa fonctionnalité. Que la Parisienne ressemble davantage à la Goulue qu’à Antigone n’empêche nullement son inventeur et ses successeurs de l’ériger en prêtresse, en déesse, en femme de pouvoir membre d’un
Gender metaphors of social stratigraphy in pre-Linear B Crete
Or Is “Minoan gynaecocracy” (still) credible?

Gerald CADOGAN*

Since there are virtually no decipherable texts in Bronze Age Crete before the appearance of those in Linear B Greek, interpretations of social stratigraphy depend on an amalgam of metaphors – principally the iconography and practice of ritual; mortuary practice; and choice of site, architecture, and use of domestic and public space for settlements. Metaphors such as these provide, by extrapolation, the best clues to understanding the so-called Minoans. But they are far from ideal since there is much potential evidence that may be interpreted in several ways because of our lack of knowledge – an intellectual gap that pre-conceived determinist notions can never fill.

In this framework, I shall examine the gender metaphors of Minoan social stratigraphies, rankings and power, so as to re-examine (i) Waterhouse’s theory of a “Minoan gynaecocracy” up till Neopalatial times (but not in Final Palatial) and, consequently, (ii): what may have been the engendered basis/es of authority in pre-Linear B Minoan Crete. The main arguments for a gynaecocracy seem: the predominance of females among the Significant Figures in (often ritual) iconography; and the general lack of erotic depictions - which are primarily a male phenomenon (as in classical Greece). The background of the theory seems to lurk in 19th century notions of an early, matriarchal stage of social development, and probably also of a “Mother Goddess”. (But it is important to recall that Waterhouse’s views were revolutionary for the time and, in a sense, proto-feminist.)

Against this, we may now set the growing evidence (which, however, some may argue, still remains slight) for males among the representations of Significant Figures, as well as the discovery of elite male burials in the Neopalatial period and earlier. Comparanda are also available in Egypt. Note also, following Kopaka and Marinatos, the probable sexually neutral “third gender” that may be discerned in Minoan depictions. Is it possible to relate this to the depictions of aniconic objects that do appear to have been a real source, or seat, of power?

Finally, there will be a brief mention of the possible continuities and changes in the era of Linear B and afterwards, and brief discussion of possible extrapolations back into the Neopalatial era.

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Constructions of youth and gender in Aegean art: the evidence from Crete and Thera

Anne CHAPIN*

The artistic images of youthful male and female figures from Crete and Thera offer important evidence for the construction of youth and gender in the prehistoric Aegean of the Late Bronze Age. The painted images of boys and youths found in Building Beta, the West House, and Xeste 3, for example, are characterized by nudity and distinctive head shaving, while their activities suggest age-based initiation rituals. On Crete, images of youthful males found as
ivory and bronze figurines and on stone and metal relief vases suggest complementary evidence for initiation rituals associated with the constructed age grades.

This investigation suggests, however, that the reliance on the depicted hairstyles to identify age grades is not supported by the evidence. Rather, it is argued that the carefully depicted signs of human physiological growth and development offer a more reliable basis for establishing age grades in children and youths. A review of the Theran frescoes depicting boys shows how Aegean artists incorporated features of physiological growth and development characteristic of childhood and pubertal growth, including body proportions and genital development. This investigation then applies the same methodology to the study of youthful male figures from Crete and finds that the evidence breaks into two distinct groups: images of very young children – infants and toddlers – and older males (often identified as pubertal) whose physical proportions characterize them as physically mature regardless of hairstyle. It is concluded that the Minoan evidence is quite distinct from the Theran. While the Theran paintings preserve images of later childhood and puberty, Minoan depictions of growth and development feature its earliest stages - infancy - and its end, when pubertal growth is complete. The gaps in evidence suggest that future studies of male gender development in the Aegean Bronze Age should treat the material with caution.

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Female archaeology and non-palatial Greece: a case-study from Crete 'of the hundred cities'

Anna Lucia D'AGATA*

Female archaeology on Crete begins with Harriet Boyd, the American scholar who arrived on the island in 1900 and gave a fundamental contribution to the discovery of Minoan civilization in eastern Crete. Some decades later, the Italian Luisa Banti was involved in the publication of the Italian excavations in Mesara.

In this paper I shall try to delineate a history of female archaeology on Crete, with the aim of identifying and interpreting the specificity of women’s contribution to the archaeology of the island.

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Mothers, children and the elderly: emerging Stone Age identities in illustrated children’s books

Nena GALANIDOU*

In recent years many systematic attempts have been made to deal with the questions of the ‘archaeology of childhood’ and the ‘relation of archaeology to the public’. This paper is intended to contribute to these discussions not by attempting to identify children in the archaeological record, but by dealing with ‘childhood and archaeology’ as an experience of the present. Certain illustrated children’s books inspired by archaeological findings are meant to educate children and introduce them to various aspects of human history. In this paper I shall examine how Stone Age life and the history of human evolution are depicted by the illustrations in a large sample of books of this sort published in Europe during the last fifteen years. In particular, I shall explore visual representations of early humans and of their social life, gender and age roles, and labour division practices. By examining critically the visual and narrative media through which archaeological information is presented in illustrated children’s books, an attempt shall be made to challenge the form, the content and the impact of these narratives. The imagery of maternity, childhood and elder’s life tends to ignore recent anthropological and archaeological debates, purveying images of the past that either reinforce modern Western stereotypes or are at least immediately recognizable from a modern perspective. This sort of representation, it is argued, is intimately connected with contemporary power strategies.

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Time, women and material culture. Death and life in Argaric communities

Paloma GONZALEZ MARCEN*, Sandra MONTON SUBIAS*, Marina PICAZO GURINA*

Archaeology, as a historical discipline, has as one of its main objects the analysis of temporal processes and relations. Through material culture, it studies the temporal framework of all forms of social action and establishes chronological frameworks of past societies. These chronological frameworks have been constructed using different, but relatively restricted, archaeological evidence, one of which, funerary material culture, has traditionally been an important element privileged by academic research.

This is precisely the case with Argaric society, one of the most outstanding archaeological groups in Bronze Age Western Europe, whose temporal sequence has been constructed following perceived changes in funerary material evidence. However, one of the main problems with this research is that analysis is conventionally linked with material culture associated with men. Consequently, this has resulted in a biased reading of time and social change. This is in part a consequence of the imposition of contemporary temporal conceptions and perceptions on the interpretation of past temporal frameworks. Additionally, it is very common for discussions of the domestic context—mostly related with women’s work and social relations—to be viewed as somehow ‘timeless’. For this reason, its associated material culture has been ignored in explanations of significant historical social transformations.

This paper proposes an alternative interpretation of Argaric temporality and its social changes by focusing on material evidence of the activities associated with women’s work. Our primary objective is to demonstrate that an understanding of macroeconomic evolution is not possible without a careful analysis of the quotidian practices of human groups.

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Gender, genus, body: contemporary and prehistoric perceptions

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New work in cultural theory has reviewed perceptions of the body derived from Western tradition, as reflected in common symbolic usage, religious ideology and theorists from Freud to Foucault. These tend to read the body through a framework of binary oppositions: mind/matter, spirit/flesh, inner/outer, consciousness/corporeality, thought/emotion, etc., these often being symbolically linked with other polarized pairings such as high/low, male/female, sun/moon and culture/nature. Cultural commentators have noted the socio-historical specificity of such formulations, and have called for a ‘retheorising’ of the body.

Related work in archaeology has presented particular challenges, in a field where in the past scholars have explicitly or implicitly used models deriving from their contemporary society to understand representations of the body in prehistoric cultures. New work has also noted that the process of the construction of knowledge within the field of archaeology has tended to be a cerebral one which excludes somatic experience.

This paper examines some aspects of the reception of the Bronze Age Aegean body, with specific reference to contexts where prevailing formulations seem to show a mismatch with the ancient material, such as gender categorisation, the perceived distance between the categories of human and animal, and boundaries between bodies of the living and the dead.

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Knossos is burning: gender bending the Minoan genius

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The iconography of the Minoan genius changes through time, but retains elements that remain constant and make the genius recognizable. These include a hippopotamus or lion head, a long dorsal appendage, and bipedalism. It is also frequently associated with certain activities such as libation pouring, hunting, sacrifice, or attending humans.

Previous studies of the genius tend to focus on three areas: 1. describing the iconography of the genius diachronically and regionally; 2. its adaptation from the minor Egyptian deity Tawaret; and 3. establishing a chronology and typology of genius representations based on changes in the iconography.

While the Egyptian Tawaret is female, scholars have interpreted the Minoan genius as both male and female, or its gender is not discussed. In most cases, its gender has either been assigned through a simplistic treatment of the data or assumed. No one has interpreted the purpose of its gender with a regard to understanding social relations in the Aegaean.

This paper analyses the Minoan genius from a gendered perspective. The goal of this essay is not simply to make an attribution of gender through a re-examination of the iconography. I intend to examine how the genius became trans-gendered and what the significance of this process is. By examining the roles undertaken by human males and females in seal iconography, I argue that the genius assumed a male identity in its transition from the Egyptian Tawaret figure. In so doing, a female symbol of power was subverted through appropriation and re-signification.

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Μητέρες και παιδιά στο προϊστορικό Αιγαίο: ένας ολόκληρος κύκλος ζωής σε υλικές και συμβολικές στρωματογραφίες
Κατερίνα ΚΟΠΑΚΑ*

Η έννοια της μητρότητας αποτελεί βασικό στοιχείο σε πολλές ερμηνευτικές θεωρήσεις της γυναικείας κατάστασης στις κοινωνίες της αρχαιότητας. Στην ιστορία της δυτικής σκέψης, η μητρότητα παραπέμπει σχεδόν συνειδητά σε ένα εν δυνάμει γυναικείο προνόμιο στη συμβολική και, ενίοτε, στη δημόσια τάξη, αλλά και σε μια τροχοπέδη, μια εγγενή αναστολή στην καθημερινή και «ιδιωτική» πραγματικότητα. Τα σχήματα αυτά αντλούν, συχνά, επιχειρήματα από τις επικοινώνιες στην τέχνη και τη γραπτή παράδοση του διαχρονικού παρελθόντος, και προαναπτύσσονται μονοήμερα στον ρόλο της «γυναίκας-κουροτρόφου» - με τις εικονίδια αποχρώσεων ενός «κοινωνικού σεβασμού» που κατοχυρώνεται με περιορισμούς έως και ισχυρές αναγκαστικές.

Η μητρότητα είναι, ιστότος, ένας ευρύς και πολυδιάστατος τόπος, και δεν αφορά, φυσικά, μόνο το γυναικείο φύλο ούτε αποκλειστικά τη μεταφορά «γυναίκα-μητέρα-τροφός». Η συνθετική πραγμάτευση της μητρότητας εισάγει σε ενότητες κρίσεως για τη μελέτη ολόκληρου του κύκλου της ζωής και της ανάπτυξης των ατόμων και των ομάδων. Συνδέεται, για παράδειγμα, άμεσα με τη σεξουαλικότητα και τον ερωτισμό, τις ηλικιακές κατηγορίες και τις διαβατήριες τελετές, τις οικογενειακές και συγγενειακές δομές και τα καταγωγικά πρότυπα - με δράσεις δηλαδή, και μορφές που είναι δύσκολο να ανιχνευθούν, ιδίως στην υλική παραγωγή των κοινωνιών χωρίς γραφή.

Μέσα από τη συζήτηση αυτή για «τις μητέρες και τα παιδιά» στο προϊστορικό Αιγαίο, επιχειρείται η διατύπωση μιας μεθοδολογικής πρότασης, που προσεγγίζει τη μητρότητα καταρχήν ως μια σύνθετη κατάσταση των φύλων: μια κοινωνική διαδοχή με βιολογικές και μεταβάσεις, από την ήδη ως τη συνεύρεση και τη σύλληψη, την εγκυμοσύνη και τον τοκετό, τη γαλουχία, κατόπιν την ανατροφή και την κοινωνικοποίηση των παιδιών.

Σε ένα παρόμοιο πλαίσιο, μπορούν ίσως να επιχειρηθούν συνολικότερες αναγνώσεις των τόσο αποσπασματικών στρωματογραφικών μας δεδομένων· και να διαφανούν καθαρότερα κάποιες, γενικές αλλά και επιμέρους, έμφυλες πολιτισμικές εκφάνσεις και εμφάσεις των ποικίλων εκδοχών της μητρότητας, και της εν γένει φυσικής και κοινωνικής αναπαραγωγής. Θα βρουν,
Meta-analysis of the social gender of prehistoric skeletal remains: the case of Tomb 2 from the Pylaon cemetery in Rhodes

Tina McGEORGE*

Tomb 2 is one in a group of six chamber tombs excavated in 1995 one kilometer to north of the village of Pylona, west of Lindos. The tomb, dating to the 14th/13th century B.C., is exceptional because it provides a rarely given opportunity to examine social gender and social stratification in the prehistoric period.

The dromos of Tomb 2 served a central chamber, to the north, and two side chambers each with separate entrances. The north chamber housed several burials, the main focus being an in situ burial of a young woman dressed in clothing decorated with beads, wearing necklaces, finger rings and given a large assemblage of pottery, mostly imported from the Argolid, all of which carries an explicit message of rank.

The two side chambers housed the burials of individuals who were quite obviously of inferior social status. This is reflected by their "life statistics", their pathology and by the complete absence of any superfluous finery. Not a single bead or item of jewellery was found in either chamber.

The west chamber contained two burials including that of an elderly woman, possibly the village of Pylona, west of Lindos. The tomb, dating to the 14th/13th century B.C., is exceptional because it provides a rarely given opportunity to examine social gender and social stratification in the prehistoric period.

The two side chambers housed the burials of individuals who were quite obviously of inferior social status. This is reflected by their "life statistics", their pathology and by the complete absence of any superfluous finery. Not a single bead or item of jewellery was found in either chamber. The west chamber contained two burials including that of an elderly woman, possibly in her sixties, given a burnt much-used cooking pot, a bowl and two plain kylikes. The east chamber which was roughly cut with a low ceiling, housed four people buried in the fetal position because of the confined space. They were given four kylikes, two stirrup jars and a bowl.

Were these people a retinue of servants and slaves?

A detailed presentation and interpretation of the evidence will be given.

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The iconography of the bared breast in Aegean Bronze Age art
Christine MORRIS*

The bared female breast appears in the art of many cultures. The bare breasts of Amazons, the maternal, life-giving breasts of goddesses such as Isis or of the Virgin Mary or the display of breasts in an erotic context all readily spring to mind and it seems that breast imagery may be charged with complex layers of meaning. In Aegean Bronze Age culture the bared breast is much commented on, most famously in connection with the Cretan “Snake Goddess” figurines. Yet our understanding of the cultural significance of the bared or lightly veiled breast in a Minoan context remains limited. This paper will investigate how modern perceptions of the breast (and the female body) may have led to stereotypical readings of this imagery as relating to “fertility” or “mother goddesses”. It also tries to place the Minoan imagery within a wider cross-cultural context of breast iconography.

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Was there unity in Mycenaean gender practices? The women of Pylos and Knossos in the Linear B tablets
Barbara OLSEN*

Discussions of women’s mentions in the Linear B tablets have tended to read the tablets as reflecting a koine of social institutions and practices across the various tablet-producing sites, particularly between Pylos and Knossos. A variety of factors have fueled this tendency – among them, similarities in scribal habits, shared vocabularies, and the close correspondence in the titles of high-ranking male officials between the two sites. But if Pylian and Knossian men appear to be recorded in the tablets in relatively parallel ways, can we necessarily be sure that the roles and status of the women of these two states were also largely congruent? Or, put in another way, how uniform was gender practice in the Mycenaean period? Was a unified, monolithic approach to gender shared across the different palace sites or should gender more properly be considered to be a localized, site-specific institution in these earliest of Greek records? This paper addresses the evidence of the Linear B tablets from Knossos and Pylos with an eye to two goals: to ascertain what can be recovered of the roles and status of women in these states and to determine whether gender organization functioned in similar ways on the Mycenaean mainland as it did in Mycenaean-era Crete. This paper surveys the ways each site incorporates women into the four aspects of the Bronze Age economy where women are most visible: production, property holdings, land tenure, and cult, arguing that the differences in women’s integration into these economic institutions across the two sites are substantial.

The Linear B evidence strongly suggests that Pylos and Knossos operated under very different systems of gender organization whereby women’s status, task assignments, and social and economic autonomy differed widely. Even in the Late Bronze Age, gender was already a locally-driven, rather than universalized, phenomenon in the Aegean.

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Où sont les mères? Représentations et réalités de la maternité dans le monde égéen protohistorique
Maia POMADÈRE*

Depuis des décennies, les théories plaçant au premier plan une «déesse-mère» dans les
religions et cultures méditerranéennes du Néolithique et de l’Âge du Bronze abondent. Or, si l’on examine la statuaire de ces périodes dans le monde égéen, il apparaît que les figurines de «mère à l’enfant» sont rares et représentent l’exception. De manière encore plus frappante, le répertoire iconographique minoen et mycéniens privilégie la représentation de femmes (et d’hommes) jeunes, sans référence claire à la maternité. Pourtant, il est évident que les innombrables femmes ayant vécu sur les rives de l’Égée durant ces millénaires ont dans leur majorité donné naissance à plusieurs enfants, et les ont élevés. Pourquoi ces mères sont-elles si rares dans le corpus figuratif? Cela peut s’expliquer par un choix culturel: les élites minoennes et mycéniennes n’ont pas valorisé le rôle maternel des femmes, ce qui pouvait se traduire par une dépréciation de l’allaitement, confié à des nourrices. Ceci remet bien sûr en question l’importance que les historiens ont traditionnellement cru investie dans la maternité dans les sociétés protohistoriques, au travers de la figure tant convoquée de la «déesse-mère», presque invisible en Égée. Les figurines kourotrophoi, produites durant l’HR III, sont susceptibles de représenter des humains comme des divinités, et reflètent peut-être davantage des pratiques populaires qu’un véritable culte.

Pour tenter d’éclairer la réalité biologique et sociale de la maternité, il faut donc prendre en compte l’ensemble des sources à notre disposition: iconographiques bien sûr, mais aussi funéraires, épigraphiques et ethnologiques. On peut ainsi restituer la prédominance des femmes auprès des enfants en bas-âge, contredisant l’image transmise par les élites.

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Women during the Bronze Age in the Southeast of the Iberian Peninsula: daily life, relationships and identity
Marga SANCHEZ ROMERO*

In this paper I will try to approach women during the Bronze Age in the Southeast of Iberian Peninsula. I will look at their activities, their participation in ritual, their relationships with other members of their groups, especially with children, in order to consider their roles in these societies, that are traditionally hidden, as well as how women could shape their social identity. For this purpose, I will analyze archaeological record of several well-known Bronze Age sites such as Cerro de la Encina (Monachil, Granada), El Argar (Antas, Almeria), Peialosa (Baios de la Encina, Jaén) or Castellin Alto (Galera, Granada) among others. As key elements for my analysis, I will consider the body, the maintenance activities and motherhood.

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Who wears the horns? Gender choices in Mycenaean terracotta figurines
Kim SHELTON*

The conception and expression of gender and gender status among prehistoric cultures is necessarily tied to, and often limited by, the artifacts produced by that culture and interpreted by archaeologists. An important and prevalent industry of Mainland Greece during the Bronze Age was ceramic production that included both functional and representational material. Figurines were one of these artifact types, which are discovered in domestic, religious and burial contexts. These figurines, produced during the height of the Mycenaean Civilization, may act as an important cultural indicator of Mycenaean presence, especially abroad. The vast majority of Mycenaean terracotta figures and figurines are either human female or male bovine. This is true whether they are characterized according to size, style, chronology, find context or use. Although the indications of gender identity are often rather vague - there do seem to be obvious choices implemented; the indicators are abbreviated but easily understood. A substantial number of figures found at a production site have further emphasized the standard types - with their gender specifications. We have established that the function of the figures and figurines is determined by their context and is likely to be very complicated, why then the standardization? Why these gender choices? Male figurines, when they occasionally do appear, perform functions. Does the female gender assume a role of life-giver and caregiver, even without accoutrements? The female gender among animals would
also seem to be appropriate for the same functions, especially food producing species: cow, ewe etc., but the male predominates. Arguments along religious lines are examined and may give some support - especially for the more unusual large-scale Type A and B figures, but there is certainly more to it.

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Γενειάδες και γυναίκες στις λεξές συμβολισμοί και υπεξαιρέσεις

Ίρις ΤΖΑΧΙΛΗ*

Οι ομηρικές παραμοιώσεις και μεταφορές που σχετίζονται με την υφαντική παρουσίαζουν το εξής παράδοξο. Όταν αφορούν την ύψωση στην κυριολεξία της, δηλαδή όταν πρόκειται για πραγματική παραγωγή υφαντών τότε τα υποκείμενα είναι πάντα γυναίκες. Όταν οι σημασίες τους είναι μεταφορικές (υφανίων σκέψεως ή δόλως), τότε τα υποκείμενα είναι πάντα άνδρες. Σε κάθε περίπτωση προκύπτει ένας πυρήνας ισχύος, πραγματικής και συμβολικής, που άνδρες και γυναίκες αγωνίζονται να οικειοποιηθούν.

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Μερικοί διευθυντές ανασκαφών και επιφανειακών ερευνών στην Κρήτη είναι γυναίκες

Μεταξία ΤΣΙΠΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ*

Η πρώτη γυναίκα στον κόσμο που οργάνωσε, διηύθυνε και δημοσίευσε ανασκαφή, ήταν η Αμερικανίδα πρωτοπόρος Harriet Boyd, που δίδαξε έπαινο σε κρατικό έδαφος, στις αρχές του 20ου αιώνα. Αν και η ίδια θα ήθελε να πιστεύει ότι οι συνθήκες, καθώς ο αιώνιος προπροσαύρει, θα γίνονταν πολύ πιο εύκολες για τις «κόρες» της, τα πράγματα δεν εξελιχθήκαν ακριβώς έτσι. Παρά τις μεγάλες αλλαγές στις συνθήκες διαβίωσης, και αρκετή εξελίξεις στις ιατρικές αντιλήψεις της κοινωνίας, χρειαστήκαν να περάσουν περισσότερα από 60 χρόνια για να ξεκινήσει η δεύτερη γενιά γυναικών που θέωρησαν απόλυτα φυσικό ότι εφόσον ήταν αρχαιολόγοι είχαν δικαίωμα και υποχρέωση να ξεκινήσουν τη δική τους συστηματική έρευνα. Παρόλο τον μεγάλο αριθμό γυναικών αρχαιολόγων σε όλον τον κόσμο, και παρόλο το πλήθος ερευνητικών προγραμμάτων πεδίου από τη μια άκρη της Κρήτης ως την άλλη, είναι εντυπωσιακά μικρός, ακόμη και σήμερα, ο αριθμός των γυναικών, Ελληνίδων και μη, που διευθύνουν, μόνες ή σε συνεργασία με μια ακόμα γυναίκα, συστηματικές έρευνες, ανασκαφικές ή επιφανειακές.

Στην παρούσα ανακοίνωση επιχειρείται να ερευνηθούν τα χαρακτηριστικά αυτών των γυναικών, ομοιότητες και διαφορές στον τρόπο που αντιμετωπίζουν το έργο τους και τον εαυτό τους, αλλά και στον τρόπο που αντιμετωπίζονται από τους υπόλοιπους (οικογενειακό και εργασιακό περιβάλλον, ακαδημαϊκή κοινότητα, συνεργάτες της έρευνας, τοπική κοινωνία). Περίπου 15 γυναίκες από τρεις γενιές κλήθηκαν να απαντήσουν σε ερωτηματολόγιο σχετικά με: την καταγωγή και την οικογενειακή τους κατάσταση, τις σπουδές και τον εργασιακό τους χώρο, τη γεωγραφική θέση και τις συνθήκες διεξαγωγής της έρευνάς τους, τις χρηματοδοτήσεις και τους συνεργάτες τους, τη σχέση τους ως διευθυντής με τον τοπικό πληθυσμό και τους επίσημους εκπροσώπους του, και τέλος τις απόψεις τους σχετικά με την ως εντυπωσία τους.

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The Minoan Linear A sign for 'woman': a tentative identification

Alexander UCHITEL*

GORILA editors follow the traditional assumption that there is no difference between signs
for men and women in Linear A. The Linear A sign *100/*102 is a picture of a man in a short skirt combining distinctive features of two Linear B signs: a schematic picture of a man (VIR) and a picture of a woman in a long skirt (MULIER). However, whatever the relationship between these signs in the two scripts is, the very lack of distinction between the signs for men and women is absolutely incredible, being completely unparalleled in any comparable logographic-phonetic script. It seems that *306, which has no acknowledged Linear B equivalent fills the gap being the Linear A sign for woman.

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The Zakro Master's monsters and questions of gender  
Judith WEINGARTEN*

The Zakro sealings are a unique source of evidence for the art of a provincial palace town: unlike other LM I sealing hoards, many seals seem to have been the work of a single artist, he who may fairly be called 'the Zakro Master.' Perhaps as many as seventy works from his hand remain an attribution unrivalled in prehistory.

The Zakro Master's unusual visions have excited comment since their discovery: what, if anything, can they mean? In The Zakro Master and his place in prehistory (1983), I attempted to describe his work: 'his figures leap and dance in a most realistic way, they wear flounced skirts, are goats, have natural wings, but that is all. They themselves have no place in the living world. They are... a part of fantasy.' Despite their apparent eccentricity, I am no longer inclined to view them as 'fantasy' creatures – in the sense of images from the Zakro Master’s own imagination; rather, I would now ask: is there a specific meaning (or meanings) which would have been obvious to those who wore and used his seals? In attempting to answer this question, I would like to consider the monsters from the viewpoint of ‘gender studies'. (Building on the work of Senta Germain, who kindly sent me a copy of her unpublished paper 'Erotica and Power: A Reexamination of the Zakros Sealings').

I first attempt to sex the Zakro's Master's composite creatures: some are clearly and emphatically female, while others, to all appearances, are male; a number of creatures, however, may have attributes of both sexes or are of indeterminate sex. In each category, I consider the composition of the monster, the poses and secondary attributes. The results of this classification may help to place the images within a larger framework of Minoan society, or even, perhaps, in a wider, eastern Mediterranean context.

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We are woman: girl, maid, matron in Aegean art  
John YOUNGER*

A trio of females occurs occasionally in Aegean art, a girl with two older women, one at puberty, the other beyond it. On the Mycenae Treasure ring the group stands before a seated goddess; aspects of this ring, like its counterpart, the Tiryns Treasure ring, refer to menstruation in the juxtaposition of sun and crescent moon, and to other aspects of fertility and childbearing. The Ivory Trio from Mycenae has the two older women sharing a cloak, a sign of close intimacy, while all three females are in a close embrace. In the lower fresco from Xeste 3, a slightly older woman brings a necklace, probably a marker of passage, to a younger woman whose foot is bleeding, probably a metaphor for menstruation, while a veiled girl dances before her. In the upper fresco from Xeste 3, the goddess combines aspects of the two older females in her youth but adult clothing and her hair which combines young and mature hairstyles; the girl stands before her.

This trio presents archetypal aspects of womanhood, the prefatory girl, the emerging woman (parthenos), and the adult woman. It is possible, but not necessary, to see in them various combinations of classical divinities (the child and Eileithyia; Demeter, Persephone, and a
separate Korê). The function of woman, her motherhood, is not the theme - no man complements her, no child appears in her lap. Instead, the continuity of womanhood, her acculturation, her socialization, is emphasized; this is woman in three critical stages of her development.

This concept of woman in triplicate appears in later art as well (for example, the Parthenon's East Frieze and the Great Frieze from the Villa of the Mysteries). One might think of this trio like a Jungian archetype, common to human experience and therefore common to many cultures and times.

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The inaccessibility of gender: a problem in prehistoric archaeological interpretation?

Marika ZEIMBEKI*

This paper considers how reconceptions of gender relations in social anthropology and ethnography can help us to uncover the questionable theoretical assumptions underlying the current treatment of gender in the interpretation of peak sanctuary ritual of Bronze Age Crete. It examines the validity of some of the basic categories of social analysis used to construct models of Minoan social reality that inform the interpretation of gender in peak sanctuary ritual. It addresses the problems inherent in the treatment of gender as a social fact that can be empirically verified through the archaeological data. It questions the resulting privileging of visual material to the exclusion of other forms of material evidence.

I suggest that such an analysis should be integral to the attempt to identify and distinguish the gender of participants, the dedicated votive offerings and this domain of public cult activity. It constitutes a first step in integrating gender in a broader inquiry into the social practices, relations and identities in peak sanctuary ritual.

The paper argues that, when making claims about gender in the prehistoric past, the adequacy of the questions asked of the archaeological record is as important a consideration as the inevitable evidential constraints imposed on us by the material record.

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Gender research: an invitation and challenge for Greek Archaeology

As a nationally committed discipline, archaeology could have been no exception to Greek society's traditionally slow response to any new trends. To give an example, Greek archaeologists only took notice of processual archaeology as late as the 1980s, when post-processual paradigms had already begun to arise. A similar delay is apparent in the recent, uniform institutionalisation of inter-departmental courses on "issues in gender and equality", financed by the European Union, as a result of governmental modernising choices - and not as a feminist achievement. It can, therefore, be argued that it is a "harmless" addition to existing syllabuses, given that the notion of gender does not necessarily imply a radical stance: it may simply refer to the study of women or describe gender inequality. Although modernisation in archaeology has been preceded by Greek feminist critique in other social sciences, the discipline has remained unresponsive to an invitation for gender awareness that came from the academic margins in the 1990s, following an explosion of related work, in particular, in Anglo-American archaeology. At the current stage of challenge, engendering Greek archaeology should avoid remedial research and "ghettoisation" (i.e. that it is only about women and by women), as well as appropriation by trendy males in the discipline. The loss of Greek archaeology's "feminist innocence" involves demonstrating contingencies and multiple manifestations of gender power and human identity beyond any rigid categories of "feminity" and "masculinity", with the aim of deconstructing myths that are imposed as "regimes of truth". This paper outlines some issues, challenges, and implications of a gendered Greek archaeology within its broader socio-political setting.

Katerina KOPAKA

Mothers and children in prehistoric Aegean: a whole life cycle within material and symbolic stratigraphies?

The notion of motherhood is a key issue in many interpretative approaches to women's status in ancient societies. In the history of Western thought, motherhood connotes almost spontaneously a potential female privilege in symbolic and, occasionally, in «public» orders; but also an obstacle, an innate impediment in the quotidian, «private» reality. Such readings often depart from gender representations in diachronic figurative art and literature, and focus, in an unilateral way, on the role of the «nursing-mother» (or *kourotrophos*) – with its due «social respect», which is acquired via restrictions and even strong prohibitions. However, motherhood is a wide and multifaceted *topos*, that certainly does not concern only the female gender, nor is restricted to the metaphor «woman-mother-nurse». A synthetic approach to motherhood introduces important entities, critical for the study of the whole life-cycle, and the development of individuals and groups. It directly relates, for instance, to sexuality and eroticism, to age categories and to rites of passage, family structures, kinship, and patterns of descent - that is, to acts and forms that are difficult to be traced within the material culture of societies without script. In this discussion on «mothers and children in prehistoric Aegean», an effort is made to shape a methodological suggestion, that would see maternity primarily as a complex state of the sexes: as a social succession with biological «passages», from puberty and menstruation to sexual intercourse and conception, to pregnancy and birthgiving, then milking and breeding of infants, finally bringing up and socialising of children. Within such a framework, we can maybe attempt more spherical readings of our so fragmentary stratigraphic data; and possibly come to better defined - general but also specific - engendered expressions and cultural emphases on the divers versions of motherhood, and on past trends of natural and social reproduction strategies. We would, moreover, properly situate our large related cognitive gaps, and realise the need to rethink them in an essentially interdisciplinary way.
Gendered/sexed and sexless beings in prehistory: readings of the invisible gender (Neolithic Period-Early Bronze Age)

Prehistoric iconography of the Neolithic period and the Early Bronze Age comprises representations of animate beings with anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and, less often, mixed features. Concerning the anthropomorphic ones, the high frequency of female figures has been emphasized to exaggeration, although not necessarily in a flattering way, mainly in the past, while the very small percentage of clearly male figures is equally problematic. At the same time, besides these examples that reflect biological dimorphism, in an impressive number of cases the morphology of the figurines does not permit their classification in a definite sex, while, exceptionally, features of both sexes are specified in ambiguous anthropomorphic representations.

The criteria for the choices regarding either the indication, suggestion or emphasis, or the concealment of the biological sex, as well as regarding preferences when sex is revealed, remain unknown, in spite of various hypotheses that have been expressed. The fact that there is evidence about a "third" sex, which does not partake in the biological distinctions, could be interpreted in several alternative ways: either the visibility of anatomic morphology was in certain cases inconsequential, self-evident, beside the point, or irrelevant; or the difference emerged from other characteristics; or a different category of social beings was implied; or there was a preference for showing a flexible multiplicity of meanings or an indefinite existence instead of an explicit - whether complete or restricted - gender-defined identity.

In an effort to proceed beyond simple visual impressions and a "literal" reading of genders, in parallel to exploring visible at first level and apparently invisible elements, I attempt to consider as broadly as possible the general and the more specific frameworks in which the prehistoric representations had functioned, as well as their possible conceptual approaches.

Female and male weavers in Homer

Homeric metaphors dealing with textiles present the following feature: when they pertain to actual weaving, that is to the real production of textiles, then the subjects are always women. When weaving has a metaphoric use (weaving thoughts), then the subjects are always men. In every case there is a core of power, real or symbolic, which men and women are seeking to acquire.

Some directors of excavations and surveys in Crete are female

The first woman, who organized, directed and published an excavation, was Harriet Boyd, who worked on this island at the beginning of the 20th century. Her scientific achievements are well known to all of us. Most of the details of her life, and her beliefs became known after the publication of her splendid biography written by her daughter. My paper is focused on female directors of excavations in Crete a century later.

Although Harriet Boyd would certainly hope that, as the century progressed the working conditions would become much easier for her "daughters", things did not proceed so smoothly. Despite the radical improvement in the living conditions and much development in the general political and social aspects, it took more than 60 years before the second generation of women were able to start their projects in Crete. Despite the large number of female professional archaeologists in the world, and the large number of fieldwork projects in Crete, the number or women, Greek or foreigners, who direct excavations or surveys is still impressively small.

It is generally believed that archaeology is a field suitable for women, but this statement is
worth a careful investigation in order to establish how and why hierarchical pyramids are constructed.

In the present paper an attempt has been made to investigate the characteristics of female directors active today, establish similarities and differences in the ways they view their work, and also how the rest of the society sees them, starting from their family, their working environments, the academic community, their co-researchers and the local societies. In the study of archaeological practice today one can determine problems caused by family obligations and geographical restrictions, difficulties in getting jobs, as well as success stories, not very different from what one could have observed 50 or more years ago.

My research was conducted through a long questionnaire, which was sent to 22 women. 11 of them, sole directors, or co-directors with other women of excavations and surface surveys in Crete, answered. Five of them are Greeks, three from the United States, one is Canadian, one is Italian, and one is Swiss. The questions were related to their origin, family situation, studies, working environments, the geographical position and the conditions of their fieldwork, the funding, and their co-researchers, their relationships with the local population and the local authorities, and finally their ideas on their own fame.

Giorgos VAVOURANAKIS

A «speared Aphrodite» of the Prehistoric Bronze Age from Audemou, Cyprus

The excavation of tomb no 27 (LM 1853) at the site of Audemou-Kamares, Cyprus, brought to light a rare combination of finds, dating to the Prehistoric (late Early – early Middle) Bronze Age: a spear and a dagger, deliberately placed as personal gifts next to a female skeleton. These finds pose questions regarding the social construction of gender, within the framework of burial customs during the Prehistoric Bronze Age in Cyprus. The established research picture for the period sees patrilinear societies, in which women are defined by child bearing, household matters, and non-specialised production of textiles and pottery, while being excluded from outdoors activities, such as copper working or political action. On the other hand, recent research disassociates gender from the issues of socio-political power and places emphasis upon androgynous figurines and, thus, the fluidity of gender definition, as well as its dynamic (re-) negotiation within the framework of ritual activity, especially funerary ritual. The present paper places the finds from Audemou within the above research problematic. The assemblage is compared with other burial assemblages of the period, in order to illustrate its exceptional character, which underlines the dynamic role of the female gender in social life, despite the technological, economic and generally social transformations of the period, heralding a long-term patrilinear restructuring of the Prehistoric Cypriot communities. Such a contrast seems to have been one of the main themes of funerary ritual. The latter required a flexible and fluid definition of gender, so as to allow its effective (re-) negotiation.
The study of gender in pottery manufacture in Aegean Prehistory. Is there a way forward?

Significant variation and changes can be seen in pottery traditions across the Aegean, throughout prehistory, concerning concepts and uses of the pots themselves, as well as of materials, tools and techniques employed at various stages of their manufacture. This variation reflects different investment of labour, both in apprenticeship and in manufacture, different technical skills and knowledge, as well as different ways of production organisation. It also relates to the transforming role of ceramic vessels within various contexts of consumption and circulation in specific Neolithic and Bronze Age societies across the Aegean. The emergence or vanishing, the reproduction, amalgamation or transference of pottery traditions, and the specific types of pottery organisation are closely related to the role and identity of the potters within certain social contexts. As ethnographic research has indicated, gender should have been an important aspect of the potters’ social identity and role. Is it possible, though, and if yes, in what way, to address such an issue concerning prehistoric pottery manufacture, beyond generalised assumptions based mainly on ethnographic work?

The limited number of attempts to discuss gender and pottery manufacture in Aegean prehistory will be reviewed. Problems and limitations will be discussed in the light of recent work on the social context of pottery manufacture during the Late and Final Neolithic in southern Greece, and during the Late Bronze Age in Macedonia. Emphasis will be put on the need to reconstruct and understand technological choices within specific, often co-existing, traditions, the socio-economic and political nature of pottery making and using activities and the way technological knowledge is transmitted or accessed, both through time and across space, within certain social contexts.

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Schmucke Männer und die Waffen der Frauen. Relecture der genderrelevanten Grabungsergebnisse des perserzeitlichen Friedhofs Tell el-Mazar

The archaeology of death is one of the most rewarding fields of gender-archaeological research. Age and sex of the skeletal remains can be directly observed and associated with gender based differences in burial customs. The very same aspect on the other hand induces often enough serious misinterpretations regarding the social history of sex and gender.

One of the few cemeteries in the southern Levant of which the state of preservation, stratigraphic sequence, extend of excavated burials, amount of single burials and publication status (including both a detailed anthropological and an archaeological analysis) is suitable for an indepth gender study, is the cemetery of Persian period Tell el-Mazar in the Jordan Valley. The excavators conclude that gender is the main factor structuring the cemetery and reconstruct the life of children, women and men according to their presupposed ideal of the European middle-class family. Due to the fact that such «at a first glance» profound insights in the social structuring of society are rare for this period and that region, the results are widely used and repeated in lexica and compendiums.

A closer look, however, reveals that the determination of gender is «as it is frequently the case, and worldwide, in all fields of archaeological research» mainly based on stereotypic associations between supposedly typically male and female artefacts and the sex of the deceased. This notion is strong enough to even overrule the disagreement of the physical anthropologists.
Using the potential of gender-focused research to deconstruct the basic hermeneutical principles from within the given set of data, this article presents a detailed analysis of the inherent bias and introduces new aspects of interpretations which were ignored in the past as a result of the preoccupation with a bi-polar gender system.

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Sofia VOUTSAKI*

Age and gender in the Shaft Graves of Mycenae

This paper explores age and gender identities as expressed in the mortuary practices attested in the Shaft Graves of Mycenae. While the rich treasures found in the graves and the social processes underlying the elaboration of the burial customs have attracted a lot of attention, age and gender differentiation within the Grave Circles has not been sufficiently discussed.

In this paper, the problem will be approached from two angles: First, a contextual analysis of the archaeological data will be undertaken. This will involve the study of age and gender variation in grave type, mode of disposal and associated offerings (the types of offerings, their quantity, quality and decoration). This analysis will be placed in the wider context of the social transformation in the mainland societies at the end of the Middle Bronze Age. More specifically, a comparison will be undertaken with the situation in the earlier phases of the MH period. The main question is whether we see a transformation in the significance of age and gender as principles structuring social life at the transition to the Mycenaean period.

Second, an analysis of the iconographic representation of the human figure will be carried out. The emphasis here will be on the different ways the male and female figure is represented. The analysis will concentrate on the frequency of the depiction of men and women, the types of activities they are involved in, the dress, posture and attributes with which they are portrayed. The main aim of this analysis is to understand the creation of an (elite) gender ideology and associated gender norms and ideals.

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