UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

THE LADY AND THE LOOKING GLASS: MARGARET MURRAY'S LIFE IN ARCHAEOLOGY

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

KATHLEEN L. SHEPPARD
Norman, Oklahoma
2010

Downloaded from SHAREOK. Persistent Handle URL: https://hdl.handle.net/11244/318871

THE LADY AND THE LOOKING GLASS: MARGARET MURRAY'S LIFE IN ARCHAEOLOGY

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE

BY

_____
Dr. Katherine Pandora, Chair

_____
Dr. Piers Hale

_____
Dr. Suzanne Moon

_____
Dr. Sandie Holguín

_____
Dr. Dan Snell

© Copyright by KATHLEEN L. SHEPPARD 2010
All Rights Reserved.

To my mom and dad, who always only want me to be happy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Fortunately, I am the only one who is surprised that I have accomplished my goal of writing this dissertation and earning my PhD. While my name is given as the author of these pages, none of this research would have been possible without help and support from all areas of my life. Thanks must go to these people and organizations.

I have such appreciation for the generous funding while a student at the University of Oklahoma History of Science Department. Through the generosity of the faculty of this department, I held a position as a Graduate Assistant for five years which provided a monthly stipend on which to live as well as valuable experience as part of a professional academic environment. I also received the DeGolyer Fellowship and the History of Science Department Travel Award, both of which allowed me to present portions of this research at the History of Science Society meeting (2008) and the Histories of Archaeology Research Network annual meeting (2008 and 2009). Travel awards from the College of Arts and Sciences, the Graduate College, and the Graduate Student Senate at the University of Oklahoma made research travel to England a reality. In my final year of research and writing, the Eddie Carol Smith Scholarship from the Graduate College at the University of Oklahoma made it possible to return to London and Manchester to find Margaret Murray once again. My research assistantship in the Women's and Gender Studies Department made my final year at OU enjoyable and survivable. My family has donated countless frequent flier miles for my travels.

In my research, I was fortunate enough to come in contact with the most knowledgeable librarians and archivists in the world. Many thanks to the History of Science Collections at the University of Oklahoma, especially the staff and faculty,

Sylvia Patterson, Dr. Marilyn Bailey Ogilvie, Dr. Kerry Magruder and Dr. JoAnn Palmeri; you have instilled in me a respect and reverence for historical documents, and you have trained me and all of the students who pass through your doors how to research well in a special collection, without this invaluable resource and training, my dissertation would not be as rich. I am indebted to libraries and collections all over the world, including: the Special Collections at University College London and the librarians for getting me folders from the back which I am sure no one has looked at in years; the faculty and staff of the Manchester Museum and the Archives, especially Phyllis Stoddart for going above and beyond her duty to help me find sources, Dr. Karen Exell, the Curator of Egypt and Sudan, for talking to me about Margaret Murray and others who have held her post; and Dr. Sam Alberti, for talking to me about museology, walking me around the Museum, and showing me the news clippings I had missed; the faculty at CHSTM at Manchester who invited me to attend their colloquium and to dinner afterwards for good conversation and food, especially Dr. Ian Burney and Dr. Neil Pemberton for sharing an interest in mummies; the archivists at the Cambridge Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology, especially Imogen Gunn and Wendy Stone for taking me in almost unannounced; Tracy Goodman and Dr. Stephen Quirke at the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology; Dr. Patricia Spencer and Christopher Naunton at the Egypt Exploration Society for valuable insights and information; and the librarians at the Joseph Regenstein Library at the University of Chicago, for guiding me through the dark stacks.

The unbelievable spiritual and emotional support of friends, family and colleagues who have become my friends is the glue that held me together, I cannot express my gratitude in words, but here I must try. Innumerable thanks to go the

members of HARN who have shared with me and let me share with them new research and sources, especially Sara Perry for sharing images, sources, and anxiety, Naomi Farrington for letting me eat her banana, Megan Price for remembering her thesis on Margaret Murray's witchcraft, and especially Pamela Jane Smith, for her friendship, support and encouragement, for new thoughts about Murray, for showing me around Cambridge, and for sitting in the museum archives with me searching for letters. Most of all, thanks to Katherine Pandora, my adviser, who has always driven me to do my best work, even when it comes out of multiple frustrating drafts of disjointed ideas.

Thanks so much to my wonderful friends: Hannah Cordts von Lowis de Menar and Dan Barrett, and Claire Thornhill and Tom Aldred for opening your homes and hearts and making London a second home to me; Hannah has supported me through 3 huge projects and has given me so much advice, tea, and soup to last a lifetime, she is the best; to Salma Bhatti for always being up for a chat over tea and scones with cream; to Michael Bradley, Charlotte Booth, Richard Lunn, and Darren Watts for making my trips back to London always entertaining and educational. To the Arrow Girls: Nancy, Tara, Kelly, Delcy, Pam, Julie and Sherry for prayers and faith that I would finish what I started oh so long ago; The Brackin Family has let me work strange hours and have a great time doing it, all the while making sure I keep myself sheltered and fed; Courtney, Amy, Olivia, and Will have kept me sane over the last 6 years and I love every second of them; Lynnette Regouby, for your encouragement and good thoughts, even though I can't always talk to you; Cornelia Lambert, for the morning chats about nothing, your insight, editing, encouragement and always coming back for more; Lisa Torres Stewart, for being here for me even when all I do sometimes is complain, and for coming up with solutions.

My family, especially Dad and Mom, you have always encouraged me to do what makes me happy even when you don't understand it or know where I'm going, you have given me financial and moral support my whole life and I'm so grateful for parents like you; Christine and Michael, for phone calls, fun weekends at home, support and a childhood of great memories. Finally to Danny, my partner in life and my best friend, you have been with me from the beginning of this project and you stuck around till now—thank you for your patience, help, hard work, and most of all, your love.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents	viii
List of Illustrations	ix
Abstract	x

"The Lady and the Looking Glass: Margaret Murray's Life in Archaeology"

Introduction	1-41
Chapter 1	42-86
Chapter 2	87-151
Chapter 3	152-197
Chapter 4	198-256
Conclusion	257-263
Bibliography	264-291

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Margaret Murray and team unwrapping Khnum-Nakht
in the Chemistry Auditorium.
Photograph courtesy Manchester Museum Archive. page 212

2. Margaret Murray, third from left, and team
after unwrapping Khnum-Nakht.
Photograph courtesy Manchester Museum Archive. page 212

ABSTRACT

Margaret Murray (1863-1963) was one of the first female professional Egyptologists in Britain, although her career has received little attention historically and she has been seen mainly in the shadow of Sir William Flinders Petrie (1853-1942), who was her teacher and mentor. In Murray's case, this oversight has obscured the significance of her career in terms of her fieldwork, the students she trained, her administration of the pioneering Egyptology department at University College London (UCL), as well as in her work outside of that institution and her published works. This dissertation is an investigation into Murray's long career in Egyptian archaeology, which spanned seventy years.

Murray's two excavation seasons in 1902-03 at Abydos and 1903-04 in Saqqara produced two site reports: *The Osirieon at Abydos* (1904) and *Saqqara Mastabas* (1905). Her work in the field serves to demonstrate that it was not only the heroic male field archaeologist who did important excavation work, but that women were also crucial to finding new sites and publishing their work to inform scholars about previously unknown cultural and material history. Both the *Osirieon* and *Saqqara* became leading examples in how to structure site reports for scholarly investigations. Due to heavy teaching and administrative duties at UCL from 1905, Murray was no longer able to excavate in the winters in Egypt. However, later on in her career, Murray excavated in the summers in Malta, Minorca and Southern England for Cambridge University. This (lack of) field activity is indicative of the expectations UCL had of her and subsequent responsibilities she took on in addition. Murray's situation was not unique in this sense, and her

particular roles will be discussed in further detail within the more general framework of the duties of women within university departments in the early-twentieth-century.

Without her tireless administrative work at UCL, the Egyptology department would not have been able to operate, since other departmental archaeologists like Petrie were in the field from October through April each year. Although the students that passed through the department at that time are known to historians as "Petrie's pups," they were in fact Murray's students in the classroom, where she prepared them for the fieldwork on which they were about to embark. Within the rigorous system organized by Murray, students attended lectures and took exams on Egyptian language, art, history, religion, culture, anthropology, field methods, and more. For more than twenty-five years, she was the main administrator of the two-year training program and the primary instructor of nine of the thirteen classes required by the department. In the context of her work at UCL, I question why she has not received more attention in the historiography of the department and archaeology in general. Murray's work at UCL as an instructor, although crucial to students' success in the field, did not take place in the field, which was part of the male domain and thus deemed worthy of recognition. Murray's work instead took place in the classroom—part of the female domain—and has been downgraded in significance, historically. This dissertation highlights Murray's roles and shows that they were equally as important as the fieldwork male archaeologists were doing.

Early in her career she worked briefly at the University of Manchester, where in 1908 she was the first woman to lead a public mummy unwrapping. Her interdisciplinary techniques used in the unwrapping and the report that came from it—*The Tomb of the*

Two Brothers (1910)—have influenced Egyptian scholars up to the present day. The conclusions drawn from the experiment revealed new information about a relatively unknown period in Egyptian history—the Middle Kingdom—as well as demonstrated to the public that Egyptology is scientific and authoritative. Furthermore, the public display of a scientific investigation established Murray's scientific authority. She was therefore able to instruct and influence the way the public and the academy thought about and approached subsequent mummy studies.

Finally, throughout her career, Murray maintained a steady output of original research and scholarship. In order to demonstrate Murray's legacy of teaching, I focus in particular on four works aimed specifically at the general reader: *Ancient Egyptian Legends* (1913), *Egyptian Sculpture* (1930), *Egyptian Temples* (1931), and *Ancient Egyptian Religious Poetry* (1949). Examined as a group as well as individually, these books serve to demonstrate that Murray believed it manifestly important to aim scholarly books at the general public who wished to know more about mysterious Egypt. Indeed, many of the books that Murray wrote leaned slightly toward the public interest even while they were directed at scholars. Murray believed that the history of Egypt was the history of man, and to teach this was a great responsibility.

The context of Murray's career will contribute to the breakdown of the "Great Man" view that is still prevalent in the history of archaeology by recognizing the importance of scientists who were essential parts of influential scientific networks, even if they have many times gone unnoticed. Furthermore, by appreciating Murray's career as that of a scientist, and not just a female support staff member, I will challenge the understanding of the history of Egyptology.

Introduction

> It is very disappointing to have had no adventures; other people have them but not me. So here goes for the record of a life without a single adventure.[1]

Born in Calcutta, India in 1863—the youngest daughter of a merchant and his wife—Margaret Alice Murray had a life that was anything but lacking in adventures. Travelling often between India and England, she spent her life exploring the Mediterranean, the Middle East and Europe. She was proficient in French and German by the age of 12 and was educated briefly at the Crystal Palace in Sydenham. Murray's career in archaeology took her to even more places, such as Egypt, Malta, and Minorca, and allowed her to accomplish more than she had imagined possible. She started as a student in the newly established Egyptology department at University College London (UCL) under Flinders Petrie in 1894, but soon worked her way up to be a junior lecturer in 1898. By the time of her retirement from UCL in 1935, she had been appointed Assistant Professor, had received an honorary doctorate, and had been elected an honorary fellow of the university, not to mention her numerous memberships in scholarly societies. After her retirement, she continued to research and publish in scholarly archaeology until her death in 1963, at the age of 100. Besides publishing numerous works in Egyptian archaeology, Murray also produced research on Egyptian languages, the archaeology of the Mediterranean, the practice of witchcraft, and the history of England. This dissertation examines her life and career as one of the first professional female Egyptian archaeologists in Britain.

[1] Margaret Alice Murray, *My First Hundred Years* (London, William Kimber and Co., Ltd: 1963), 5.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century in Europe, archaeology as a field of study had been slowly progressing from an amateur, gentlemanly pursuit to a discipline worthy of scholarly attention. As a practice, it had been led by classically trained linguists for decades, by men who focused their sights on ancient Greece and Rome as well as prehistoric sites in their home countries.[2] While the European fascination with Egypt has a long history—stretching back to the time of the Greeks and Romans—the systematic study of Egypt's past began in earnest relatively recently with Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798. Expeditions to Egypt were sent by museums such as the British Museum and the Louvre, as well as by wealthy private collectors, and continued throughout the nineteenth century; these trips brought back countless fantastical and mysterious finds, virtually unknowable to their owners due to the lack of knowledge about the area. As a field of scholarly study, then, Egyptian archaeology had a comparatively late start: the first department of Egyptology was founded in 1892 at UCL with Petrie as the first chair of the department. After this, more universities and museums realized the need for trained excavators, who were usually male, leading to the founding of academic departments and programs at universities across Europe and the United States.

Murray is an important subject of focus to broaden the history of this field for several reasons. First, Murray was a fixture at UCL for almost seventy years. She was intellectually active at a revolutionary academic institution, and her long tenure there is an essential aspect of the context in which she developed her ideas regarding Egypt, its

[2] Archaeology in the United States developed somewhat differently. See, for example, Kent V. Flannery, *Cultural History v. Cultural Process: A Debate in American Archaeology* (Carbondale: University of Illinois Press, 1972); and Alice B. Kehoe, *The Land of Prehistory: A Critical History of American Archaeology* (New York: Routledge, 1998).

past, and its relevance to the present. Therefore, issues such as women in education and women in the professions can be clearly studied by exploring them in the context of her life and career. While men in this period were able to focus in their training on more specific areas within their chosen disciplines, women in academia such as Murray learned quickly that in order to continue working, they must have a broad base of knowledge and experience. In her research, Murray concentrated on the cultural history of ancient Egypt and she published articles, books, and site reports elaborating on aspects of the culture such as literature, religion, art, and economics. Later on in her career, Murray was on staff at the University Museum at Manchester and at Cambridge University as well, which offered other spheres for scholarly growth through her teaching, lecturing and excavating. At Manchester, her work organizing the Egyptian collections and unwrapping the two mummies they owned highlighted her ability to communicate with and inform the public about ancient Egypt. Her excavations in Malta and Minorca for the Cambridge Museum of Ethnology and Anthropology demonstrated that she could excavate skillfully in a variety of geographical locations, with a commanding knowledge of the prehistory of the area.

Second, her career spanned much of the formative period of Egyptian archaeology as many intellectual, social and political aspects changed during the time she was working in academia. She entered Egyptian archaeology in a period when not only was it a new discipline, but also the concept of the professional archaeologist was new. At first, due to its uncertain place in the scholarly tradition, Egyptian archaeology was particularly open to women, especially those working as assistants, illustrators, transcribers, typists, and catalogers. Unlike a number of women, however, Murray took advantage of this

tentative state and established herself on the ground floor of the new university department. Because of her position first as Petrie's student and assistant, then as his colleague, Murray was instrumental in creating the profession not only through her research, but also in her teaching. At UCL she focused her energy on her students and their success in the two-year training program which she established in order to prepare students to be good field archaeologists. Highlighting the history, art, language, religion and culture of ancient Egypt, Murray's courses gave students the tools with which to begin their investigations in the field. Even though most field archaeologists were men at this time, Murray believed that it was knowledge of the ancient culture, and not one's gender, that ensured a firm foundation from which to begin fieldwork. Her teaching also introduced theories such as the hyper-diffusion of culture to the new professionals she trained. Her site reports familiarized students and scholars with new findings from the field, such as previously unknown buildings and unrecognized artwork in tombs. She also wrote many works with the general public in mind, and, although historians have tended to discount popular science writers as amateurs, Murray's case is one which refutes this claim.

Finally, she was always conscious of being a woman in a man's world. Women were entering universities and the sciences in larger numbers, and, although women in academia were not common, they were also not unheard of. While she found her status as a minority to be discouraging at times, she dealt with her trials and successes in her own characteristic way—combining imperialistic, conservative Victorian thinking with perspectives derived from the new, progressive and activist branches of the struggle for women's rights. In doing so, she was able to navigate the male-dominated world of

archaeology and anthropology, subjects many believed women should not know, in order to maintain her status as an authoritative teacher, writer, lecturer and professional Egyptian archaeologist. Although part of the minority, Murray was not alone in her endeavors. There were other women in her generation who established themselves professionally in other disciplines while fighting for women's rights to suffrage and education, such as physicist Hertha Ayrton. Historically, these women established the tradition of a female presence in the academy upon which later students were able to build.

My intention in focusing on Murray is not to substitute a history of a "Great Woman" scientist in place of another "Great Man" scientist; instead, I want partly to use her life in order to shine a spotlight and analyze various issues in the discipline of Egyptian archaeology over the course of her long career. In order to begin this discussion, I have pulled her out of the milieu of the subordinate assistant in which she has been trapped consistently in historical retrospectives. I have also separated her from the male-dominated community of scientists; this separation has effectively disconnected her from some of the disciplinary history. However, it is necessary to do so here in order to move the life of an overlooked archaeologist from the margin to the center of the story, paying close attention to the ideas that she developed and the ways in which she influenced the science.

Murray's lengthy period of post-retirement would merit another dissertation-length study of its own. After 1935 she continued to seek new topics as well as maintain her authority in Egyptology until her death in 1963.[3] She also worked tirelessly on what

[3] She worked with Petrie in Jerusalem in the summer of 1935 and excavated with him at Tell Ajjul in 1938. Beginning in 1937 and throughout the Second World War, Murray lived in Cambridge. She began to

some scholars argue was her most important work, *The Splendour That Was Egypt*, published in 1949.[4] These activities illustrate on a general level Murray's tenacity in pursuing her profession, introducing new ideas to her fellow scholars, as well as synthesizing masses of difficult information in the interest of educating the public. I choose, however, to end my discussion in 1935 because it was then that her career with the Egyptology department at UCL ended and she moved forward in many different directions, including studying witchcraft, folklore, Tudor England, and Palestinian archaeology. Her work in Egyptian archaeology from 1895 to 1935 demonstrates most effectively the issues I wish to investigate.

Unlike Murray's autobiography and Margaret Drower's anecdotal biography of Murray, this biographical treatment will do what these two life narratives do not.[5] I examine how she performed in and thought about the professional world she inhabited by reshaping the historical understanding of the relationship between Murray—a woman—and the profession of Egyptology. Her work in Egyptology was undoubtedly affected by the fact that she was not only a single woman, but that she was also a feminist activist and suffragist. Therefore, it is necessary to incorporate her activities as a social activist within the narrative of her professional life and to analyze them within the context of her

---

research the Tudor and Stuart eras of the town "using the town records preserved in the Guildhall and in Downing College; in the parish records of fourteen churches in the diocese; and in Ely Cathedral" (Margaret Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray [1863-1963]," in *Breaking Ground: Pioneering Women Archaeologists*, ed. Getzel M. Cohen and Martha Sharp Joukowsky [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004], 131).

[4] Margaret A. Murray, *The Splendour That was Egypt: A General Survey of Egyptian Culture and Civilisation* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1949; reprint, New York: Philosophical Library, 1959). *Splendour* condensed and recapitulated Murray's ideas and theories about Egyptian civilization and religion, which had been originally presented in course instruction and public lectures, into one single work; it was a best-seller, although scholarly reviews were mixed at the time. I write in more detail about *Splendour* in chapters 2 and 3.

[5] Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 109-141.

professional roles, an analysis as such that has yet to be undertaken. Situating her as a professional archaeologist will allow me firmly to place Murray within the larger historical narrative and to foreground her experiences as central to the story, rather than as merely peripheral. Marginalization happens too often when the career of a female scientist is considered solely in the light of the career of a male mentor, such as Petrie.

When Murray entered the profession, and throughout her career, she was on the cusp of variety of different dichotomies, depending upon which role she was filling at a particular moment. She did scholarly research in Egyptology while at the same time publishing works for the general public; she taught in-depth and complex information to her university students while she was teaching similarly structured courses to paying ticket-holders at the British Museum. To unwrap two mummies, she organized a strong interdisciplinary team of scientists as well as lectured and exhibited one of the bodies to an audience of 500 people. Until recently, working with the public has been seen historically as a feminine endeavor or as not important to the study of the practice of science. However, Murray's career demonstrates that by engaging the public, the scientific sphere of influence can be greatly expanded to reach hundreds and thousands of curious people, lending authority to those who are able to educate a general audience. In doing so, Murray was empowered and recognized within the scholarly world, where she continued to train field archaeologists as well as pursue new avenues of knowledge. Finally, a seeming contradiction that stayed with Murray her whole life was the professional woman/feminist suffragist image set against the likeness of the demure Victorian daughter. Her Victorian childhood in India and in England instilled in her a sense of duty and obedience to her father and mother, but Murray's ambition and desire

for a career was at odds with the patriarchal system that was in place in England. Murray looked to her mother's example of hard work in India and in service to other women, however, and became conscious of the fact that she could serve herself and her colleagues by fighting for rights to suffrage and education. Her mother's example as a good Victorian wife and a champion of women's rights acted as her guide. She tried to be a professional and a popularizer, a loyal daughter and an activist, at distinctive times in her career, changing hats when the situation called for it. Each of these aspects is crucial to a thorough study of Murray's life as a woman and as an archaeologist.

This dissertation is a biography of Murray which presents a cultural history of a woman in a scientific vocation. According to historian Dena Goodman, "[t]he job of the cultural historian is to understand the ways in which human beings have shaped and been shaped by the social and discursive practices and institutions that constitute their lives and actions."[6] As such, this biographical study therefore includes various histories as part of the analytical framework of the chapters, such as histories of archaeology, of particular universities, of higher education, of feminist, women's, and gender history, and the history of scientific collaboration. It is essential to consider Murray's life outside of the classroom as an activist and a woman in order to understand the contours of her career and the nature of her intellectual commitments. Detailing the context of Murray's career will contribute to the breakdown of the "Great Man" view that is still prevalent in the history of archaeology by recognizing the importance of a diversity of scientists who too often go unnoticed, but who were integral to the productivity of certain scientific networks. Furthermore, by concentrating on Murray's career as that of a scientist, and

[6] Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 2.

not simply a female support staff member, I challenge current understandings of the history of Egyptology in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Studying the ideas, careers and lives of those such as Murray who were essential participants in their disciplines—yet who went unrecognized in the past, as well as in the present historiography—allows historians to present a more complete picture of a science. By doing so, it becomes clear that the field was not the only place archaeology was done; that the heroic excavator was not the only person working long hours; and that women, far from needing to be "discovered" by historians anymore, did their share of discovering, digging, and writing.

I will present the key perspectives that make up the foundation for the dissertation in the following sections of the introduction: the framework of feminist women's history in which I place my investigation of Murray's life; the biographical approach which I use as a means to tell this particular part of the story; and the dynamic of Orientalism that informed and shaped archaeological practice in the Near East in this time period. In each part, respectively, I discuss my perception of how my approach fits into various understandings of writing women's history, feminist history, and the history of women in science, and the usefulness of the life narrative in pursuing the analysis. Finally, I break from situating my argument to discussing briefly the Orientalist framework which weaves throughout this narrative; an understanding of this theory is integral to any study in the history of Egyptian archaeology from this period. To position my arguments from these viewpoints makes it possible to tell the story of Murray's life in archaeology more fully than has been done in the past, while at the same time drawing conclusions for other women from the same generation.

Feminist Women's History

In the 1930s, Virginia Woolf called for more descriptive social histories of women.[7] In answering this call, subsequent generations of authors of these types of histories have produced a large amount of factual information which is still quite useful to historians today.[8] In the late 1980s, Joan Scott argued for their continuing importance, stating that they have "documented the extraordinary range of jobs women held and drawn patterns of female labor force participation according to age, marital status, and household income—belying the notion that one could generalize categorically about women and work."[9] However, she contended that "[i]t has not been enough for historians of women to prove either that women had a history or that women participated in the major political upheavals of Western civilization."[10] According to Scott, the main goal of feminist scholars instead should be "to make women a focus of inquiry, a subject of the story, an agent of the narrative."[11] One way to do this, she believed, would be in stepping away from the data-laden social histories of women and moving towards a deconstruction of the language of gender and power, because for both men and women, "[t]hrough language, gendered identity is constructed."[12] Scott brought in many historical examples, such as the fight against the mechanization of the garment trade in mid-nineteenth century Paris and the more recent sex-discrimination lawsuit brought against Sears,

---

[7] Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, quoted in Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, revised edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 15-16.

[8] Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 21.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid., 30.

[11] Ibid., 17.

[12] Ibid., 21; 38.

Roebuck, & Co. in the 1980s.[13] However, probably the most vivid instance was in her discussion of E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963). She argued that Thompson set the tone for his book in the first "dramatic scenario," in which Thomas Hardy's home was invaded by the King's officers: Hardy fought with the officers while his wife "'was pregnant and remained in bed.'"[14] Hardy was imprisoned and his wife later died in childbirth, apparently from the shock of having been "'besieged by a "Church and King" mob.'"[15] Scott stated that this story was indicative of the rest of the narrative of the book, where "[m]en, rooted in historic traditions, will defend and claim their rights, while the distortions of women's traditional domestic experience will express the full measure of capitalistic brutality." The ways in which men and women have been represented in language throughout history and by historians has thus impacted the ways in which gender has been constructed.

Earlier that decade, Michele Rosaldo had also argued that women's history must move forward from the massive amounts of data that had been gathered to more analytical histories. To do this, she proposed that the history of women should not look for all-encompassing truths and for the origins of women's place in society; she instead argued that the causes for women's subordination throughout history could be found in social constructions of women and men, not in any "natural" universal cause.[16] Rosaldo argued that "what we can know will be determined by the kinds of questions we learn to ask," because to investigate women's place in cultures throughout history successfully,

---

[13] Ibid., 93-163; 167-177.

[14] Ibid., 72-73.

[15] Ibid., 73.

[16] Michele Rosaldo, "The Use and Abuse of Anthropology: Reflections on Feminism and Cross-Cultural Understanding," *Signs* 5:2 (1980): 415.

"what is needed…is not so much data as questions."[17] Scott clearly desired a re-examination of the masses of information about women in history and of power relationships in society. By doing this, Scott argued, historians would continue Rosaldo's directive, offering histories that would "provide new perspectives on old questions…redefine the old questions in new terms…make women visible as active participants, and create analytic distance between the seemingly fixed language of the past and our own terminology."[18] Thus, it is clear that facts, patterns, and demographics are useful; however, the data are abundant and Rosaldo, Scott and others agree that historians should not simply add to it. Instead, historians need to ask new questions and use different points of analysis which will, in turn, give new answers.

The call to historians for a shift in focus and for a deeper analysis of women's roles in history and in science has been the driving force behind women's history for the past three decades. However, while most scholars agree that certain steps must be taken in this particular direction, the ways in which to do it are in contention. Scott's post-modern, post-structural linguistic approach has both its critics and its supporters. Louise Tilly disagreed with Scott and argued that social history is the only way to centralize women's history in the general historiography.[19] This is not to say that Tilly advocated simply adding information about women to the conventional narrative, but that unlike Rosaldo and Scott, she believed that in order for women's history to change the agenda for history as a whole, the analysis and problems of women's history must be connected

[17] Ibid., 390.

[18] Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 50.

[19] Louise Tilly, "Gender, Women's History and Social History," *Social Science History* 13:4 (1989): 436-462.

to those of other general histories.[20] She recognized that women's lives are different from men's and deal with different issues, but in order to achieve her goal of bringing women's history into the mainstream historical narrative, she claimed that historians must focus on women's historical agency. According to Scott's critics, women's lives and activities in aspects such as politics and economics are not comprehensible when the focus of inquiry is gender construction solely within the context of historical language. Tilly and others have argued that Scott's approach undermined the agency of women in history and that her approach, in the end, would not help bring women's history to the forefront.[21]

Some historians clearly agree with Rosaldo's view of needing new questions, new timelines, new histories, and therefore new conclusions in the study of women from the past. Some others disagree with Rosaldo's methods, but conclude that the desired outcome—a history of women at the same time separate from and connected to general history—is necessary and has in fact been achieved in many cases.[22] Furthermore, it could be argued that Scott's approach of language deconstruction has garnered the most criticism in the past thirty years of writing about women. Joanne Meyerowitz's recent assessment of the implications of Scott's work goes into great detail about the methods pursued by Scott and others.[23] She outlines many of the criticisms of the post-structuralist approach and the shift from women's history to gender history. Critics of

---

[20] Ibid., 440.

[21] Ibid., 452.

[22] See for example, Gisela Bock, *Women in European History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002); Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert, eds., *Connecting Spheres: European Women in a Globalizing World, 1500 to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Robert Shoemaker and Mary Vincent, eds., *Gender and History in Western Europe* (London: Arnold, 1998).

[23] Joanne Meyerowitz, *AHR Forum*, "A History of 'Gender'," *American Historical Review* 113:5 (2008): 1346-1356.

post-structural history railed against focusing on language rather than events, possibly erasing women as a category of analysis; those who disliked the shift to gender history argued that it included men and was therefore "a conservative retrenchment...an abandonment of the study of the marginalized and oppressed groups."[24] More importantly, Meyerowitz demonstrates the influences Scott's work has had in centering "the discursive use of perceived sex differences and track how they constituted relationships of power" in a variety of fields such as United States history, political history, the history of foreign policy.[25] While using gender as a category of historical analysis has been important to the growth of women's history and gender history, Meyerowitz argues, "it also played a significant part in the broader shift from social to cultural history, from the study of the demography, experiences, and social movements of oppressed and stigmatized groups to the study of representations, language, perception and discourse."[26]

There is, however, a substantial distinction between writing about gender issues and doing feminist history, although the two are not mutually exclusive. June Purvis points out that feminist history is "history that is informed by the ideas and theories of feminism."[27] Similar to other critics mentioned above, Purvis argues that Scott's approach could "lead to a situation where women are no longer seen as agents in history, challenging and resisting some of the inequalities they have experienced and 'making'

[24] Ibid., 1347-1348.

[25] Ibid., 1348-1349

[26] Ibid., 1353.

[27] June Purvis, "From 'Women Worthies' to Post-Structuralism? Debate and Controversy in Women's History in Britain," in *Women' History: Britain, 1850—1945: an Introduction*, ed. June Purvis (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 7 (original emphasis).

history, even if it is not under conditions of their own choosing."[28] However, as many historians have made clear, this is not necessarily the case. Meyerowitz argues, in fact, that "[g]ender history, then, continued (and continues) to thrive in several incarnations, and despite the fears of early (and later) critics, it coexists and overlaps with, instead of supplanting or displacing, the history of women."[29] Purvis would agree with Meyerowitz, I believe, and she follows Rosaldo and others in maintaining that it is important for historians to focus on women and their historical agency "while also acknowledging and recognizing the common ground of these female genders against male genders."[30] Therefore, Purvis argues that in doing women's social or cultural history which takes into account feminist ideas, theories, and approaches as well as recognizing the common ground between the genders, "we should strictly use the term *feminist women's history*."[31] In this dissertation, I draw on the insights that Scott, Rosaldo, Purvis and Meyerowitz have framed, adopting the feminist women's history approach described by Purvis. As a result I will place at the core of my analysis issues of gender relationships and do history from a feminist standpoint. I will focus on feminist activities such as suffrage, education, and the professions, as well as gendered aspects such as physical spaces and roles in the professions during this period, while keeping the woman as the historical agent. This approach will allow me to highlight the gendered perspectives of Murray's life and career which will, in turn, lead to more general conclusions about women in archaeology in this particular period.

---

[28] Ibid., 13.

[29] Meyerowitz, "A History of 'Gender'," 1353.

[30] Purvis, "From 'Women Worthies' to Post-Structuralism?," 14.

[31] Ibid., 7

It has been argued that throughout history, in the practice of science, "[w]omen are absent from the written reports, but in reality they were very much present."[32] In *The Mind Has No Sex,* Londa Schiebinger has argued that the question is not why are there so few women in the history of science, but instead, "why are there so few women scientists *that we know about*?"[33] She continued, answering her own question: "Perhaps women have been scientists in the past but their stories have not been remembered. Or perhaps women have dominated certain fields but these fields have not been recognized as science."[34] It may also be due largely to the fact that many women in this period began their careers as a student or an assistant to an established male scientist. In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, however, due to that era's feminist activism and the growing need for people at all levels of the workforce, the professional climate was changing for scientific women and they were indeed becoming more visible to contemporaries and thus more recognized later in the written record. In the past thirty years much work has been done to "uncover" or "excavate" such women scientists from the past.[35] Margaret Rossiter, Joy Harvey, and Marilyn Bailey Ogilvie are a few of the historians who, from the mid-1970s, began to focus on the presence and recovery of

[32] Patricia Fara, *Pandora's Breeches: Women, Science & Power in the Enlightenment* (London: Pimlico, 2004), 19.

[33] Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex?: Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 2 (original emphasis).

[34] Ibid.

[35] Some good examples are: Pnina G. Abir-Am and Dorinda Outram, eds., *Uneasy Careers and Intimate Lives: Women in Science, 1789-1979* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1987); Barbara Gates, *Kindred Nature: Victorian and Edwardian Women Embrace the Living World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex?*; Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Louise Stig Sørensen, eds., *Excavating Women: A History of Women in European Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 1998); and Cohen and Joukowsky, *Breaking Ground*.

women in all of the sciences.[36] Their work laid the foundation for the crucial social histories which gave later historians of science the data needed to do feminist and gendered analyses. Thanks to the relative breadth of this new scholarship, we know that women were influential scientific participants, as scholars, writers, students and teachers; unfortunately, we are still missing, largely, a deeper analysis of their scholarship.

There are foundational works in the history of science that have moved beyond the descriptive, such as Carolyn Merchant's *The Death of Nature*, in which she argued: "To write history from a feminist perspective is to turn it upside down—to see social structure from the bottom up and to flip-flop mainstream values. An egalitarian perspective accords both women and men their place in history and delineates their ideas and roles."[37] However, the social histories that discuss women in science do so on a relatively superficial level. That is to say that the works maintain the role of providing facts and figures, dates and timelines, with some preliminary analysis. There are comparatively few works that ask questions such as: What were these women writing, doing, thinking?; and in what ways did their scientific expertise have an impact in their fields? It is necessary to ask these and more probing questions in the history of science. Unfortunately, in the works where one expects this kind of investigation, such as Patricia Fara's *Pandora's Breeches*—tantalizingly subtitled *Women, Science & Power in the Enlightenment*—one finds not a discussion of women in science but, in its place, a

[36] For example, Margaret W. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983); Margaret W. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Before Affirmative Action, 1940-1972* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); Marilyn Ogilvie and Joy Harvey, *The Biographical Dictionary of Women in Science: Pioneering Lives from Ancient Times to the mid-20th Century* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

[37] Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1980; reprint, New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1990), xx. Londa Schiebinger, Donna Haraway, Sheila Jasanoff, and Barbara Duden are a few of the historians of science who have done feminist and gendered histories of science of a wide variety of periods.

reiteration of "the well-known landmarks of the past, those famous men and their heroic discoveries, ... [examining] some of them from other angles."[38] While Fara agrees that women did indeed play a vital role in science during the Enlightenment, she argues that there "is no point in distorting women's importance by exaggerating their activities. ... More realistic models are needed for both the sexes."[39] There is no doubt that neither male nor female activities should be exaggerated, but should instead be seen within their proper contexts. In this sense, then, by shrinking the "famous men and their heroic discoveries" only slightly, Fara could have presented each woman in her proper, fundamental role more clearly and easily.

Another work that highlights working couples, *Creative Couples in the Sciences*, attempts to contextualize scientific partnerships in order to shed light on the careers of both the man and woman in each married couple.[40] These studies specifically treat husband-wife collaboration, but they also lend themselves to general conclusions about all scientific partnerships in their personal power struggles against one another and in the institutional and employment struggles all scientists face.[41] I argue that the scientific work of women should be recognized within the context of their scientific partnerships, when that situation applies, but I do not believe that the partnerships should be overstated.[42] Some women continued their whole careers in a professional partnership

[38] Fara, *Pandora's Breeches*, 27.

[39] Ibid., 20-21.

[40] Helena M. Pycior, Nancy G. Slack, and Pnina G. Abir-Am, eds., *Creative Couples in the Sciences* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1996).

[41] Helena M. Pycior, Nancy G. Slack, and Pnina G. Abir-Am, "Introduction," in *Creative Couples in the Sciences*, ed. Pycior, et al., 4.

[42] Various volumes tend to emphasize the scientific collaborations between men and women, rather than recognize women's own work: M. Jeanne Peterson, *Family, Love and Work in the Lives of Victorian*

with a man, but many women did important work on their own. Those scientists deserve to be seen in the proper framework of the individual work they did in their own careers. If a scientific practitioner is a woman, her contributions to her respective discipline must be given the same interpretive scrutiny as that of her male colleagues.

In the relatively new study of the history of archaeology there have been several recent attempts at removing women from their partnership narratives, excavating them from the dust of the archive and bringing them to light.[43] Primarily their activities have been documented in the field; not as much attention has been paid to their work in the classroom, and even less so to their pursuits as scholars in their own right. The most recent encyclopedic work about women in archaeology, Cohen's and Joukowsky's *Breaking Ground: Pioneering Women Archaeologists*, is indicative of the state of scholarship at this point. In the introduction to this volume of twelve short biographies, Margaret Root argues that, for women in archaeology, "[t]he worst curse is the curse of erasure."[44] In order to keep this situation from happening, women and their professional efforts must be "legitimized by inclusion, by anthologizing, [or] they will not be assessed; they will not be contextualized."[45] Thus, each of the biographies attempts to draw attention to a particular woman who has been forgotten, overlooked or underappreciated in the history of the discipline. Each author tells the scientist's story, usually from childhood, with the most attention being paid to her career and the obstacles

---

Gentlewomen (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1989); Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*; Pycior, et al., *Creative Couples in the Sciences* (1996); and Fara, *Pandora's Breeches* (2004).

[43] For example, Díaz-Andreu and Stig Sørensen, eds., *Excavating Women*; Sue Hamilton, Ruth D. Whitehouse, and Katherine I. Wright, eds., *Archaeology and Women: Ancient and Modern Issues* (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Left Coast Press, 2007).

[44] Margaret Cool Root, "Introduction: Women of the Field, Defining the Gendered Experience," in *Breaking Ground*, ed.. Cohen and Joukowsky, 8.

[45] Ibid.

she had to overcome. Unfortunately, there is little room for analysis in the vignettes, but they do begin, again, the process of discovery. However, as Sara Champion laments, "[al]though we can signal their presence and speculate as to their significance, we may never be able to complete a full 'excavation.'"[46]

While finding sources about these women is notably difficult, digging them out means going past the level of inclusion in an anthology to performing an examination of their careers, their work, and their lives, using the methods of cultural history. By setting Murray's published work within the context of the wider profession and by analyzing reviews and critiques of this work, it is possible to do much more than simply speculate about her significance. We can see that her books were received as serious contributions; thus we can gauge their critical reception in order to judge the depth of her influence on the discipline. Furthermore, to see Murray's teaching as both the training of future field Egyptologists as well as a form of outreach to the wider public audience allows me to shed light on the agency of Murray as a professional archaeologist. Many of her students continued in archaeological careers and her lectures were given, many times, to sold-out halls. This dissertation thus adds a new level of scrutiny to the life and work of a female archaeologist in order to complete the excavation that Champion and others have requested.

Biography

A general theoretical work about women in archaeology would not do justice to the richness of the lives of these interesting women, of which Murray's is a fruitful case

[46] Sara Champion, "Women in British Archaeology: Visible and Invisible," in *Excavating Women*, ed. Díaz-Andreu and Stig Sørensen, 178.

in point. Furthermore, to write another prosopography or an anthology of women in the discipline would be to contribute another piece of work to the already overcrowded encyclopedic genre. Therefore, this study adopts a biographical approach because Murray's long life lends itself to the analysis of different contexts, time periods, and activities. As many scholars note, in the past, historians have "tended to dismiss biography as a genre" of investigation.[47] However, while presenting varying points of view and types of analysis, recent works about the writing of scientific biography tend to converge on the idea that biography is a useful, and sometimes preferable, way to do history.[48] In fact, historian Lloyd E. Ambrosius argues that "biography and historical analysis are inextricably intertwined."[49] Biographies combine many different and complex attributes of society, such as class, gender, familial and domestic relations, and professional relationships into one narrative which can then be used to make claims that illuminate broader viewpoints and conclusions.[50] In particular, scientific biography possesses the advantage of being a "close testing point for broader theories of scientific

[47] "Introduction," in *The Challenge of Feminist Biography: Writing the Lives of Modern American Women*, ed. Sara Alpern, Joyce Antler, Elisabeth Israels Perry, and Ingrid Winther Scobie (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 1.

[48] Steven Shapin and Arnold Thackray, "Prosopography as a Research Tool in History of Science: The British Scientific Community 1700-1900," *History of Science* 12 (1974): 1-28; Michael Shortland and Richard Yeo, eds., *Telling Lives in Science: Essays on Scientific Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Mary Jo Nye, "Scientific Biography: History of Science by Another Means?," *Isis* 97 (2006): 322-329; Theodore M. Porter, "Is the Life of the Scientist a Scientific Unit?," *Isis* 97 (2006): 314-321; Joan L. Richards, "Focus Section, Introduction: Fragmented Lives," *Isis* 97 (2006): 302-305; Mary Terrall, "Biography as Cultural History of Science," *Isis* 97 (2006): 306-313; Thomas Söderqvist, ed. *The History and Poetics of Scientific Biography* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007).

[49] Lloyd E. Ambrosius, "Introduction," in *Writing Biography: Historians and Their Craft*, ed. Lloyd E. Ambrosius (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), viii.

[50] Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), 10.

thought and progress," as well as a way in which to attempt to unify a life that would seem fragmented in a work that uses case studies or in a brief encyclopedia entry.[51]

Biographical analysis also presents special considerations for historians. Joan Richards, for example, argues that in the challenge to present a "unified picture of a scientific life," different biographers may write about and focus on a variety of diverse traits about a particular scientist, with the result that each author then presents a unique picture of "what is significant in a scientific life."[52] Furthermore, Michael Shortland and Richard Yeo argue that the "myth of 'personal coherence' has [both] shaped and stunted biography."[53] It has shaped biography by allowing room for many biographers to write about the same person, so that each may find a different "coherent life" to present. But it has stunted biography in that, by artificially imposing coherence, it may not present the actual life of the subject, but a romanticized, fictionalized account. Like Richards, Mary Jo Nye argues that some biographies capture "the essence of a scientist's everyday scientific work," while other biographies "examine scientific work and institutions, social history, and politics with considerable, but hardly exclusive, attention to the technical science."[54] In the end, Nye claims that "scientific biography is an effective means for engaging readers in the struggles, successes, and failures of scientists crafting their own lives as they explore and construct knowledge of the natural world."[55] Mary Terrall and Theodore Porter both agree that, because biographers choose different aspects of

---

[51] Michael Shortland and Richard Yeo, "Introduction," in *Telling Lives in Science*, ed. Shortland and Yeo, 5.

[52] Richards, "Fragmented Lives," 303.

[53] Shortland and Yeo, "Introduction," 14.

[54] Nye, "Scientific Biography," 324-325.

[55] Ibid., 329. See also, Thomas L. Hankins, "In Defence of Biography: The Use of Biography in the History of Science," *History of Science* 17 (1979): 5.

concentration, in any scientific biography "there will always be something missing."[56] While it is true that there will be missing pieces, the biographer must "select and organise material carefully, to compose a narrative, to produce an artistic and coherent unity."[57] It is, therefore, the author who constructs unity in a scientific life with the intention of underlining particular aspects of the story.

Shortland and Yeo argue that, when done correctly, new studies of lives in science "can and should serve the useful function of correcting errors and filling gaps in earlier accounts, [however] not all have done so, and the worthwhile discovery of archives, letters and materials is not always integrated into new biography."[58] This is clearly the case in the study of Murray's life. Apart from her autobiography, the only other acceptable published source available is Drower's more recent, shorter biography of Murray.[59] Drower, however, simply seems to have summarized the main points of Murray's autobiography, while adding a few points of fact here and there—there is no analysis. This dissertation attempts to answer Shortland's and Yeo's directive to correct errors and fill gaps by using previously untapped or unavailable resources.[60]

---

[56] Terrall, "Biography," 307; see Porter, "Life of the Scientist," 314-321 and Theodore M. Porter, *Karl Pearson: The Scientific Life in a Statistical Age* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton, University Press, 2004) for his discussion and demonstration of the possibility of presenting "how…the scientific life relate[s] to the life of science" (Porter, "Life of the Scientist," 314).

[57] Shortland and Yeo, "Introduction," 24.

[58] Ibid., 2.

[59] There are few other sources such as obituaries and retrospectives. See, for example, Wilfred Bonser, "A Bibliography of the Writings of Dr Murray," *Folklore* 72:3 (1961): 560-566; Mary Williams, "Ninety-Eight Years Young," *Folklore* 72:3 (1961): 433-437; Elizabeth Benn, "From Witches to Sputniks," *Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*, 12 July 1963, p. 13; E. O. James, "Dr Margaret Murray," *Folklore* 74:4 (1963): 568-569; "Dr. Margaret Murray, Egyptologist of Distinction," *The Times* (London), November 15, 1963, p. 21; A. Christitch, "Dr. Margaret Murray," *The Times* (London), 19 November 1963, p. 15.

[60] Many of Murray's items are not catalogued in university collections and are, in some cases, happened upon by chance. Second, some items may still be in private hands. In my researches I found various notes and index cards pointing to letters and notebooks being in the possession of Margaret Drower. I have written to her, but have, as yet, been unable to get in touch with her as she is quite ill. I also became aware

Furthermore, with the full intention to focus my analysis and present a coherent life narrative—not with the intention to fictionalize or romanticize her work—I leave out some aspects of Murray's career. She had a wide range of interests and accomplishments, so it is difficult to include them all here. Within the scope of this biography I evaluate Murray's life as a scientist and work with previously unused sources to add new dimensions to the narrative that already exists.

This dissertation is not only a scientific biography, but also a biography of a female scientist, which presents issues that a biography of a male scientist would not. In *The Challenge of Feminist Biography*, the contributing authors give various reasons for the existence of these unique issues, the main point being that "[w]hen the subject is female, gender moves to the center of the analysis."[61] Putting issues of gender at the center "would allow biographers to use life-cycle analysis or to address topics most biographies seldom touch on, such as how women's private and public lives intersect;" issues of power and the notion of separate spheres therefore cannot be avoided.[62] In this sense, then, a scientific biography of a woman must combine the private life with the public work, with attention given to explaining the science for the reader.

Furthermore, as the author of a biography of a woman scientist, I must not only consider the benefits and possible problems of writing life narrative in history, but I must also take into account the implications of the sources of information. As stated earlier, there are a few main sources that I depend upon for Murray's life narrative: her

---

of the fact that some archivists and former museum curators had in fact, out of anger or revenge, taken many resources when they left their posts.

[61] "Introduction," in *Challenge of Feminist Biography*, ed. Alpern, et al., 7

[62] Ibid., 5. See also Paula Govoni, "Biography: A Critical Tool to Bridge the History of Science and the History of Women in Science. Report on a Conference at Newnham College, Cambridge, 10-12 September 1999," *Nuncius* 15 (2000): 399-409.

autobiography, one recent but short biography by Drower, and some letters and lecture notes found mainly in the archives at University College. Therefore, in order to write a more expansive analysis of Murray's life and career, I supplement these limited resources with secondary sources that add to the historical context of her life, work and activism.

Murray claimed that she kept a diary for about four years, but that it "was so deadly uninteresting that I gave it up and never tried again."[63] When writing her memoir, *My First Hundred Years*, she had this to say:

> In an autobiography there is no research, no discoveries, no fun at all. Just trying to remember any interesting or exciting events that have happened to you, but if no such events occurred you feel that the words of Mark Twain's diary are the only ones that really fit my life-story: 'Got up, washed, went to bed.'[64]

Using an autobiography as a main source for a biography is problematic for historians, because of issues of perspective and objectivity; in Murray's case, it is necessary also to take into consideration first, that she had no diaries to use as sources, and second, that she was a *woman* writing an autobiography. Literature critics Bella Brodzki and Celeste Schenck argue that, although to "the uncritical eye, autobiography presents as untroubled a reflection of identity as the surface of a mirror can provide," in truth, there is considerable debate as to whether or not art is true to life.[65] However, they also argue that when a woman writes an autobiography, it "localizes the very program of much feminist theory—the reclaiming of the female subject—even as it foregrounds the central

[63] Murray, *My First Hundred Years,* 5.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Bella Brodzki and Celeste Schenck, "Introduction," in *Life/Lines: Theorizing Women's Autobiography*, ed. Bella Brodzki and Celeste Schenck (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988), 1.

issue of contemporary critical thought—the problematic status of the self."[66] Many critics of biography and autobiography agree that there is indeed a tendency for authors of these life narratives to create more of a fictional character than to portray the real person or people.[67] In an autobiography, many scholars argue, the author paints a picture of themselves through "acts of audit and surveillance…"[68] Carolyn Steedman terms this an "autobiographical injunction," that is, the situation where a woman's autobiography becomes "a history of expectations, orders and instructions rather than one of urges and desires."[69] Furthermore, critics and literary scholars argue that characterizing autobiography as a "reflection in a mirror" is especially problematic when dealing with women. As Virginia Woolf has argued: "Women have served all these centuries as looking-glasses possessing the magic and delicious power of reflecting the figure of man at twice its natural size. ...if she begins to tell the truth, the figure in the looking-glass shrinks; his fitness for life diminished."[70] In Murray's case, it is a glaring reflection of Petrie which appears in all biographical work about her. Unfortunately, at this point in my investigation, I cannot avoid the looking-glass situation to a certain degree. However,

[66] Ibid., 1-2.

[67] See Tess Cosslett, Celia Lury and Penny Summerfield, eds., *Feminism and Autobiography: Texts, Theories, Methods* (London: Routledge, 2000) for excellent entries that argue about the fictionalization of the self in autobiography. See also Marie-Françoise Chanfrault-Duchet, "Textualisation of the self and gender identity in the life-story," in *Feminism and Autobiography*, ed. Cosslett, Lury and Summerfield, 61-75.

[68] Liz Stanley, "From 'self-made women' to 'women's made-selves'?: Audit selves, simulation and surveillance in the rise of public woman," in *Feminism and Autobiography*, ed. Cosslett, Lury and Summerfield, 40-60.

[69] Carolyn Steedman, "Enforced Narratives: Stories of another self," in *Feminism and Autobiography*, ed. Cosslett, Lury and Summerfield, 25-39.

[70] Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, in *A Room of One's Own and Three Guineas*, ed. Morag Shiach, Oxford World's Classics edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 45-46.

here, I hope to shrink him down to life-size, and in further work done about Murray my hope is that he need not be forced into view when his presence is irrelevant.

Diaries and letters as sources present many of the same problems that autobiographies as sources do. Diaries have been kept by private and public people alike for centuries but came into fashion during the Victorian period.[71] People of all classes, genders and ethnicities kept private diaries—many times with the intention that they would one day be public. Diary critic Harriet Blodgett argues that women's diaries especially "provide invaluable testimonials to individual female lives and reveal patterns of female existence over many centuries."[72] Some diarists of this period, such as Virginia Woolf, attempted to record everything in the hopes that the "several stray matters" of life may end up to be "diamonds in the dustheap" for a future memoir or for an unforeseen future reader.[73] On the other hand, Martin Hewitt states that for diarists in the Victorian period it was impossible "to write without a degree of self-conscious positioning within a published tradition, and without being fully aware of the ambiguous status of the diary's claim to privacy."[74] It was much the same for letter writers. Amanda Gilroy and W. M. Verhoeven argue that "each letter, however private and personal it may seem, is a letter marked by and sent to the world."[75] Letters were, at the very least, dialogues between two people: they were meant to be seen by one other person. However, many letter

---

[71] Martin Hewitt, "Diary, Autobiography and the Practice of Life History," in *Life Writing and Victorian Culture*, ed. David Amigoni (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006), 26. See Harriet Blodgett, *Centuries of Female Days: Englishwomen's Private Diaries* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1988) for discussion of women's diaries from the sixteenth century to today.

[72] Ibid., 2.

[73] Ibid., 7.

[74] Hewitt, "Diary, Autobiography and the Practice of Life History," 25; Blodgett, *Centuries of Female Days*, 8.

[75] Amanda Gilroy and W. M. Verhoeven, "Introduction," in *Epistolary Histories: Letters, Fiction, Culture*, ed. Amanda Gilroy and W. M. Verhoeven (Charlottesville, Virg.: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 1.

writers may have written with the knowledge or forethought that others might see their words as well. Those who wrote diaries also knew that their thoughts would not be secret for long. Hewitt argues that the diary (like the letter) should not be considered an "unprocessed autobiography."[76] I apply this argument to Murray as well. As Hewitt states: "The diary was not the foundation of an autobiography: an autobiography was the foundation of the diary."[77] Even though she did not keep a private or professional diary, it may be possible to obtain diary-like information from her autobiography and letters simply because of the similarity of purpose and voice among the three kinds of life writing.

Finally, Robert Gittings proposes that, in the twentieth century, there may in fact be too much information available for biographers to work with; furthermore, Shortland and Yeo caution against indiscriminately using the overwhelming amounts of material in creating a "trash bucket biography."[78] The lack of primary sources for Murray's life presents the opposite challenge. Lloyd Ambrosius and Shirley Leckie both offer solutions to this problem. Leckie surmises that when dealing with underrepresented groups such as women, ethnic minorities or the lower classes, "[s]ources are often lacking, especially for the subject's early years. When sources are available, intricate questions of interpretation often arise."[79] Ambrosius agrees and adds: "When…primary sources are inadequate to answer important questions about a person's life, biographers

[76] Hewitt, "Diary, Autobiography and the Practice of Life History," 21-39.

[77] Ibid., 24.

[78] Robert Gittings, *The Nature of Biography* (Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press, 1978), 68; Shortland and Yeo, "Introduction," 25.

[79] Shirley A. Leckie, "Biography Matters: Why Historians Need Well-Crafted Biographies More than Ever," in *Writing Biography*, ed. Ambrosius, 16.

must make creative use of whatever is available."[80] With this in mind, I put to use many different types of sources—such as letters, novels, poems, biographies of other women and men in the same period, national histories and the like—in order to establish social and cultural contexts.

Orientalism and Egyptology

An important aspect of this story is the intersection of professional Egyptian archaeology with the dynamic of Orientalism. The two are intertwined, thus making Orientalism a key part of Murray's professional life. Orientalism, as a "cultural and political fact" in Europe and America over the last two centuries, was defined by Edward Said as "a corporate institution for dealing with the Orient...as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."[81] Western Europe has attempted to deal with the Orient "by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it," and in order to achieve these goals, it was necessary to *know* it.[82] This particular type of knowledge, Said argues, "means rising above immediacy, beyond self, into the foreign and distant. ...To have such knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it."[83] Said extends much of his argument from the 1798 expedition of Napoleon into Egypt up to 1994, and his conclusions intend to impact the study of and policy concerning the Middle East.[84]

---

[80] Ambrosius, "Introduction," ix.

[81] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage/Random House, 1979; reprint edition, 1994), 13; 1.

[82] Ibid., 3.

[83] Ibid., 32.

[84] Bob Lebling, "Orientalists," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 9:2 (1980): 118-122; Rosalind O'Hanlon and David Washbrook, "After Orientalism: Culture, Criticism, and Politics in the Third World," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34:1 (1992): 141-167.

While some critics have argued that his assertions and "only secondary concern with history per se make this book of lessened interest to historians," Orientalism is, without a doubt, a key factor in the practice of Egyptology, and thus the study of its history.[85]

Throughout the history of the study of the East by the West, the Orientalist, in our case the Egyptologist, "describes the Orient, renders its mysteries plain for and to the West."[86] Thus, guided by the objectives of imperialism and Orientalism, Egyptologists began what Mary Louise Pratt has called the "anti-conquest."[87] Although the term is problematic—the process is clearly a conquest—this course of action consists of creating an archaeological past "that has ensured an alienation of Indigenous cultural heritage from its Indigenous owners, which leads to the questions of who owns the past and who has the right to interpret it."[88] Ian McNiven and Lynette Russell continue this line of reasoning, and argue that the "anti-conquest" has led, inevitably, towards the "creation of a past that identifies historical episodes as scientific phenomenon and people as specimens," as *objects* of study.[89] People and cultures can then be studied objectively, separate from their environments, waiting to be revealed to a curious West.

Said and others begin their studies of the European occupation of Egypt with Napoleon's expedition in 1798; in Britain, the process actually began three years later,

---

[85] David K. van Keuren, "Review, *Orientalism* by Edward W. Said," *Isis* 71:3 (1980): 502. Basim Musallam argued that it might not be useful to historians because, although it was partly a history, it was also an "impassioned protest against any methodology" of studying the East (Basim Musallam, "Power and Knowledge," *MERIP Reports* 79 (1979): 20. See chapter two for a discussion of historians of archaeology who argue against this as well.

[86] Said, *Orientalism*, 20-21.

[87] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), referenced in Ian J. McNiven and Lynette Russell, *Appropriated Pasts: Indigenous Peoples and the Colonial Culture of Archaeology* (New York: Altamira Press, 2005), 181.

[88] Ibid., 181-2.

[89] Ibid., 182. They argue this classification has its roots in the Enlightenment desires of ordering, classification, and knowledge.

when the British Army defeated Napoleon in Egypt and appropriated all of the artifacts in the possession of the French army. From that point, museums, such as the British Museum, and private collectors had control of most of the artifacts brought to Britain; therefore, these institutions maintained control over the knowledge and interpretation of the objects. Elliot Colla argues that the first official artifact from Egypt arrived at the British Museum in 1819.[90] What Colla terms the procedure of "artifaction" of the Colossal Bust of Memnon in that year became, essentially, the epitome of the route each object would take from being found as material remains in the field.[91] Artifaction—which refers to the process of taking, establishing ownership over, declaring information about, and final raising into place for viewing—of an object from the East was one of the most tangible ways in which Britain established itself as superior to Egypt. Continuing this process in the late nineteenth century, British archaeologists—and those working in Egypt especially—were expected to collect objects to be placed in museums, which in turn would support and justify imperial ideologies throughout the colonies. Doing so was to stake ideological and physical claims on both the land and the objects that came from it.

Because Murray was an Egyptian archaeologist, her work sits at the center of this framework and will shed light on the fact that Orientalism and imperialism are crucial ideologies from which the history of this discipline cannot be separated. Murray's excavations, her books, and her site reports were detailed studies of a past culture, but were, moreover, attempts at bringing the mysterious past to life in various ways, for both

[90] Elliott Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities: Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 2007).

[91] Ibid., 24-66.

scholars and the public. Her teaching in Egyptology, which both spread these Orientalist analyses as well as instilled in her students the power to create knowledge, was, in essence, teaching the imperial heritage of Britain. Rather than go into great detail here, I have spread the rest of this discussion throughout the following chapters because it will be more easily understood within the proper chronological context of Murray's career.

Outline of the Chapters

In this section I will briefly outline the order and content of the chapters of this dissertation. A discussion of how women became archaeologists in this period is necessary so that the details of Murray's life can be contextualized properly.

Most women entering academia at this time began their careers as students—if they were not married—or as assistants to their husbands if they were. For the most part, women in archaeology were assistants and secretaries, like Hilda Petrie and Kate Bradbury. Other women, such as Gertrude Bell (1868-1926) and Esther van Deman (1862-1937), usually self-financed and conducted excavations on their own, with little to no institutional support.[92] As Root states, simply because most women archaeologists at the time did not hold university appointments did not mean that they should not be considered professional.[93] In fact, as a burgeoning discipline in this period, "archaeology offered women unique professional opportunities."[94] These unique opportunities, such as leading their own excavations (albeit outside of the purview of an institution such as a

[92] V. F. Winstone, *Gertrude Bell* (New York: Quartet Books, 1978); Julia M. Asher-Greve, "Gertrude L. Bell (1868-1926)," in *Breaking Ground*, eds. Cohen and Joukowsky, 142-197; Katherine Welch, "Esther B. Van Deman (1862-1937)," in in *Breaking Ground*, eds. Cohen and Joukowsky,, 68-108.

[93] Ibid., vii; Champion, "Women in British Archaeology," 175-176.

[94] Root, "Introduction," vii.

university or museum), quickly rising from student to teacher, and being able to publish early in their careers, points to the fact that the field of "professional archaeology" was a dynamic venture. Furthermore, Root argues, "many [women] had (some) independent means. But the same can be said, incidentally, of male archaeologists of this time."[95] It is clear that before the institutionalization of archaeology and Egyptology within the academy, men and women oftentimes became archaeologists in much the same way: either working closely with a mentor who would train them, or using their own funds to support their excavations and publications. One major difference was in the level of formal education each group received: men usually had a classics education from Oxford or Cambridge; women, on the other hand, largely taught themselves. Murray's experience was different, however, in that she had no formal education and she had no independent financial means on which she could depend. Her own opportunities were made possible by her mentor and the institutionalization of Egyptian archaeology at a university.

To place Murray in the proper context as a British Egyptian archaeologist, it is necessary to start by outlining her childhood in India and England. The first chapter discusses this background as part of the Anglo-Indian population as well as the generation of Victorian girls who were properly educated and reared in the ways of the church and polite, middle-class society. It is in her childhood that we find her ideas about the British Empire, its purpose, and its successes or failures early ingrained in her worldview. Victorian gender roles were also a significant part of Murray's childhood: men were gentlemen who provided for their families and women were ladies who did not

[95] Ibid., vii.

work outside the home. On the other hand, Murray also witnessed her mother's work in the education of Indian women in the harems and zenanas. I argue that it was this effort to emancipate women that would later fuel Murray's drive for her own education and rights to suffrage.

Upon her arrival at University College London as a student, Murray was immediately drawn into Petrie's circle of students and assistants, so the second chapter begins by examining her relationship to her famous mentor. Certainly Petrie is one of the most notable figures in the history of archaeology, and is seen as one of the founders of modern scientific archaeology. He is credited particularly with developing a chronology of Ancient Egypt using the nondescript artifacts that other archaeologists had ignored.[96] He occupied the first chair of Egyptology in England at UCL and was also well-known for the museum built around his personal collection of Egyptian artifacts there.[97] He developed quantitative methods of archaeology, published influential books on the subject, and trained students in his field methods, including Murray.[98]

Without the various assistants, students and helpers he trained throughout his career, Petrie would not have been the successful teacher, collector, writer, detailed cataloger, and traveler that he was. Of these assistants, Murray especially was a star pupil who became a significant colleague to Petrie. Along with Murray, Petrie's other assistants included his wife and excavation partner, Hilda Petrie (née Urlin); another

[96] "Archaeology in Egypt was his main subject, and British archaeology in Egypt, in the sense of the theory and practice of scientific excavation, was largely his creation." ("Prof. Sir Flinders Petrie, F.R.S." *The Times*, 30 July 1942); see also Margaret S. Drower, *Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology*, 2nd ed., (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995).

[97] See the collections online at http://www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk

[98] Some examples of his quantitative work include: W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Inductive Metrology, or, The Recovery of Ancient Measures from the Monuments* (London: H. Saunders, 1877) and W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Methods and Aims in Archaeology* (New York: MacMillan, 1904). His use of quantitative methods is apparent in his many site reports he published each year, after each season in Egypt.

assistant and colleague, Kate Griffith (née Bradbury); and his patron, Amelia Edwards.[99] Each of these women was indispensable to the success of his career and the breadth of his collections; however, with the exception of Edwards—and even she is often mentioned with Petrie's name following close behind—these women and their own careers have been overlooked in favor of Petrie's. In Murray's case, this oversight has obscured the significance of her career in terms of her own interests in fieldwork, the students she trained, her administration of the department at UCL, as well as her work outside of that institution and her publications. I argue that the significance of these activities is what defines Murray as a professional archaeologist, and so it is necessary to underscore them throughout.

A major goal of this dissertation is not simply to add to the growing body of literature identifying and raising the profiles of women scientists, but is instead to see and study a female archaeologist of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries for what she was: a practicing scientist with ideas and accomplishments of her own. [100] Therefore, I demonstrate that Murray was contributing to the scholarship in Egyptian archaeology

[99] Biographical information about Hilda Petrie can be found in Petrie's autobiography and biography as well as in published correspondence between the Petries in Egypt and in England: W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1932); Drower, *Flinders Petrie*, 231-248; and Margaret Drower, ed., *Letters from the Desert: The Correspondence of Flinders and Hilda Petrie* (Oxford: Aris and Phillips, 2004). Not much is known about Kate Griffith, other than a few brief statements in the full-length biographies of Petrie and Edwards, the entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* about F. L. Griffith (her husband): R. S. Simpson, "Griffith, Francis Llewellyn (1862–1934)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed., May 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33579, accessed 12 June 2009]), and in Rosalind Janssen's history of the Egyptology department at UCL *The First Hundred Years: Egyptology at UCL, 1892—1992* (London: University College London Press, 1992), 4-9. Drower, *Flinders Petrie*, 222-3, 283-4; Joan Rees, *Amelia Edwards: Traveller, Novelist, and Egyptologist* (London: Rubicon Press, 1998), 60-69. There is considerably more known about Amelia Edwards than the other two women including the book-length biography by Joan Rees, *Amelia Edwards*, 1998 and in Janssen's history of the department.

[100] Many works about women in science do not live up to their stated goals. In the preface to Cohen's and Joukowsky's *Breaking Ground*, their stated aim is to "examine the lives of these pioneer archaeologists in the early days of the discipline, tracing their path from education in the classics to travel and exploration and ultimately international recognition in the field" (vii); none of the authors in the volume actively examine lives—they simply provide narratives of the individuals who are the subjects.

and analyze the impact that she had in her discipline. Murray's contributions to the science of Egyptian archaeology were numerous. Her earliest site reports—*The Osireion at Abydos* and *Saqqara Mastabas*—were in-depth studies of previously unknown or understudied sites.[101] Both reports were of inscriptions in various tombs, and on temples and lithic artifacts; the inscriptions were copied by Murray, with Hilda Petrie's help, and translated by Murray herself. That two women did all of the work on a field report—both in the field and in the library—was almost unheard of at the time. Murray's explication of many of the religious incarnations of the god Osiris was anthropological in nature, investigating and describing when, why, and in what context the religious ancient Egyptians chose to see this god of the underworld. This kind of approach was characteristic of Murray's scholarship, and she continued to use this method in her research for the rest of her career. Furthermore, the organizational format of the information in each of the reports—explanation of artifact findings, translation and discussion of text, then the plates of the traced and photographed text—was new and was soon emulated by others in the field.[102]

Murray's consistent anthropological methodology surfaced again, much later, in *The Splendour That Was Egypt*, even though this work was directed more at educating the public than at adding to existing scholarship. Long considered to be Murray's Egyptian *magnum opus*, it was comprised of the majority of lecture notes from early in her career. In order to place Murray intellectually within the discipline, I will discuss the contents of this work in the second chapter. In *Splendour*, Murray outlined her long-held

[101] Margaret Murray, *The Osireion at Abydos* (London: Egyptian Research Account, 1904); Margaret Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas Part I and Gurob; Part II* (London: Egyptian Research Account, 1905).

[102] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 127.

belief that ancient Egypt held the "first beginnings of material culture…"[103] Egypt's uniqueness in environment, religion, longevity in power, and age made it crucial to the study of the advance of human culture. Moreover, Murray argued that Egypt's power and influence made it "…to the Greek [culture] the embodiment of all wisdom and knowledge" so therefore, "[i]n every aspect of life Egypt has influenced Europe."[104] While these conclusions were not necessarily unique to Murray's work, they came at a time when many historians and archaeologists were firmly entrenched in the belief that ancient Greece and Rome lay at the foundation of European culture. All Egyptian archaeologists saw the importance of studying Egypt as a powerful and influential early civilization; Murray went further to argue that Egypt was *the* civilization from which the rest of history has come. Apparently believed to be a threat to the cultural ancestry of Europeans, this stance was centered in the diffusionist school and has been called "crazy" by many historians of anthropology and archaeology. I argue, however, that at the height of Murray's career, these ideas were widely accepted all over Britain and well-respected within the discipline. For Murray, this position allowed her to situate Egypt as the superior civilization in the ancient world, thus centralizing the study of its history to the study of all humankind. More broadly, the diffusionists were able to use Egypt as a starting point from which to explain how cultures changed over time.

Such an analysis of her career makes it possible to pursue a second goal: discussing the ways that women scientists such as Murray shaped, and in turn were shaped by, the feminist movement of the early twentieth century in Britain. In their battle for equal education, equal professional opportunities and equal voting rights with men,

[103] Murray, *Splendour*, xvii.

[104] Ibid.

women scientists in this period were influencing politics and society as well as their chosen disciplines. In chapter three I will examine Murray's involvement in these movements because it highlights what I argue is her most important legacy: her students. Murray's longest-lasting contributions to Egyptian archaeology can be most concretely seen in her work as an educator—not simply in the training of university students to enter the profession as teachers and fieldworkers, but also in educating the general public about Egypt's history. I use "students" here in the broad sense of the word. In Murray's case, this group included those she taught at UCL along with those she taught in public lectures and through her books, the audiences for which consisted of both scholars and the general public. When she first arrived at UCL, there was no real system for training professional archaeologists and Petrie, apparently, "was not cut out for the humdrum business of regular teaching."[105] Murray believed that both the practical and the theoretical parts of archaeology were crucial to preparing young archaeologists and she soon developed a two-year course in excavation and archaeology—the first of its kind in England. I argue that this accomplishment centered Murray in the professionalizing mechanism of the discipline, empowering her to make crucial decisions in guiding the direction of Egyptian archaeology for decades.

Chapter four will focus on Murray's public educational outreach activities, beginning with an event in 1908, when she became the first woman to lead a public mummy unwrapping at the Manchester Museum in front of more than five hundred people. The publication that was the result, *The Tomb of the Two Brothers*, was a comprehensive investigation of not only the ancient human remains but also of the

[105] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 93.

history and cultural context of the Middle Kingdom.[106] The lecture and display were intended both for the education of the public and the edification of the scholarly community. Murray's work at the University Museum in Manchester was instrumental in opening the field of Egyptian archaeology to the general public. The exhibit of the brothers also brought public attention to the museum itself and to its need for donors in order to maintain the world-renowned collections. Finally, in most of her work after 1905, Murray tried to communicate scientific ideas to the public for three main reasons, the first of which was to garner interest in Egyptology. Murray's career-long desire to bring the public into the scientific fold stemmed from the fact that she herself entered onto the podium of academic Egyptology from her seat in the public audience. Second, she wished to correct some of the public misconceptions about Egypt so that the real history would be understood. The final, and most important, reason was that she wanted to prove that Egypt was the cradle of civilization. It was not Murray's explicit goal to "conquer" Egypt intellectually, thereby lending authority to the British presence there; however, this aim was always implicitly achieved. Alternatively, Murray believed that everyone should study the history and development of humankind in order to understand better the world and, for her, starting in Egypt was the only way to do so.

Works like *Egyptian Sculpture* (1930) and *Egyptian Temples* (1931) were written as scholarly surveys of Egyptian history as well as travel guidebooks in order to consolidate information and conclusions into easily accessible books.[107] In *Ancient Egyptian Legends* and *Egyptian Religious Poetry*, Murray translated, outlined the

[106] Margaret Murray, *The Tomb of the Two Brothers* (Manchester, U.K.: Sherratt & Hughes, 1910).

[107] Margaret Murray, *Egyptian Sculpture* (London: Duckworth, 1930); and Margaret Murray, *Egyptian Temples* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1931), v.

historical significance of, and explained the literary impact of the legends and poems. Within *Legends* and *Poetry*, Murray also summarized many of the religious beliefs and practices of the ancient Egyptians as well as argued that ancient Egypt's complex religious systems paralleled their cultural and mental advancement.[108] To her, demonstration of the "steady advance in material culture is proof of the mental advance, the spiritual development is more difficult to trace, and is now so overlaid with modernist theories as to be greatly obscured."[109] She argued that there would be no advance in the study of religion until those scholars also become experts in the material aspects of culture.[110] All four of these books were aimed at both scholars and the wider reading public, with the aim of familiarizing the public with a mysterious culture while providing accurate translations of little-known stories in Egyptian literature for scholars. I argue that these efforts were part of the popular science writing movement of the early twentieth century. Moreover, they provide evidence of her Orientalist objectives in creating and interpreting knowledge about the East in order to reveal and explain this information to the West. Finally, I will talk briefly about Murray's work in the 1920s in Malta for the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. While her work in this area did not include Egypt, it is still an important part of her career which allowed her a different perspective on cultural developments in the Mediterranean thus helping to shape her own archaeological practices and teachings. She also used her time in the field in Malta to mentor and train a new generation of archaeologists, including Gertrude Caton-Thompson and Edith Guest.

---

[108] Margaret Murray, *Ancient Egyptian Legends*, The Wisdom of the East Series (London: John Murray, 1913; reprint edition, 1920); Margaret Murray, *Egyptian Religious Poetry* (London: John Murray, 1949).

[109] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 198.

[110] Ibid.

This dissertation is a cultural history of a scientific life and will, I hope, contribute a new lens through which historians can view not only women during this time period, but also the ways in which professionals navigated the changing contours of society. As Bruce Trigger argues, it is the changing social conditions which not only guide the questions that archaeologists ask and the answers that they give, but social circumstances also affect their objectives and the resources that are available to them.[111] Using Murray's life and career to investigate these situations, it will become clear, for instance, that the availability of monies influenced where, when and how excavations could take place as well as what types of information were seen to be important. We will also see how the suffrage movement and the First World War shaped the push for equal education and the arrival of large numbers of women in the professional ranks. Furthermore, we will be able to observe how the relative lack of opportunities for women came to bear on what women could do professionally. Institutional contexts, social and political events had an effect on Murray's professional achievements as well as those of many other women and men in this period.

[111] Bruce Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 13.

Chapter 1: Margaret Murray's India, 1863—1894

Introduction: Kipling's India?

Murray wrote: "Kipling's India was my India, an India I knew and loved. …It seems to me now on looking back that I was actually witnessing the awakening of India."[1] It is true that they were contemporaries: Rudyard Kipling was born in Bombay in 1865, just two years after and 1200 miles away from Murray. Their Anglo-Indian childhoods were parallel, and their families and experiences were extremely similar. Furthermore, like Murray's family, the Kiplings were

> ordinary, middle-class Anglo-Indians, not settlers: most English people who came to India to work, whether in business or the civil administration, did so with the intention of returning home, either after their tour of duty or, if they were there for the longer term, on retirement, as Kipling's parents were to do.[2]

However, Kipling's ideas of India and his Anglo-Indian childhood were, in many ways, far from what Murray would have experienced or agreed with. In this chapter I establish Murray's childhood context as an Anglo-Indian child and a Victorian girl. While she claimed Kipling's India as her own, there were significant gendered differences in their experiences because of these contexts. I argue that her India was an amalgamation of Indias, which included a more permissive colony for women in terms of work and activities outside the home but contrasted with stricter moral expectations than that of Victorian England; Kipling's India, with its colonial hierarchy and male-centered ideology comprised just one of Murray's many experiences of gender differences in the

[1] Margaret Murray, *My First Hundred Years* (London, William Kimber and Co., Ltd: 1963), 86; 26.

[2] Daniel Karlin, "Introduction," in *Rudyard Kipling*, Daniel Karlin, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), xxi.

colonial milieu. The contrasts between them will become clear throughout the discussion.

The India of Murray's childhood within the British expatriate context allowed her to see what women working towards a common goal could do. Her mother and other women in Calcutta were trying to bring about change by being active in a way they would not have been able to be in England. The British pastoral context gave her the opportunity to prepare for a permanent life at home by receiving an acceptable girls' education and a firm religious foundation, whether or not she actively believed any of it later in life. The combination of both perspectives entrenched Murray in the Orientalist point of view, a frame of mind that places her firmly within this generation. It may not have overtly manifested itself in her archaeological work later, but it most assuredly prepared her for life in the field as an outsider, shaped her views of other cultures, and guided her choice of research topics.

Murray's India

Calcutta, or Kolkata, India was the City of Palaces in the Jewel of the Empire, with its large and stately British mansions lining the streets and its elegant public buildings looming as symbols of power in "the proud metropolis of British India."[3] It was in the city of Calcutta that Margaret Murray was born on 13 July 1863 to James and Margaret Murray. The Murray family "lived in a big house in Theatre Road," and consisted of James and Margaret, older sister Mary, young Margaret, and her paternal

[3] Michael Edwardes, *Bound to Exile: The Victorians in India* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1966), 46.

grandmother and great-grandmother.[4] Then, as now, it was a major port city in the West Bengal province on the banks of the Hugli (Hooghly) River, the only access to which was by a ninety-mile journey up the treacherous river from the Bay of Bengal.[5] When Margaret was born, Calcutta was a loud, dirty, and bustling city, with open drains, narrow unpaved streets and too many people. Never far from the "filthy streets near the river [where] corpses of people and animals bobbed up to be torn apart by vultures and alligators" lay the grand European mansions, crowded too closely together.[6] To protect the elegant homes from some of the sickening surroundings, the mansions were enclosed by high walls; yet, built adjacent to these walls were, according to one resident, "a 'batch of miserable native huts, which are about as much out of place as a row of pigsties would be in the middle of Regent Street'."[7] The city was known for its year-round state of unhealthiness and both the private and public buildings that continually rotted from damp and mold.

At that latitude, the weather in the winter was tolerable, and could sometimes be described as cool; the summer months were nigh unbearable. Like most who wrote about India in this period, Margaret recalled the "prickly heat" that came in the summer. She described the sensation as "a heat rash that causes such violent irritation that one could tear oneself to pieces. There is no cure but cool weather."[8] The sun was so hot that soldiers could "broil meat on the cannon of Fort William and people sheltered under

---

[4] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 54.

[5] Ibid., 12.

[6] Pat Barr, *The Memsahibs: The Women of Victorian India* (London: Martin Secker & Warburg Ltd., 1976), 12. See also Piers Brendon, *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007), 51-55.

[7] Edwardes, *Bound to Exile*, 50.

[8] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 55.

umbrellas even from the rays of the full moon."[9] If a family could afford it, they would rent a home in the hills far from the city, where the frequent breezes cooled the otherwise boiling hot days and nights. Murray's family was comfortably middle class and therefore would have been able to afford to go to the hills for the hottest months of summer, and probably did, but in her recollections she made no mention of these excursions.[10] Aside from trips to the hill country, there were various other attempts to cure the prickly heat until the cooler weather came, such as applying cool, fragrant pastes to the skin or sitting still in a dark corner of the house. Many Anglo-Indian homes also had "coolies": specific servants whose sole purpose was to keep families cool.[11] They would prepare and keep mechanisms like *punkahs* running, which were built of long rods with thick fabric attached to them and suspended from the ceiling so that the coolies could operate them with a rope—from a separate room—and circulate the air with the fabric.[12] Many Anglo-Indians living in Calcutta would have agreed that life there was "not particularly exciting. There were balls at Government House, of course, and many private dances and dinners, for Anglo-Indian society was a gregarious society."[13] There were also markets and theatres but few other entertainments. Middle-class Britons certainly did not think it a place to make a home.

---

[9] Brendon, *Decline and Fall*, 51.

[10] Many times these trips brought not only the immediate family, but also the numerous servants living with and serving the family. The trips may have taken ten or more camel loads to move everyone a few miles for a few months. They were extremely labor intensive (Edwardes, *Bound to Exile*, 157-160).

[11] Anglo-Indian here is used as it was used by contemporaries: "…in the sense of its original meaning of the British resident in India…" (Indrani Sen, *Woman and Empire: Representations in the Writings of British India* [New Delhi, India: Orient Longman, 2002], xiv). The "coolies" were so ubiquitous that it had become a derogatory name for native Indians outside of India. For example, when Gandhi practiced law in South Africa, he was known as the "coolie barrister" (Brendon, *Decline and Fall*, 233).

[12] Barr, *The Memsahibs*, 12-13.

[13] Edwardes, *Bound to Exile*, 55.

Victorian Britons in India

As other populations of colonizers had to do, the Anglo-Indians had to establish themselves as Europeans and therefore as separate from and reigning over the indigenous populations. Ann Stoler argues that in all colonies the community of European expatriates was "defined by cultural criteria that set it off from the colonized" such as "housing, dress codes, transport, food, clubs, conversation, recreation" which "marked a distinct social space" for Europeans away from the native populations in order to avoid perceived contamination.[14] Distinguishing themselves in this way created an environment "in which racial and national essences could be secured or altered by the physical, psychological, climatic, and moral surroundings in which one lived."[15] In all colonies, and especially in India, expatriates had to separate themselves to avoid feeling too much "at home" within the native surroundings.[16]

Thus, Anglo-Indians would have agreed with the sentiment that, "[t]he word 'Home', incidentally, always meant England; 'nobody calls India home—not even those who have been here thirty years and are never likely to return to Europe'..."[17] Although they went to India for a variety of reasons, Britons in India always felt exiled from "Home."[18] B. J. Moore-Gilbert argues that the British in India "seemed to have felt

---

[14] Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2002), 32.

[15] Ibid., 97.

[16] Furthermore, Stoler's argument extends this idea to the issue of defining natives as such. She states that in order for a member of the native population to have a chance at being defined as a European, the "native" could not simply be born of one European parent, or even be competent and comfortable "in European norms." To "become" a European "required that the candidate 'no longer feel at home'...in native society and have already 'distanced' himself from his native being" (ibid., 99).

[17] Edwardes, *Bound to Exile*, 42.

[18] For more discussion about these roles, see Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989) which discusses how the men as engineers, scientists, and administrators brought about colonial rule and cultural

pulled in separate directions," that is, in one direction toward home in England where they would always be considered Anglo-Indian and in the other toward India where they would always feel banishment.[19] At the core of this exiled feeling lay the fact that the society of the colonizers was never a "direct translation...of European society planted in the colonies but [a] unique cultural configuration."[20] Anglo-Indians developed "a vision of the metropolis as 'other';" they therefore considered themselves as fundamentally different from their counterparts in London.[21]

Whatever their feelings towards their adopted home, both men and women still travelled the treacherous miles in uncomfortable ships over rough waters, in order to get into smaller boats in which they sailed down dangerous and unpredictable rivers, and then to fight through uncharted terrain to reach their posts. Some British men went to India on military assignments as young enlisted men or as officers, often sent to their post as soon as their training was completed at the age of 16. Missionaries traveled to India in droves, hoping to convert the natives to Christianity and to the imperial mission, so that they would fight for, work for, and support the Empire. As the greater part of the British imperial mission, many men went to India as employees of England-based companies in

---

change in the form of scientific and technological dominance. Other authors who support this theory are Andrew Porter in his introduction to Andrew Porter, ed., *Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880-1914* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003). Porter argues, "As agents of enlightenment, missionaries saw themselves as entering worlds without science, achieving heroic status in significant measure by their efforts to introduce new knowledge and technology" (Porter, "Introduction," in *Imperial Horizons*, ed. Porter, 7). In Bernard S. Cohn's *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), he states clearly: "The conquest of India was a conquest of knowledge" (16). Women's roles, though equally important in the imperial mission, will be discussed below.

[19] B. J. Moore-Gilbert, *Kipling and 'Orientalism'* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 9.

[20] Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, 24.

[21] Moore-Gilbert, *Kipling and 'Orientalism'*, 7; Edwardes, *Bound to Exile*.

the mid-1800s.[22] These civilian administrators only moved to India after their firm foundational "gentleman's education," which would have consisted of a public school such as Rugby or Eton followed by university at Cambridge or Oxford.[23] James Murray, Margaret's father, was a businessman whose family had a long history with the East India Company.[24] Born in early nineteenth-century India, he was raised there until the age of seven, when, like most Anglo-Indian children, he was sent back home for proper schooling. After his "gentleman's education" back home in England, he returned to India to manage the famed paper mills at Serampore.[25] According to his daughter's autobiography, James was held in high esteem "by the whole business community of Calcutta [which] is shown by the fact that he was three times elected President of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce."[26] From the time Margaret was a young child until James' retirement in 1886, he was "a managing partner in the firm of Kettlewell, Bullen & Co., 'Manchester merchants'."[27] Murray described her father as following in "the

[22] Before 1858, when the Crown took over official governance of India, many went as employees of the British East India Company. For more about the East India Company and British trade in India, see John Keay, *The Honourable Company: A History of the English East India Company* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1994); Hermann Kulke and Dietmar Rothermund, *A History of India*, third edition (London: Routledge, 1998), 224-257; and Peter Robb, *A History of India* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 116-147.

[23] Edwardes, *Bound to Exile*, 35. The education of the middle classes in this period is detailed in many works, such as: T. W. Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982); Robert Fox and Graeme Gooday, eds, *Physics in Oxford, 1839—1939: Laboratories, Learning, and College Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); and Carol Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities 1870—1939* (London: UCL Press, 1995).

[24] Margaret Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray (1863-1963)," in *Breaking Ground: Pioneering Women Archaeologists*, ed. Getzel M. Cohen and Martha Sharp Joukowsky (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan Press, 2004), 110. The East India Company lasted from 1 January 1600 until the supersession by the British Crown, 1 November 1858. For a further examination of the history of the Company, see Brendon, *Decline and Fall*, 32-139.

[25] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 18.

[26] Ibid., 19.

[27] Ibid.

tradition of all Victorian gentlemen" by caring and providing for his family and advancing the goals of the British Empire in India.[28]

Whatever their official position was, men's roles in the Victorian empire, as a whole, were relatively uncomplicated. To be sure, they were always led by their "very strong sense of mission: not only to proclaim the Christian gospel, but also to civilize peoples of a totally different culture by the inculcation of Western standards and ethics."[29] And, although most theories about colonial control "have stressed its 'masculine' nature, highlighting the essential components of domination, control, and structures of unequal power," scholars have lately begun to stress that women's roles in the empire were, in fact, more complex than those of the men.[30] Women were also numbered among the exiles, as many administrators who travelled to India brought their wives and families. Single women also travelled to India, many times to work as teachers or missionaries until they found husbands.

Late in the century, in *The Calcutta Review*, an Anglo-Indian journalist described what he believed were the four distinct types of women who were coming to India:

> [They are] metropolitan brides joining administrator husbands, unmarried sisters coming out to keep house for their brothers (with the eventual objective of finding a husband), grown-up daughters rejoining their

---

[28] Ibid., 54.

[29] David Newsome, *The Victorian World Picture: Perceptions and Introspections in an Age of Change* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 26.

[30] Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, "Introduction," in *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, ed. Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1992), 3; see all of Chaudhuri and Strobel, eds, *Western Women and Imperialism*. For more general discussion about the problematic view of women's roles in this period, see, for example, Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert, eds, *Connecting Spheres: European Women in a Globalizing World, 1500 to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), esp. 113-214; and Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

> parents after schooling at 'home', and women, mostly of lower middle-class origin, coming out either as missionaries or as their wives.[31]

Historians, however, see women's roles as much more complicated than that. More historians have been compelled to recognize women's central roles in the creation and maintenance of the empire—especially in imperial India. Barbara Ramusack argues that single women went to India in this period because "at a particular point in their lives India offered them an escape from unpleasant personal circumstances or institutional settings that restricted their capacity for social experiments as well as opportunities for professional achievements or spiritual satisfaction."[32] Antoinette Burton further demonstrates that both married and single women had roles not only as consumers and producers, but also "as pamphleteers, feminist activists, public speakers as well as professionals and missionaries in the colonies."[33] The women were more than members of a few restricting categories; they were "self-conscious empire-builders" who found their satisfaction in the colonies, in what has been termed "maternal imperialism."[34] It was maternal in that they "saw themselves as mothering India and Indians;" it was

---

[31] Sen, *Woman and Empire*, 17. *The Calcutta Review* began in 1844 and ran without a break until 1912. There were four issues each year during this time, each issue presenting about 250-300 pages "featuring informative articles on a variety of local and regional topics, discussions on religion and culture, book reviews, poetry, and advertisements." It was geared towards and widely read among the "the emerging English-educated Bengali middle class." In its early days the editors maintained "a pronounced Christian, though not parochial, orientation." The *Review* remained a publication for useful information and knowledge through the 1940s, with only a couple of short hiatuses. History of *Calcutta Review*: http://www.caluniv.ac.in/univpublication/Calcutta Review.htm, accessed 01/23/2010. Histories about this periodical are difficult to locate, if there are indeed any existing full-length discussions of the *Review* and its implications.

[32] Barbara N. Ramusack, "Cultural Missionaries, Maternal Imperialists, Feminist Allies: British Women Activists in India, 1865-1945," in *Western Women and Imperialism*, ed. Chaudhuri and Strobel, 128.

[33] Antoinette Burton, "Women and 'Domestic' Imperial Culture: The Case of Victorian Britain," in *Connecting Spheres*, ed. Boxer and Quataert, 174.

[34] Sen, *Woman and Empire*, 10; Ramusack, "Cultural Missionaries," 119-136. Chandra Mallampalli discusses British missions in general, with some attention given to women missionaries, in "British Missions and Indian Nationalism, 1880-1908: Imitation and Autonomy in Calcutta and Madras," in *Imperial Horizons*, ed. Porter, 158-182.

imperial because "the mother-daughter relationship involves elements of inequality, and the fact that the mother figures were British and the daughters were Indian heightened the aspects of inequality and suspicions about the motivations of the mothers."[35] British women clearly found a niche in India more easily available to them than they might have back home, which is why many of them stayed for long periods of time.

Margaret Carr, who was to become James Murray's wife and Margaret's mother, went to India as a missionary in 1857.[36] Although her mother had wanted to be a doctor, Margaret lamented that her mother's unrealized dreams were due to the lack of education and career opportunities for women when she was young; however, she consumed herself with philanthropic work, believing that "the only way to live was to spend and be spent in the service of God…"[37] It is possible that she was one of the women who went to India because she was simply out of options in Britain.[38] As other female missionaries in India at the time, she wanted to reform society by "raising the moral standard of the…girls as future mothers…seeing that the early influences on a child's mind come from the mother and therefore affect its whole life."[39] Women's work in India was, in many ways fundamentally the same as the kind of work women did in England; however, it differed on the practical level because of the permissive nature of the colonies.

On some levels the culture of Anglo-India was more restrictive for women than it was in England, but in many ways it was more lenient and allowed women to take on roles that they never would have been able to at home. Although some beliefs and

---

[35] Ramusack, "Cultural Missionaries," 133.

[36] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 20.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ramusack, "Cultural Missionaries," 128.

[39] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 20.

behaviors remained similar, many in fact were altered by the milieu of the colony. So prevalent were the ideals of purity and separation that some historians argue that "many of the attitudes which later came to be associated exclusively with Victorian England were already present in India."[40] While the attitudes referred to included teetotaling, public decorum and moral standards for men, they also included many of those about the separation of women from the public sphere.[41] For instance, while in England women were not necessarily judged as immoral by talking to men other than their husbands or shopping in the market without a male chaperone, Anglo-Indian married women were segregated from much of society unless they had a male chaperone with them. Their "charms" were to be hidden from the dangerous and "intrusive 'native' gaze"; thus their segregation from both Indian and Anglo-Indian groups has been compared to that of the Indian women in the harem or zenana.[42] On the other hand, Anglo-Indian women were allowed more direct access into the native culture than were many men. Not only did they deal with their native servants on a daily basis, but they also went into the Indian zenanas as missionaries, and therefore as imperial liaisons, who were able to influence social change for Indian women.[43] They were also allowed to practice as doctors, nurses, speakers, journalists and in other professional capacities in the colonies, strictly in service to the Raj and the Queen.[44] These circumstances made it possible for British women to be an integral part of the imperial mission and to have an imperial vision distinct from but

[40] Edwardes, *Bound to Exile*, 34.

[41] For the purposes of this section, the public versus the private sphere is essentially and simplistically the "male," political and military sphere opposed to the "female," domestic sphere.

[42] Sen, *Woman and Empire*, 22-23. Both the harem and the zenana sequestered Indian women who were essentially the property of their husbands. Women were not allowed to see or speak with other men, but sometimes English missionaries, including Margaret's mother, were allowed to interact with them.

[43] Ibid., 35.

[44] Burton, "Women and 'Domestic' Imperial Culture," 179.

entwined with that of the male vision.[45] The presence of women as such furthers the argument that women were appropriating the imperial realm as their charitable cause and that it allowed their entrance into the imperial public sphere.[46]

Female British missionaries and feminists alike—Antoinette Burton has argued that the two groups were not mutually exclusive—fought for the freedom of Indian women from "the confines of the 'dreary walls' of the zenana."[47] Called "the White Woman's Burden," Burton gives it as her judgment that the "work of missionary women, of concerned middle-class reformers, and of aristocratic women...was instrumental to the creation of an imperial reform culture in Britain, of which feminists...were a part."[48] Margaret's mother was therefore in a prime position to exercise her authority as a representative of Victorian empire in the harems and zenanas as a mother figure to the native Indian women.[49] In her role as a maternal imperialist, Murray's mother "was so struck with the empty lives of these women that she began to teach them, as one would teach a child…"[50] As a Christian missionary, the elder Margaret Murray not only wished to educate Indian women, but also wanted to free them from the bonds of servitude to their fathers, brothers, and husbands. Murray related that, in her mission with the native women, her mother was "so successful that soon Mamma had a little circle of Zenanas

---

[45] Burton, *Burdens of History*.

[46] Burton, "Women and 'Domestic' Imperial Culture," 180.

[47] Burton, *Burdens of History*, 66.

[48] Ibid., 127.

[49] See Ramusack, "Cultural Missionaries," 119-136, for a fuller explanation of this. Edwardian women also exercised considerable power in the imperial realm which was not fundamentally different from that of the Victorian women, except that the influence of the Edwardian women was wider; see Julia Bush, *Edwardian Women and Imperial Power* (Leicester, UK: Leicester University Press, 2000).

[50] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 22. The Indian natives, especially the women, were believed to be child-like in mental and emotional abilities. To enlighten or awaken them from this state was the main goal of missionary work.

that she visited."[51] This seemed to be an ideal situation because it was through regular education that she could better enlighten and instruct. She continued this work throughout Margaret's childhood until 1870, the year she took Mary and Margaret back to England. When she returned to India in 1871 without her daughters, she found that the means by which missionaries were entering zenanas had shifted from education to proselytization, a shift that was very unwelcomed by the Indian husbands.[52] This situation made it more difficult to do the work she so loved. Nonetheless, her passion was in furthering the education and physical health of the native Indian women and thus expanding the empire. Murray, both as a child and as a woman of 100, clearly admired her mother's example. She wrote,

> When I look back on those twenty years, from the time I was five till at twenty-five I left India for good, and think of what Mamma did in that time and the results of her work, I feel proud that I should have been allowed to help. …It was Mamma's hand that first lifted the purdah, and now the women of India can take an open part in the life of the community, rising even to high political rank as, for instance, that of ambassador.[53]

Murray believed that only through the work of women like her mother as an imperial influence were Indian women able to rise above their "abysmal ignorance."[54] I argue that it was her mother's ideals which later pushed Murray to move beyond the polite yet restrictive Victorian "purdah" imposed on women, thus allowing her to become a part of the professional community.

---

[51] Ibid., 22.

[52] Ibid., 23.

[53] Ibid., 29. The purdah was a practice that secluded women from the public, usually by using clothing or veils to hide their features, but many times by keeping them inside the house at all times.

[54] Ibid.

So valuable was this mission work, that Margaret's mother continued it even after her marriage and the births of her two daughters. Because of the expectations of married women and the availability of servants and childcare givers, this was not an unusual situation in this class, either in England or in India. There were, however, major differences in what was demanded of Anglo-Indian wives and their English equivalents. Married Anglo-Indian women were known as "memsahibs," that is, "madam sahib." This title is significant in that it "suggests that connotations of colonial power, privilege and status were being displaced upon the sahib's wives as well."[55] Much of the role of the memsahib was as a "domestic administrator," who had control over the domestic economy, the servants and the children. However, it is important not to conflate the popular representation of the memsahib with the actual historical record.

Pat Barr's history of women in India points out that British Raj fiction writers, "particularly the so well known Rudyard Kipling, have handed down to us a fictional image of the typical 'memsahib' as a frivolous, snobbish and selfish creature who flitted from bridge to tennis parties 'in the hills' while her poor husband slaves 'on the plains'."[56] The main goal of authors writing British Raj fiction, as it came to be called, was to educate "the British reader about the real conditions of imperial rule."[57] Flora Annie Steel, for instance, focused on the roles and lives of the memsahib.[58] Kipling tended to focus on male roles in the empire, which, for him, usually involved British engineering projects and hunting tigers. According to Edward Said, Kipling's "structures

[55] Sen, *Woman and Empire*, 10.

[56] Barr, *The Memsahibs*, 1.

[57] Moore-Gilbert, *Kipling and 'Orientalism'*, 5.

[58] See below.

of attitude," which are especially prevalent in his "allusions to the facts of empire," were not the anomaly.[59] They occur "perhaps nowhere with more regularity and frequency than in the British novel."[60] Twentieth- and twenty-first-century authors have a difficult time talking about Raj fiction, and Kipling in particular, without feeling as if they must apologize for his nineteenth-century views. A.N. Wilson argues that his "reputation is one of the most complicated in the history of literature."[61] Daniel Karlin agrees, making the case that "[w]hat is powerful and convincing in Kipling's art is so mixed with what is repellent and sometimes mad in his outlook."[62] However, it is important to remember that Kipling was a product of his context, which was the strong view of what Said terms "Orientalism."[63] Orientalism was undoubtedly predominant in Kipling's worldview.[64] Said has argued that Kipling's Raj fiction not only drew on the facts of Orientalism, but also "contributed significantly to these feelings, attitudes, and references and became a main element in the consolidated vision, or departmental cultural view, of the globe."[65] Moore-Gilbert makes the case that Kipling's fiction would fit into Said's idea of Orientalism, but only in part, precisely because it did not completely embody the metropolitan Orientalism on which Said centers his analysis. Moore-Gilbert in fact maintains that "the discourse of the exiles in India characteristically tended to consider

---

[59] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 62.

[60] Ibid.

[61] A. N. Wilson, *The Victorians* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003), 496.

[62] Karlin, "Introduction," xvii. One might agree with this mad outlook when coming across such things as his view on women's suffrage: "Nature's way of ridding the country of its surplus women by 'getting 'em to slay themselves'" (quoted in Ibid.).

[63] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage/Random House, 1979; reprint ed. New York: Vintage/Random House, 1994).

[64] Ibid., 3

[65] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 74.

itself as different to that emanating from Britain" because the exiles regarded themselves "in important senses as unlike metropolitan Britain. … Kipling himself seemed to have felt pulled in separate directions."[66] Although Kipling would be defined as an exile, his works were aimed specifically at informing the entire British readership—both in England and abroad—about life in the colonies. Said's "cultural and political fact" of Orientalism and the power relationships it implies therefore apply directly to Kipling's work, as well as some of Murray's views, about India.

Using Orientalism as our foundation, we find Kipling constructing the imperialist attitude by praising the white man "who heroically strives to protect the land from famine, disease and other disasters," while at the same time painting a picture of a lazy, tired, flirtatious and sometimes adulterous memsahib.[67] He saw and experienced first-hand the "difficulties which beset the British…especially the district administrators and soldiers he admired;" these are the same hardships he elaborated on "in his stories, poems, journalism, and letters: social and personal isolation, illness, boredom, occasional violence."[68] The poem "The White Man's Burden" is particularly indicative of Kipling's view of the English in India:

> Take up the White Man's burden—
> Send forth the best ye breed—
> Go bind your sons to exile
> To serve your captives' need;
> To wait in heavy harness
> On fluttered folk and wild—
> Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
> Half devil and half child.[69]

---

[66] Moore-Gilbert, *Kipling and 'Orientalism'*, 5; 9.

[67] Sen, *Woman and Empire*, 167.

[68] Daniel Karlin, "Kipling's India," in *Rudyard Kipling*, ed. Karlin, 525.

[69] Rudyard Kipling, "The White Man's Burden," in *Rudyard Kipling*, ed. Karlin, 479. Originally in *The Five Nations* (1903).

Kipling had earlier expressed these imperial sentiments in a letter to his friend and cousin Margaret Burne-Jones in November 1885: "We spend our best men on the country like water and if ever a foreign country was made better through 'the blood of the martyrs' India is that country."[70] It is easy to see how Kipling's view of what English men were accomplishing in India did not change much in the years from his letter in 1885 to his published verse twenty years later.

Kipling's view of the memsahib and her activities in India was problematic at the time and is problematic today. While he ardently believed that white men were doing good for India, Kipling judged that the white *woman* brought destruction to the colonial hierarchy. Stoler argues that this sentiment ran throughout the colonies, where the presence of the white woman was believed not only to make European men more happy and content and therefore more moral, but also to heighten the sensitivities to and fears of the native "gaze", thus creating a more segregated and racist society.[71] Pat Barr laments in *The Memsahibs* that Kipling did not necessarily detail the memsahib's activities but was quite clear that the women themselves were "vain, sometimes adulterous…heartless…[and] though allowed a certain cleverness and wit, were invariably poor creatures compared to the heroes of Empire, whom they were lamentably prone to distract from life's sterner duties."[72] According to Indrani Sen, to add to this view of women as a waste of resources, Kipling's works were "underwritten by the familiar colonial *fear* of the exercise of female sexual power in the colony."[73] In

[70] Rudyard Kipling quoted in Karlin, "Kipling's India," 526.

[71] Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power.*

[72] Barr, *The Memsahibs*, 197-198.

[73] Sen, *Woman and Empire*, 166-167 (original emphasis).

Kipling's writings, for example in "William the Conqueror," the boyish memsahib is praised but "the emancipated woman who challenges a man's authority is not. …the *feminsation* of the imperialist enterprise and the insertion of the white woman into the colonial enterprise in a nurturing, *female* role, is inscribed with far greater reservation in Kipling's narratives."[74] However, for all of his railing against the enfranchisement of women and Indian self-governance, his works are indeed complex and at times ambivalent toward the existing views of race, class and gender prejudice.[75] His views of women in the Raj, however, diverge completely from Murray's ideas of women as powerful, helpful agents of positive change for the Empire. This is one major difference between the two exiles.

Fictional depictions of the Raj, then, have set the tone for a false image of the real Anglo-Indian woman. Earlier historians of India, such as Michael Edwardes, describe the memsahib in this way:

> Ladies who had been in India for any length of time had learned never to raise a finger if they could avoid it. They 'lie on a sofa, and, if they drop their handkerchief, they just lower their voices and say "Boy!" in a very gentle tone, and then creeps in, perhaps some old wizen, skinny brownie, looking like a superannuated thread-paper, who twiddles after them for a little while, and then creeps out again as softly as a black cat, and sits down cross-legged in the verandah till "Mistress please to call again"'.[76]

[74] Ibid., 168 (original emphasis).

[75] I will not detail these instances. For in-depth analysis of his ambivalence, see Wilson, *The Victorians*, 493-501; Sen, *Woman and Empire*, 162-184; Moore-Gilbert, *Kipling and 'Orientalism'*; and Karlin, "Introduction," xi-xxviii.

[76] Edwardes, *Bound to Exile*, 39. It is important to note here that Edwardes used correspondence, diaries and some fiction from the period in his work. While most of his analysis is in agreement with more recent scholarship, his description of the life of a memsahib in many ways is gender-biased.

More recent scholarship, however, recognizes that the memsahib's life was, in fact, much more complex, active, and involved in the public sphere than Kipling or Edwardes would have us believe.

Much as it was at home in England, women were expected to run the household, which included children and servants, with discretion, frugality and a firm hand, as well as to engage in charitable work outside of the home. However, unlike in England, in India, women "were inducted into the otherwise largely male-oriented colonising process and, as members of the ruling race, participated in the colonial agenda in diverse and complex ways."[77] Sen underscores the analogy of women's roles "between the running of a home and the management of an empire."[78] Moreover, as early as 1909, female authors such as Maud Diver in *The Englishwoman in India* called the memsahibs "'heroines and martyrs' of empire."[79] Married women in the colonial context, especially in India, were allowed to negotiate their place in colonial society in a variety of ways.

Flora Annie Steel was an author of Raj fiction whose views were in line with Murray's picture of an empowered member of Anglo-Indian society. I will not present an in-depth analysis here, but I will describe what other authors have said of her works in order to show that, while Kipling's version of India gives something of the idea of what Murray's childhood may have been like, Steel's Anglo-Indian *woman* was Murray's ideal as well. Steel arrived in India as a twenty-year-old bride to a man she did not love. She spent most of her time in India figuring out what it was to be a wife and a memsahib—taking care of domestic and imperial duties—and then writing fiction promoting the

[77] Sen, *Woman and Empire*, 33.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid., 29.

virtuous works of women in India. As the wife of an administrator, her novels were about married life and the roles of the Anglo-Indian woman in the home as well as outside of it.[80] She portrayed the memsahib as "the benevolent maternal imperialist, as possessing certain imperial responsibilities, among them being a knowledge of Indian languages or culture."[81] Unlike Kipling, Steel's novels were "full of ambivalences as regards gender" roles for women.[82] The female in her works was at once submissive and aware of her domestic duties as a wife while at the same time assertive of her personal duties to the empire, such as educating native Indian women in Christianity and the English language.[83] Steel's novels, it seems, were full of women who were not unlike Murray's own mother—an independent woman missionary with dreams of being a doctor, but who instead became a memsahib and engaged in charity work. Sen's description of a real memsahib fits perfectly with Murray's view of the woman, in some senses, she became: "…a figure who cut herself loose from the constraints of sanctioned female behaviour of the metropolitan country into the liberated space of the colony…[who]seems to have been perceived at some level as dangerously enfranchised."[84] Thus, while Murray may have lived in Kipling's masculine imperial India and shared the Orientalist superior views of that particular generation, her views of women aligned more with that of Steel's self-possessed maternal imperialist memsahib.

---

[80] See, for example, Flora Annie Steel, *On the Face of the Waters: A Tale of the Mutiny* (New York: Macmillan, 1897; reprint edition, 1914) in which two women escape from Delhi just before the Mutiny took place in 1857. Also, Flora Annie Steel, *A Sovereign Remedy* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1907).

[81] Sen, *Woman and Empire*, 137.

[82] Ibid., 134.

[83] Ibid., 147; Barr, *The Memsahibs*, 149-161.

[84] Sen, *Woman and Empire*, 186.

It was through her mother, primarily, that Murray learned what it meant to be an Anglo-Indian woman and how to build and maintain the Empire; to a certain degree, it is from this foundation that all of her future behavior and ideologies would stem. Largely, it was Murray's mother's desire to work outside the home, creating a place where her colonial influence and attitudes could be seen in the larger social context, that fueled Murray's need for the same. As a missionary and a visitor of the zenanas, the elder Margaret spread imperial ideas to Indian women; her daughter would later do this through her own teaching in the university classroom. The fact that her mother supported her professional ambitions even against her father's wishes, I believe, influenced Murray to support and to mentor her female students in the same way. Both women were educators in the imperial vision.

Another influential woman throughout Margaret's life was her older sister, Mary. As a constant presence in Margaret's young life, it is impossible to sum up her influence in a few short paragraphs. Margaret described her sister as "one of the most beautiful women I have ever seen."[85] Mary was also extremely intelligent, loved to read history and languages, and always passed her exams with honors.[86] Margaret wrote of their schooling that "Everybody was very kind and tactful about my failures but I was so used to Mary's success that I never expected anything else. On the rare occasions when I outdistanced her I had quite a shock and felt that I had somehow been disloyal."[87] Because of her achievements, Margaret wished that Mary had gone to university, for it "would have forced her to concentrate and she would probably have done first-rate work

[85] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 30.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid., 75.

and made a name for herself."[88] Instead, Margaret complained, when Mary got married in 1891 and moved to India, "family cares and responsibilities put an end to any hope of a career."[89] The two most influential women in Murray's life did not receive university training, got married and became memsahibs. Although they had a certain measure of power as memsahibs, they were denied any kind of professional occupation outside the home. This, however, was not the path down which Margaret wished to travel. Because she was single and because of the new options available to women at the turn of the century, Margaret's opportunities were greater than those of her mother or sister.

Another part of every family in the British Raj was the native Indian servants. Murray recalled at least ten different jobs done in her home alone that required one or more different servants to perform. There was a cook and a dishwasher, a sweeper—who was untouchable but at the same time "one of the most important servants"—a tailor, coolies, coach drivers, and of course, her Indian caregiver, the "much loved Baba Ayah."[90] Much literature from the period, both letters and diaries as well as fiction, focused on the ayah because she was the "Indian female with whom the average white man or woman came closest in contact with…"[91] Sen analyzes some of this literature and concludes that, for most Anglo-Indian families, "the ayah was kind, trustworthy and loyal, and as almost a surrogate mother, '[t]he children will carry in their hearts the *ayah's* laughter and tears … after all else Indian has passed out of their lives.'"[92] Margaret's memories were the same. She remembered her ayah's beauty and grace, and

[88] Ibid., 30.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid., 33-34.

[91] Sen, *Woman and Empire*, 49-50.

[92] Ibid., 50.

her loyalty to the Murray family, but, like other Anglo-Indian children, never knew her real name.[93] Murray recalled being impressed that her ayah "could recognise a photograph, for when in 1886 I was in England and sent a photograph of myself to Mamma, Baba Ayah saw it, recognised it instantly, and kissed it with the greatest affection."[94] Baba Ayah stayed with the Murrays until the family left India for good in 1887.

All servants, while helpful and necessary, posed a significant problem for many families. Anglo-Indians were expected to maintain certain levels of true metropolitan Victorian morality, in spite of the fact that they were forced to be in close contact with native Indians from lower social classes who were considered threats to their moral health. Xenophobia ran rampant, both at home and in the colonies, and since children were the most susceptible to native influence and presumed moral contamination, they were watched carefully.[95] The ayah, with all her loyalty, love, and closeness to her Anglo-Indian charges, was not really accessible to the child's parents. This, then, tended to create "a deeply disturbing, potentially oppositional site within the very heart of Anglo-Indian domesticity. It threatened to undermine colonial hierarchies within the colonial nursery."[96] The nursery in India lacked the discipline of a nursery in England, and many Anglo-Indian parents found themselves worried about "the moral problems involved when a child was brought up surrounded by Indian servants. They believed that a child would accept the standards of the heathen as his own."[97] Parents were also

[93] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 34.

[94] Ibid., 35.

[95] Newsome, *The Victorian World Picture*, 102; Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, 133-137.

[96] Sen, *Woman and Empire*, 50.

[97] Edwardes, *Bound to Exile*, 41; 160.

worried about their children's physical health. In large Indian cities like Calcutta, with its open drains and rancid rivers, illness was a major concern. Historian Daniel Karlin argues that the health benefits of going home were primary, and that "considerations of upbringing and education may have played a secondary role."[98] Thus, to stop the influence of native upbringing and to protect the health of their children, most Anglo-Indian families sent their children home at a young age, usually no later than the age of seven.[99]

Home

From the time she was seven until she was 30, Murray's family moved back and forth between England and India for various reasons, as was common for Anglo-Indian families. In 1870, the Murrays decided that it was time for Mary and Margaret to go home for their education. They were taken to England by their mother first, their father joining them later. The Murray sisters were fortunate enough to have their father's family in the parish of Lambourn, an Uncle John and his wife Aunt Harriet, to take them in. Sometimes, "[w]hen there was no family in England…[parents would] employ one of the professionals who specialised in looking after the children of exiles, though this solution was by no means to be recommended."[100] Whatever the circumstances, being left was undoubtedly traumatic. Murray wrote vividly of her experience:

> In dealing with our life at Lambourn one must remember that we had, in common with all India-born children left in England, that devastating experience of parting; when your last view of your parents is Mamma in

[98] Karlin, "Kipling's India," 525.

[99] Edwardes, *Bound to Exile*, 160.

[100] Ibid., 160-161.

> tears and Papa with his face turned away so that his expression is hidden, and you realize with a mixture of pain and panic that you are alone and forlorn in a cold and unfriendly world of strangers. An experience so heartrending must leave its mark, no matter how happy the child may be later.[101]

Other "India-born children" to whom Murray referred included now-well-known lawyers, statesmen and stateswomen, and authors, such as Rudyard Kipling and his sister Alice.

The Kipling siblings went home for a proper education.[102] Parting with their parents was particularly traumatic for him and Alice, as they were left in the dreaded boarding house and not with family. Later in life Alice wrote in her memoir "Some Childhood Memories of Rudyard Kipling" that their parents had not prepared them for the separation so it made their abandonment "like a double death, or rather, like an avalanche that had swept away everything happy and familiar."[103] It was in this time of his life that Kipling began to write fiction and poetry, purportedly to deal with his anxiety and despair over being left in the "House of Desolation" in Southsea, England.[104] He wrote specifically about this experience in his short story *Baa Baa Black Sheep,* where he painfully recalled that "[t]he child cannot belong again to his mother *as if she had never gone*. After the Fall, *all the Love in the world will not take away that knowledge*."[105] Murray, on the other hand, never having experienced the boarding house, described the houses as "on the whole the best arrangement that could be made in the circumstances,

---

[101] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 69.

[102] Karlin, "Introduction," xiii.

[103] Alice MacDonald Fleming, "Some Childhood Memories of Rudyard Kipling," *Chambers Journal*, 8:8 (1939), quoted in *Rudyard Kipling*, ed. Karlin, 90.

[104] See *Baa Baa Black Sheep,* in *Rudyard Kipling,* ed. Karlin, 90-114. Original in Rudyard Kipling, *Wee Willie Winkie*, 1888. See also Leonard Shengold, "An Attempt at Soul Murder—Rudyard Kipling's Early Life and Work," *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* 30 (1975): 683-724.

[105] Kipling, *Baa Baa Black Sheep*, quoted in Karlin, "Introduction," xxiii (original emphasis).

and usually worked very well." She continued, remarking on Kipling's experience as "rare."[106] Although Murray and her sister were fortunate enough to be left with family instead of an unfriendly boarding house, the separation from her parents was hard to bear as their new life was in unfamiliar territory.

Murray lived her formative years in the relatively comfortable surroundings of the Lambourn vicarage, situated in a small town that the Industrial Revolution had yet to reach.[107] There was no indoor plumbing, no mechanized farming tools, and very little medical attention. Although the hustle and bustle of the industrializing cities had not yet made its way to the countryside, the Victorian ideals associated with the coming of industry still pervaded every nook and cranny. As most historians paint it, Victorian society was extremely self-aware, if anxious and unsure, about the age of change in which they were living. In the important, although in many ways problematic, *The Victorian Frame of Mind*, Walter Houghton argued that the average Victorian (read: middle-class English male) would have stood figuratively on "grounds of hope and uneasiness."[108] According to Houghton, while their foundations may have been shaky, "Victorians never ceased to look forward to a new period of firm convictions and established beliefs, they had to live in the meantime between two worlds, one dead or

---

[106] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 69-70. She also cites *Baa Baa Black Sheep* and *Something of Myself*.

[107] Ibid., 67. For more about small, pre-industrial and industrial English towns, see Richard Dennis, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century: A Social Geography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Mark Girouard, *The English Town: A History of Urban Life* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990); R. J. Morris, "The Industrial Town," in *The English Urban Landscape*, ed. Philip J. Waller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 175-208.

[108] Walter Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1957), xiv. Hougton is problematic for historians not only because his work is from the 1950s, but also because it did not deal with any of the English population outside of middle-class white males. It is, however, the main work from which many historians of the British Victorian period from the mid-twentieth century have started.

dying, one struggling but powerless to be born, in an age of doubt."[109] By the same token, according to Newsome, "Victorians themselves came to develop such a keen sense of their own identity…" which included "earnestness and the obligations of the work ethic" combined with a "deep unease" and "the yearning for stability, some safe and sure anchorage within a frighteningly fast-changing world."[110] He concludes that "one might well wonder whether the Victorians ever enjoyed a moment's peace of mind. Of course they did. They were not all worriers…nor did they worry all the time. …When the Victorians 'looked outwards'" toward their colonies and the empire as a whole in order to compare themselves to the state of their competitors, "they found their spirits lifting and felt a sense of self-congratulation."[111] Their worries indeed melted away in the moments of comparison, but soon returned in the face of economic and political hardships and conflict at home. This was by no means a static frame of mind. Thus, when Murray and her sister were torn from the stability of their parents' home in India, and were taken to England, they were thrust into the world of a tentative confidence and continual flux back home.

The ubiquitous uneasiness of the time could be partially remedied by a strong foundation in religious faith.[112] For many of the members of the middle-class in England, and thus the Murray sisters, this faith was regulated within the doctrinal limits of the

[109] Ibid., 9-10.

[110] Newsome, *The Victorian World Picture*, 6; 38. Other historians of the period, such as Wilson, *The Victorians*; George Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), echo these views.

[111] Newsome, *The Victorian World Picture*, 88.

[112] Though this, in itself, could be somewhat shaky due to the lack of any "deep-rooted convictions" (Houghton, *Victorian Frame of Mind*, 21). However, here, again, Houghton is generalizing about all Victorians.

Anglican Church.[113] Uncle John Murray, as a "prim parson", was a strict "follower of St. Paul's view on the attitude of women towards the Dominant Male" and made sure that the Murray sisters studied scriptures and were in church twice on Sundays.[114] As a pastor, John was most likely similar in behavior to most Anglican church leaders at this time: "a hard worker, industrious, punctual, systematic and thorough."[115] John's wife, Aunt Harriet was, according to Murray, "Victorianly conventional, that is to say limited in all her views, sincerely religious but strictly within the limits of the Church of England, holding in horror all idolaters and Moslems, and to a lesser extent all Nonconformists and Roman Catholics."[116] Although some church historians argue that "fathers were usually at least passively involved in religious activities" and that it was "their wives who exercised the dominant religious influence," this was clearly not the case in the Murray household.[117] Nor would it have been the case in any parson's household. However, getting the family to church twice on Sundays was not restricted, at this time, to parsons and their families. Most churchgoers expected that "unless the

[113] Dissenters, those who did not align themselves with the teachings of the Anglican Church, tended to be discriminated against until the early twentieth century. Evangelical Anglican teachings influence the emergence of the most recognized Victorian ideologies and ideal practices. See Catherine Hall, "The early formation of Victorian domestic ideology," in *Gender and History in Western Europe*, ed. Robert Shoemaker and Mary Vincent (London: Arnold, 1998), 181-196.

[114] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 71; 64. The general explanation of this view can be explained by Paul's Letter to the Ephesians, chapter 5, verses 22 through 24: "Wives submit to your husbands as to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body, of which he is the Savior. Now as the church submits to Christ, so also wives should submit to their husbands in everything" (New International Version, Zondervan Publishers).

[115] Brian Heeney, *A Different Kind of Gentleman: Parish Clergy as Professional Men in Early and Mid-Victorian England* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1976), 18. Another good source on men in the Anglican church is Frances Knight, *The Nineteenth Century Church and English Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Neither Heeney nor Knight talk about women, family or children as they related to the lives of Anglican pastors. For discussion of women, wives, children and families in the church, both authors recommend Hugh McLeod's works: *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1974) and *Religion and Society in England, 1850—1914* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996).

[116] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 63.

[117] McLeod, *Religion and Society in England*, 159.

circumstances were exceptional, every parish church should hold at least one service on a Sunday," and many parishioners pressed for two services.[118] Church historian Hugh McLeod argues that religion was "ubiquitous" at this point, so a majority of the population tried to limit the presence of religion to Sundays, "[b]ut the problem of Sunday was difficult for anyone to escape."[119] Margaret probably believed that religion was an unavoidable issue in Lambourn.

John and Harriet provided the sisters with a conventional Victorian girl's education, which would have consisted of religion, French, music, and other artistic interests, taught at the vicarage by a resident governess.[120] The lessons were more moral lessons than they were intellectual exercises. Judith Flanders points out that for all Victorian girls of the middle class, "[m]orality was at the heart of home education. ...The merit of her schooling was not that she had acquired knowledge but that she had become dutiful."[121] Learning was usually accomplished by solitary study and rote memorization; a governess many times hindered the process. Gwen Raverat remarked in her memoir, *Period Piece*, that "even interesting lessons can be made incredibly stupid, when they are taught by people who are bored to death with them, and who do not care for the art of teaching either."[122] This type of confusing and unfocused situation was acceptable to parents of girls, as many believed that "girls and young women must not give their

[118] Knight, *The Nineteenth Century Church*, 75-76.

[119] McLeod, *Class and Religion*, 139.

[120] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 65.

[121] Judith Flanders, *Inside the Victorian Home: A Portrait of Domestic Life in Victorian England* (London: W. W. Norton, 2003), 83.

[122] Gwen Raverat, *Period Piece* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1952), 62. Raverat, Darwin's granddaughter, had grown up wanting to go to school with other children, but her mother would not allow it and kept her educated at home. Raverat said that throughout her schooling, the "other governesses had done much more harm, though with the best possible intentions" (67).

individual attention to anything."[123] While it is clear that the Murrays cared a great deal about educating the girls, they remained within the bounds of Victorian propriety.

Their governess-led education at home was augmented by their aunt and uncle. Even in their time away from Lambourn and regular school lessons, Margaret and Mary were educated in the doctrines of the church, having an abundance of religious tracts at hand to read. Another aspect of their education, surely implemented and controlled by Harriet, would have been in domestic duties. Many educators and women recognized the need to educate girls in practical skills to be good women and mothers. Catherine Manthorpe argues that because Victorian society was pinned to the behavior and actions of the mother—reproducing then raising good citizens, holding the family together, taking good care of the businessmen, and more—"a new interest in domestic science emerged relating to public fears about the degeneracy of British society and the British race and to the concern that some form of domestic education should feature in the education of *all* girls."[124] As their surrogate parents, John and Harriet Murray wanted the children to build on a firm foundation of religious faith, domestic skills and acceptable feminine knowledge. John supplemented this girls' education with his own interests, whether or not it was deemed acceptable to do so. Margaret recollected that Uncle John was an amateur antiquary and his "knowledge of the surroundings of Lambourn (rich in earth works and standing stones), as well as interest in church architecture and local

[123] Flanders, *Inside the Victorian Home*, 91-2.

[124] Catherine Manthorpe, "Science or domestic science? The Struggle to Define an Appropriate Science Education for Girls in Early Twentieth-Century England," *History of Education* 15 (1986): 195. Manthorpe's argument in this article addresses the formal teaching of domestic science in the early twentieth century, but her conclusions also apply to Margaret and Mary in this situation. There are other sources for a girl's education in this period; many come from memoirs such as Gwen Raverat's recollections of her childhood in *Period Piece*, or from biographies and general works about women, such as: Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780—1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); and Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex?*.

antiquities, stimulated the child's imagination."[125] Despite the fact that he "kept strictly to the Christian era," which seemed to be a fault in her estimation, Murray credits him with awakening her interest in archaeology.[126] This interest in archaeology of England also influenced Mary, who, as we have seen, enjoyed history and learning.[127] In contrast to their other tasks and other subjects in their education, it was in being outside, walking around, exploring and learning the histories John would tell them that the sisters found a fascinating pursuit.

It is interesting that, upon looking back at this point in her life, Murray called her uncle a "Dominant Male," but referred to her father as a "true Victorian gentleman." Especially at this point in Murray's life, the main question might be: What was the difference between the two for her, if there truly was one? In this period, politicians, theologians and philosophers alike tried to define what a gentleman was. In 1861, William Makepeace Thackeray offered this query:

> Is it to have lofty aims, to lead a pure life, to keep your honour virgin; to have the esteem of your fellow-citizens and the love of your fireside; to suffer evil with constancy; and through evil or good to maintain truth always?[128]

Historians have lately added to this definition a list of other virtues, such as, "bravery and a sense of protectiveness towards women and children," a protection that was physical

---

[125] Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 110.

[126] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 64.

[127] Mary enjoyed it and excelled at it so much so, it seems that she continued to read and educate herself long after life in Lambourn. In fact, Margaret thanked Mary, later Mrs. Slater, in many of her books about witchcraft (see Margaret Alice Murray, *The God of the Witches* [London: Faber & Faber, 1931], 11-12). In 1954, she stated: "I owe to my late sister, Mrs. Mary Slater, the suggestion that there were two substitutes for the Divine King..." (Margaret Alice Murray, *The Divine King in England: A Study in Anthropology* [London: Faber & Faber, 1954], 12). Mary clearly influenced Margaret's life as well as her scholarship.

[128] William Makepeace Thackeray, "The Four Georges," 1861, quoted in Newsome, *The Victorian World Picture*, 67.

and emotional as well as financial.[129] Gentlemen were also physically fit and intelligent.[130] Although this seems like an impossible level of virtue to attain, most middle-class men aspired to it. The status of "Gentleman" was, actually, "the most coveted cachet of all."[131] However, as a "Dominant Male," John would not, in Margaret's perception, have fit into the gentlemanly mold. Although the ideal of the separate spheres was crucial to defining each gender group's respective roles, we have seen that it was almost impossible in India, and it was so in other colonies. Even though Murray verbally acknowledged that her father was a true "gentleman" and that her mother did not take part in a *paid* occupation outside the home, because of their colonial context, she would not have viewed their relationship as one of conservative, middle-class, gender-conscious, separate spheres. It can be determined, then, that Margaret used her Anglo-Indian values as the standard by which to judge these conventions of the English status quo, and found them wanting. Murray told her readers that her parents had a relatively equal relationship, each supportive and loving of the other's chosen

---

[129] Sen, *Woman and Empire*, 5

[130] The anatomical and physiological differences between men and women leading to men's superiority and women's subordination in this period is well documented. Primary sources abound, including medical and social theorists: Karl Pearson, *The Chances of Death and Other Studies* (London: Edward Arnold, 1897); Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, "Sex in Mind and Education: A Reply," *Fortnightly Review* n.s. 15 (1874): 582-594; John Thorburn, *Female Education from a Physiological Point of View* (London: 1884). Some secondary sources that are also important: Joan N. Burstyn, "Education and Sex: The Medical Case Against Higher Education for Women in England, 1870-1900," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 117 (1973): 79—89, gives a variety of important primary and secondary sources; Roberta J. Park, "Biological Thought, Athletics and the Formation of a 'Man of Character': 1830-1900," in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 7-34; Anne Digby, "Women's Biological Straitjacket," in *Sexuality and Subordination: Interdisciplinary Studies of Gender in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Susan Mendus and Jane Rendall (London: Routledge, 1989), 192—220; Cynthia E. Russett, *Sexual Science: The Victorian Construction of Womanhood* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex?: Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989); and Londa Schiebinger, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993).

[131] Newsome, *The Victorian World Picture*, 66. Wilson also talks about "Imperial masculinity" in *The Victorians*, 600.

occupation whether it be professional work or charity.[132] Thus coming from the Indian context, where the environment for women was more permissive on certain levels than in London, and being left with an Anglican vicar and his wife, Margaret and Mary were witnessing a new lifestyle and a new kind of relationship between a man and a woman and decided it was less desirable than that of their parents.

While historians point out that the concept of the separate spheres was an idealization of a very unlikely reality, many argue that the particulars of the framework were "[c]entral to Evangelicals' attempt to reconstruct daily life and create a new morality…buttressed by social conservatism…[and] the redefinition of the position of the woman in the family."[133] Within this framework, women were characterized as the angel in the home, "whose whole excuse for being was to love, honor, obey—and amuse—her lord and master, and manage his household and bring up his children."[134] To John, then, women like Harriet, Margaret, and Mary were supposed to be "the moral regenerators of the nation," as well as keepers of a spotless house.[135] Because this way of life was an ideal, women were inundated with information on how to live up to their angelic role. Advice books, magazines devoted to motherhood and womanhood, novels, legislation, and domestic education systems were established. However, in her critique of the historiography of separate spheres ideology, Amanda Vickery points out that, "Just because a volume of domestic advice sat on a woman's desk, it does not follow that she took its strictures to heart, or whatever her intentions managed to live her life according

[132] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 22-23.

[133] Hall, "The early formation of Victorian domestic ideology," 187.

[134] Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind*, 348.

[135] Hall, "The early formation of Victorian domestic ideology," 190.

to its precepts."[136] Thus, whether or not the separate spheres ideology was a reality for most homes remains to be determined, but we can confidently argue that it was not necessarily general practice in England.[137] Nevertheless, if a woman chose not to strive after this particular idealization, she would still have been aware of being at odds with the conventions proposed in the literature. Margaret's judgment of her uncle as the "Dominant Male" leads the reader to believe that, for John and Harriet Murray, the separate spheres ideal was a practiced truth in the Lambourn vicarage.

For all the time they spent away from their parents and the fact that she was at first unaccustomed to much of what she experienced in those three formative years in Britan, Murray recalled it as a happy time in her life. She wrote of her time in Lambourn: "Altogether it was a stimulating mental atmosphere, which came at a time when Mary and I were old enough to be *greatly influenced* by it, and we both owed a great deal to Uncle John."[138] Murray and her sister were undoubtedly affected both spiritually and intellectually. It was at Lambourn that ideals of Victorian womanly behavior and religious righteousness were instilled in her, even as she received her first introduction to

---

[136] Amanda Vickery, "Golden age to separate spheres? A review of the categories and chronology of English women's history," in *Gender and History*, ed. Shoemaker and Vincent, 203.

[137] Marilyn Boxer and Jean Quataert argue that the spheres were a societal ideal and they were not an absolute and hardened reality. The authors explore the roles of women in each sphere (Marilyn Boxer and Jean Quataert, "Women in Industrializing, Liberalizing, and Imperializing Europe: Overview, 1750—1890," in *Connecting Spheres*, ed. Boxer and Quataert, 113-163); Davidoff and Hall's *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780—1850* uses the separate spheres concept as a tool for analyzing the development of families and society from the late-eighteenth into the late-nineteenth century, but argue they never were clearly distinct; Hall's "Early formation of Victorian domestic ideology," argues that to wider society the spheres were an idea and an ideal, but were difficult to keep up with, whereas to evangelicals the spheres were real and must be obeyed (181-196); Susan Kingsley Kent's *Gender and Power in Britain, 1640—1990* argues that the spheres were a tangible and linguistic tool of power used by men to subordinate women (London: Routledge, 1999); and finally, Pat Thane's "Late Victorian Women" argues that women in the home worked just as hard as, if not harder than, men did outside, and she challenges the ideal of "angel in the house" (in *Later Victorian Britain, 1867-1900*, ed. T.R. Gourvish and A. O'Day [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988], 175-208). In general, historians today see the spheres as a (somewhat) useful organizing tool, but they were not reality for most women in the period.

[138] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 64 (emphasis mine).

being "in the field," so to speak, under the supervision of a dominant male. Even though Murray did not outwardly subscribe to these particularly restrictive views of women, they were doubtlessly integrated in the very root of her being. They were, also, something that she had to reconcile with the way in which her mother and father had raised her in the relatively lenient colony. Murray struggled with these contrasting ideals for the rest of her life, especially in education and professional work for women, as we shall see.

Education and Career Choices

The girls' mother retrieved them from Lambourn in 1873 and moved them to Germany for two years. It is unclear why they did this, since her father stayed in India at this time, and in her autobiography Murray did not linger on this subject for long.[139] She and Mary learned to speak German proficiently, if not fluently, and both retained much of the knowledge of this language throughout their lives. It was especially useful to Margaret in her professional career. After this brief period, they returned to Calcutta in 1875 for a further two years. They continued their education much as they had pursued it in England, with visiting European teachers. Again, two years later, in 1877, the Murrays returned home as a family because her father wished to work in the London office of his company until retirement.

When the Murrays moved to England in 1877—when Margaret was 14—they moved to the South London area near the rebuilt Crystal Palace, "which was then a great educational centre," so the girls could get a good education.[140] They were able to attend

[139] Ibid., 70-71. It is possible to conclude simply that they were taken to Germany for educational purposes.

[140] Ibid., 74-75. Drower also briefly remarks on this time ("Margaret Alice Murray," 110).

various lectures and classes there, taught by specialists. As a symbol of Britain's superiority in the nineteenth century, and as a place that deeply influenced Murray's education and cultural foundations, it is important here to give a brief background of the Crystal Palace. It was originally built to house the Great Exhibition of 1851: Prince Albert's dream.[141] The goal of the Exhibition was to show the "unity of mankind;" however, "[t]he most obvious lesson of the Exhibition…was that in pursuing their sacred mission, not all men had advanced at the same pace, or arrived at the same point."[142] Wilson calls the Exhibition "an outward and visible sign of how readily capitalism could conquer the globe, exporting its modernity to Asia, the Americas, Africa and Australia, and drawing, in turn, all nations to itself under the emblematic hothouse erected for the exotic plant of Free Trade in the very centre of Hyde Park."[143] The vast indoor and outdoor expanses of the Exhibition, combined with the immense glass and steel Crystal Palace building, were the physical embodiment of an age of faith in science and the progress it promised as well as the confidence Britain had in its ability to gather and control foreign peoples and things, all of which stemmed from the Enlightenment period.[144] The Exhibition contained over 1,300 industrial and cultural exhibits from countries all over the globe and brought millions of people from all classes to see the world under one huge glass roof; as a brief fair, it closed its doors after five months and

---

[141] See Hermione Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition: Art, Science, and Productive Industry. A History of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851* (London: Athlone, 2002) for a full history and analysis of the life of the Exhibition and the space at Hyde Park.

[142] Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, 3. Stocking asserts that "…the classical works of British sociocultural evolutionism were all products of the age of equipoise…[in] an attempt to understand the cultural experience symbolized by the Crystal Palace" (6). This claim demonstrates the importance scholars place on the Exhibition and its ability to shape culture and science.

[143] Wilson, *The Victorians*, 127.

[144] Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind*, 35.

eleven days.[145] Even in that short period of time, the ideologies of British superiority, centered around the benefits of colonialism, capitalism, science and progress that the Exhibition embodied had a profound influence on all who saw it.

After its closing, both the building and many of the exhibits inside it were taken apart, piece by piece, moved from Hyde Park to Sydenham in South London, and rebuilt to be a permanent place for people to visit and learn. Visitors and students, like Margaret and Mary, were to "be taught through the medium of the eye to receive impressions kindling a desire for knowledge, and awakening the instincts of the beautiful."[146] Here was the first place Murray viewed ancient Egyptian art and architecture up close, albeit the examples were not authentic artifacts.[147] The various foreign courts, such as the Persian and Greek courts, were built to impress with their high ceilings and monumental sculpture and architecture. The courts also "suggested a certain politics of empire, a philosophy and even a morality: the fall of the proud, wealthy and luxurious civilisations."[148] As if to underscore this notion, the official *Guide to the Palace and Park* touted that the institution gave the visitor the opportunity and means, "beneath one roof," to

> trace the course of art from centuries long anterior to Christianity, down to the very moment in which he lives, and obtain by this means an idea of the

[145] See J. R. Piggott, *Palace of the People: The Crystal Palace at Sydenham, 1854-1936* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004) for the life of the Crystal Palace after it left Hyde Park. Finally, a brief discussion of the impact of the Crystal Palace on Victorian science can be found in James Paradis and Thomas Postlewait, "Introduction," in *Victorian Science and Values: Literary Perspectives*, ed. James Paradis and Thomas Postlewait (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1981), ix-xiii.

[146] Piggott, *Palace of the People*, 36, quoted from an unpublished scrap album from the Crystal Palace archive.

[147] Drower also believes that Murray's time at the Crystal Palace may have sparked some "curiosity about Egypt" in her (Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 110). Murray had been through Alexandria on trips to and from India, but did not mention seeing many ancient artifacts while there.

[148] Piggott, *Palace of the People*, 75.

> successive states of civilization which from time to time have arisen in the world, ... until overturned by the aggression of barbarians, or the no less destructive agency of a sensual and degraded luxury.[149]

It is certain that these ideologies and images were consumed and processed by children like Murray and remained with her until the end of her life. The early indoctrination of empire and superiority that must have happened at the Crystal Palace was crucial to the formation of her worldview, which combined with the imperial ideologies that she learned on a daily basis at home and in India, thus reinforcing the British colonial foundation.

The Murray family lived in London for six years, then moved back to Calcutta again, but only for a short time. In 1883 Murray was twenty, her sister twenty-two, and there were few activities that could keep them entertained for long. Margaret, "actuated by the sheer boredom at home," longed for "some sort of training" so that she could be "active and among people."[150] However, there were no occupations for women in Calcutta, except as a missionary or a nurse. Maybe because her mother could not, Margaret decided to go into the medical profession of nursing, "which was coming rapidly into favour in England."[151] Her family, she wrote, had mixed reactions: "Mamma was all for the idea, but to my great surprise there was strong opposition from Papa and Mary."[152] Her mother was excited at the prospect of Margaret dedicating herself in her own first choice of trade to the service of others. Margaret remembered that her mother

---

[149] Samuel Phillips, *Guide to the Crystal Palace and Park* (London, Bradbury & Evans, 1857), 46.

[150] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 79.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Ibid.

said serving others was "the only thing that made life worth while."[153] Her father and Mary both agreed that ladies should not leave the house for paid work. Since her father was a gentleman, he "felt it was rather a slur on him that a lady of the family should go out to work;" he believed he provided adequate income for her not to have to do that.[154] She was allowed, then, to volunteer as a "Lady Probationer" for "three months, not a day more," in deference to her father's wishes.[155] She excelled at the job and enjoyed being with and treating the patients, who Mary considered to be "the scum of the earth," and other hospital staff, who were to Mary no better than common servants.[156] The main difficulty with working at the hospital for Margaret was the unbearable heat of the Indian afternoon. She hated having to leave this job, but looked forward to going home to England.

Upon the family's final return to England in 1886, Murray began what she called her "second attempt" at a career.[157] She wanted to continue working in hospitals as a nurse volunteer. However, unlike the shortage of suitable trainees in India she found that "in England Florence Nightingale's nurses had set standards for the training;" standards which she could not get past—both because of the lack of education and, she claimed, because of her being "below the usual height of women."[158] At this point Murray was in Rugby with Uncle John and Aunt Harriet, who had moved there years before to head the

---

[153] Ibid.

[154] Ibid. While he provided income during his life, it is unclear if he left enough income for Murray, her sister and her mother all to survive without working when he died.

[155] Ibid. Drower notes that Murray was differentiated from the other hospital staff because of her social status by the title "Lady Probationer" (Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 111).

[156] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 79.

[157] Ibid, 85.

[158] Ibid.

church. She was, again, bored and in want of something to do, so she became a district-visitor. According to Pamela Gilbert, in this period social work was suitable for a woman for many reasons.[159] First, the house-to-house visitation required by district-visitors was part of the female domain Uncle John supported—the domestic sphere.[160] Women taught good domestic hygiene to the working classes, and thus taught them to be good British citizens as well. Gilbert explains that the "visitor's authority depends on two things equally: her status as a lady and her sympathy with their needs. …the lady's moral authority is based in the private and the social, on her domestic identity."[161] However, as Gilbert further argues, these women were also participating in the public and political sphere because "[c]itizenship, although defined as public and male, is therefore dependent on the domestic sphere—that is on private and female modes of production."[162] Pat Thane argues that at this time, the need for creating better citizens and "the raising of healthier national stock" became quite important and brought the family into the interest of the public.[163] Murray had always wanted to help people in this way and to participate in a life outside of her home; however she was indifferent to her work. She wrote of this job: "I don't think I did either good or harm."[164]

Murray's social work continued when she moved back to her parents' home, a small house in Bushey Heath in the east of England, upon her father's retirement in 1887. The everyday, run-of-the-mill boredom of home life was broken up by teaching Sunday

---

[159] Pamela K. Gilbert, *The Citizen's Body: Desire, Health, and the Social in Victorian England* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Press, 2007).

[160] Ibid., 7.

[161] Ibid., 103.

[162] Ibid., 7.

[163] Thane, "Late Victorian Women," 183.

[164] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 87.

school. She did this simply because she liked to teach, not necessarily because she whole-heartedly believed in what she was teaching. Murray had hopes that with the whole family home Mary could take her "place while I could go off and do what I wanted to do…" which was more hospital work.[165] However, this did not happen.

Murray was not able to pursue any kind of career until after her father's death in 1891. In this same year, Mary got married and moved to Madras. The two members of Murray's family who had been against her working outside the home were now removed from her direct sphere of influence. The death of her father must have been freeing to her in this sense; however, Mary continued to have some authority over Margaret's life. Two years after James' death, Margaret found herself back in India with her sister, brother-in-law and new niece, who lived across the continent of India from Calcutta and was, to Margaret, "a foreign land."[166] This final trip to India would change Murray's life. While there, her sister informed her that *The Times* featured an article detailing new classes offered at University College London. In January 1893 *The Times* had summarized Petrie's inaugural address for the chair of Egyptology at UCL in which he lamented that although the British had occupied Egypt for ten years by that time, still no government support had been given to the study of Egypt, or the history of that country.[167] Furthermore, he expressed disappointment in the fact that "[t]he only public teaching in the subject had been in the languages of Egypt and Assyria, started many years ago, but no other department had been touched."[168] Thanks to the bequest of Amelia Edwards, the

[165] Ibid., 85.

[166] Ibid., 86.

[167] "Professor Flinders Petrie on Egyptology," *The Times*, 16 January 1893, p. 8.

[168] Ibid.

first university department and courses in the history of Egypt would be made possible. The library and collections Edwards had acquired throughout her life would be provided for scholarship, and Petrie himself would "give a series of lectures in the autumn and spring and would prepare students who might wish to undertake practical work in Egypt..."[169] Petrie continued, outlining all of the areas in which much study and analysis still needed to be done in Egypt, such as the architecture, history of religion and language, art, sculpture and more. The *Times* writer posed a prophetic question at the end of the article, which may have caught Mary's attention the most: "Might we not see arise a [Sir Roderick] Murchison or an [Sir John] Evans of Egyptology?"[170]

Mary encouraged Margaret to go to London to pursue studies in Egyptology, to which Margaret flippantly responded, "'And who is Flinders Petrie?'…never having heard the name before."[171] This response frustrated Mary because of Margaret's blatant "want of interest."[172] Mary thus responded to her sister:

> 'Now that I am married I can't go to those classes myself, but you must. So you will write at once to Dr. Petrie and say you wish to attend his classes, and I will write to Mamma and tell her that she too must write to him and say that you will attend the classes.'[173]

She noted this as her third attempt at a career, and one from which, she stated, "I have never swerved."[174]

---

[169] Ibid.

[170] Ibid.

[171] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 92.

[172] Ibid.

[173] Ibid.

[174] Ibid., 85.

Conclusions

Even though Margaret recalled that both she and her mother "always did what Mary told us to do and that is how I came to Egyptology," it is clear that it was much more than her sister's prodding that prepared and pushed Margaret for this field of study.[175] First, Murray's life in India and her travel as a child made her ready to be in the field, more so than a strictly metropolitan upbringing would have. While Murray's childhood in British-ruled India and the strict Victorian gentlemen who raised her was not much different from that of other children born in the British colonies, her experiences mark her as part of a particular generational cohort that is well-known to historians and lovers of literature from the period. Thus, Murray's worldview, although we will see that it continued to evolve over time with social and political changes, did not fundamentally differ from the conventional views that her father, uncle, and her interpretation of her experiences in India had instilled in her as a child. Yet, she was quite different from children in the metropole. She was used to travelling the long miles between Calcutta and London on several occasions which created some familiarity in living in discomfort and in unfamiliar places among people she did not know. It also formed an environment in which Murray was somewhat used to living without a permanent home. Other girls, raised in London, would not have been as secure in those types of situations as Murray most likely was.

Second, Murray's Western point of view promoted an Orientalist perspective, of which she would become a firm advocate. In the colonies, Europeans had to set themselves apart from native populations, thus raising themselves up as different and

[175] Ibid.

superior to the savage natives. To understand the colonized peoples was to control them, and Murray and other Orientalists in this period wished to understand and reveal the perceived mysteries surrounding them to the wider European population. Her childhood in India, witnessing her mother's work in teaching and learning about women in the zenanas, as well as her experience in her own home and at work in the hospital, were circumstances which made Murray's movement into Egyptology and the Orientalist viewpoint strikingly seamless.

Third, while her foundation was conservative and middle-class, she also displayed contrary opinions—as in her dislike of being told that, as a female, she could not choose to work. She observed her mother's life, whose young dreams of being a doctor were disappointed, and that of her talented sister, whose marriage ended her hopes of a career; she drew from these experiences and made choices in her own life that would put her on a path to a different life. Many other women at this time had to make similar decisions—either to pursue an education and have a career or get married and have a family. It is interesting that her entry into Egyptology, what was to become her lifelong passion, Murray described as a passive matter, a choice made by others for her to which she assented. Mary told her to do it, so she did. Murray was in fact the kind of person who had an insatiable drive for useful activity, and specifically a profession outside of the home, so it remains unclear as to why she portrayed her decision in this way. It is possible that, although she disliked studying, with her older sister's permission and her mother's support, she was finally allowed to take up interests and occupations outside of her mother's home. Murray's mother and sister helped to establish an attitude in Murray that demonstrated empowerment and confidence in distressing situations. This would

come into play many times throughout Murray's life. According to Mary Williams, one of Margaret's chroniclers, "relatives of an older generation" did not want her to have a career and had "implored her to give up Egyptology for 'that way lies infidelity.'"[176] Her autobiography recalled only the encouragement of her mother and sister. Murray would defy her gendered Victorian upbringing and choose to go to university. She remained single, and became a professional archaeologist.[177]

[176] Mary Williams, "98-years Young," *Folklore* (1961), 434.

[177] It is not clear to me whether or not she rejected marriage proposals in order to have a career, or if the opportunity never arose. Without letters or journals available, I cannot speculate on this issue at this point in time.

Chapter 2: 1894—1904: In the Field

Introduction

Murray's arrival at University College in 1894 marked the beginning of her lifelong career in Egyptology. Rosalind Janssen says it was "almost by accident" that Murray found herself at UCL, and Murray probably would have agreed with her.[1] Upon looking back at this period at the end of her life, Murray claimed that she was "helping to blaze a trail" in "one of the most important of all subjects that are worth serious study," which meant two things in Murray's career: first, that she was not only finding her own place in Egyptology, but that she was also leading the way for other women in the discipline; and second, that Murray was instrumental in directing a developing science by defining its scope and goals.[2] This chapter deals with these aspects and their outcomes in fieldwork, and the next chapter focuses on Murray's leadership in the classroom. Gendered aspects of the professions in general, such as access to education, the marriage question, and relationships between men and women, will be major points of analysis in this and the next chapter. In Egyptology, traditional gender roles for women on excavations, such as being in the lab to interpret and translate objects, will provide further points of analysis for discussing Murray's work. Situating Murray in Egyptology means placing her institutionally at UCL, geographically in the field in Egypt, and intellectually in the hyperdiffusionist school.

As a student, field assistant, teacher, and scholar in the university, Murray's career ran the gamut of female academic roles and explored in what capacities women

[1] Rosalind Janssen, *The First Hundred Years: Egyptology at University College London, 1892—1992* (London: University College London Press, 1992), 10.

[2] Margaret Murray, *My First Hundred Years* (London, William Kimber and Co., Ltd: 1963), 93; 189.

could succeed. Women participating in this profession were few in number, and women publishing in archaeology were even fewer. Novels or travelers' accounts were the acceptable genres for female authors in this period; many women wrote these types of books simply in order to be able to work in Egyptology.[3] Murray, however, joined the small number of women—which included her predecessor Amelia Edwards and her near contemporary Gertrude Bell—who published scholarly works about the ancient Near East.[4] Murray's first article, "The descent of property in the early periods of Egyptian history," was researched, written, and published in 1895 under Flinders Petrie's guidance and marked her entrance into the discipline as a scientist in her own right.[5]

Murray's trips to Egypt in the 1902 and 1903-04 excavation seasons were marked by her first books, *The Osireion at Abydos* and *Saqqara Mastabas Part I*, respectively.[6] These publications demonstrated her ability to write for a scholarly audience as well as her acceptance into the archaeological and Egyptological communities as a scientific authority. Furthermore, the books were the leading studies on each site for many years following. Subsequently, upon the celebration of her 100th birthday, UCL's Professorial Board passed a resolution of appreciation for Murray in which they stated: "...Dr. Murray's excavations at the Osireion at Abydos, and her epigraphic work in the

[3] Such as Sophia Poole. See Lisa Bernasek, "Unveiling the Orient, Unmasking Orientalism: Sophia Poole's *The Englishwoman in Egypt*," in *Egyptian Encounters*, Cairo Papers in Social Science, Vol. 23, no. 2, Fall 2000, ed. Jason Thompson (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2000), 50-79.

[4] For example: Amelia Edwards, *Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1891) and Gertrude Bell, *Palace and Mosque at Ukhaidir: A Study in Early Mohammadan Architecture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914).

[5] Margaret Murray, "The Descent of Property in the Early Periods of Egyptian History," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 17 (1895): 240-245.

[6] Margaret A. Murray, *The Osireion at Abydos* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1904); Margaret A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I and Gurob* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1905).

necropolis at Sakkara are recognised as monumental contributions to Egyptological research."[7]

Much later, in *The Splendour that was Egypt*, Murray presented for a general audience what amounted to "an excellent summary of the range of her lectures" over a thirty-year period, including all of the information she had presented in her earlier introductory lectures on Egyptian history as well as from the more advanced, second-year courses.[8] Historians have marginalized her work in general because they believe that her assertions in *Splendour*—that Egypt was the beginning of all civilization—were part of a fringe movement of little consequence and thus they believed there was no need to look back at the development of her ideas. However, her claims were actually part of a relatively short-lived but influential school of thought termed "hyperdiffusionism." While I will discuss the content of the lectures in the following chapter when I analyze her influence in the classroom, in this chapter it is crucial to see *Splendour*'s hyperdiffusionist framework in the context of Murray's adherence to this particular school of thought throughout her career.

By the time Murray became a published author, Egyptology had been a field of university study for only three years. The British Museum, on the other hand, had been buying, collecting, and sending untrained men such as Henry Salt and Giovanni Belzoni into the field to bring back a wide array of artifacts, for over one hundred years.[9] Other

[7] MS ADD 67, 11 June 1963, UCL Special Collections, University College London, London.

[8] Margaret A. Murray, *The Splendour that was Egypt: A General Survey of Egyptian Culture and Civilisation* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1949; Reprint, New York: Philosophical Library, 1959); Janssen, *The First Hundred Years*, 12.

[9] The most recent histories of collection acquisition are: Stephanie Moser, *Wondrous Curiosities: Ancient Egypt at the British Museum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006) and Elliot Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities: Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 2007).

museums, such as the Louvre, as well as private collectors had also been acquiring artifacts for years, without much knowledge of what they had or what the artifacts might mean. To serve as a remedy to all of the unchecked and untrained hoarding, the Egypt Exploration Fund was founded in 1882 by Amelia Edwards. The group was successful in funding excavations, in collecting and studying the material remains of Egypt's history and has since gained a reputation as the preeminent professional group for Egyptologists. In 1892, UCL opened the Egyptology department, thus allowing for the instruction of future archaeologists. It was therefore instrumental in guiding the methods, theory and principles of the science for decades. When Murray began her career, she was able to establish herself within this program and within the foundation of the newly organized science.

Egyptology Narratives

Like many other pursuits of knowledge, archaeology was not professionalized or specialized until the early twentieth century. However, if seen generally as an interest in the material remains left by the inhabitants of the past in order to understand the past, it is clear that archaeology began long before the nineteenth century. Egyptology, as a discipline that studied the history of an ancient yet historical civilization, developed as a distinctly separate practice from prehistoric European archaeology; their difference lies mainly in that the physical remains of Europe "were evolutionary, culture historical and nationalistic."[10] Timothy Champion argues that Egypt "had little or no role in this

[10] Timothy Champion, "Beyond Egyptology: Egypt in 19th and 20th Century Archaeology and Anthropology," in *The Wisdom of Egypt: Changing Visions Through the Ages*, ed. Peter Ucko and Timothy Champion (London: University College London Press, 2003), 179. For the discipline of pre-history in England, see Pamela Jane Smith, *A Splendid Idiosyncrasy: Prehistory at Cambridge, 1915-1950* (Oxford:

[prehistoric] sort of archaeology, except for the Egyptians themselves, and they were largely excluded [from] the subject."[11] Thus I focus the historical review on the development of Egyptology and its institutions in Britain, since Murray actually spent relatively little time in the field.[12]

Many historians of this discipline begin their narratives with the 1798 expedition of Napoleon, his troops, and the veritable army of scientists and savants who went with him; however, one should not overlook the fact that travelers and explorers have been visiting Egypt since the time of Herodotus.[13] Visitors' intentions varied from religious or intellectual pilgrimages, to stops on a "Grand Tour" of the Near East, and to simple curiosity.[14] After the deciphering of the Rosetta Stone around 1822, scholars were able to read the immense number of sources written in the ancient Egyptian languages and therefore, "interpretations of Pharaonic society were increasingly made almost exclusively from written sources, and even today documentary evidence is privileged…"[15] It is at this point in the history of Egyptology where scholars tend to

---

Archaeopress, 2009) and Adam Stout, *Creating Prehistory: Druids, Ley Hunters and Archaeologists in Pre-War Britain* (Hoboken, N. J.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008).

[11] Champion, "Beyond Egyptology," 179.

[12] Various other histories focus on women and fieldwork, such as Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, eds. *Excavating Women: A History of Women in European Archaeology*, eds. (London: Routledge, 1998); and Getzel M. Cohen and Martha Joukowsky, eds. *Breaking Ground: Pioneering Archaeologists* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006). For practice and theory see Matthew Johnson, *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999).

[13] See especially John Tait, "The Wisdom of Egypt: Classical Views," in *The Wisdom of Egypt*, ed. Ucko and Champion, 23-37 and John David Wortham, *The Genesis of British Egyptology, 1549—1906.* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971).

[14] The Greeks especially travelled to Egypt for all of these purposes, as Glyn Daniel notes: "…even the Greeks themselves regarded Egypt as the seat of a civilisation older than their own" (*A Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976], 21).

[15] David Jeffreys, "Introduction—Two Hundred Years of Ancient Egypt: Modern History and Ancient Archaeology," in *Views of Ancient Egypt since Napoleon Bonaparte: Imperialism, Colonialism and Modern Appropriations*, ed. David Jeffreys (London: University College London Press, 2003), 5. Text-aided archaeologies, such as Egyptology, Classical archaeology and Assyriology, have a distinct advantage

diverge.[16] There are various narrative paths scholars have taken from this point. The first is called the "colonial enlightenment narrative," which dominates the literature and stresses the importance of Great Men rescuing ancient monuments and civilizations from destruction by ignorant natives only to educate them years later, if ever, when they may be able to appreciate their own history.[17] This kind of history has held the most sway for the past 150 years of Egyptology; however, colonial histories have borne much criticism over the last few decades. Recent critics of this narrative, such as Elliot Colla and Donald Reid, argue that the colonial narrative tends to "stress the infamous Anglo-Franco rivalry in the nineteenth-century museum acquisitions and in Egyptology itself…" thus obscuring "the existence of other actors and other lines of antagonism."[18] Colla, Reid, and others, in opposition to this attitude, have begun to focus on the overlooked groups such as native Egyptian archaeologists, and other peoples in opposition such as the

---

over pre-historic archaeology. Texts not only tell the archaeologist what happened, but also many times they explain why certain rituals or behaviors were important. Theory is important in such archaeology, but it is not as crucial as theory in pre-historic archaeology. In studying pre-historic cultures, in order to begin to understand the behaviors of peoples in the past it is necessary to apply theoretical ideas—such as functionalism or processualism—to artifact findings. I will not discuss archaeological theory in detail in the dissertation. See Bruce Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) for a good discussion of theory trends over time. For examples of social histories of Egypt based on texts, see Bruce G. Trigger, Barry J. Kemp, David O'Connor, and A. B. Lloyd, *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (Cambridge University Press, 1983); and Barry J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London: Routledge, 1991). A good recent source about the Rosetta Stone and how it opened the world of ancient Egypt to historians and archaeologists is John D. Ray, *The Rosetta Stone and the Rebirth of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007).

[16] Recently, David Gange ("*Between geology and theology: constructing ancient Egyptian chronology in the nineteenth century," Colloquium at* CHSTM at Manchester, *October 6, 2009*) has postulated that the translation of hieroglyphics did not help scholars as immediately and as completely as most historians have argued in the past. See also his chapters in David Gange and Michael Ledger-Lomas, eds., *Cities of God: The Bible and Archaeology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (forthcoming).

[17] Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities*, 12. Major works in the colonial enlightenment narrative include Warren Dawson and Eric Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 3rd revised edition (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1995) and Stanley Mayes, *The Great Belzoni: Archaeologist Extraordinary* (London: Putnam, 1959).

[18] Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities*, 13; Donald Malcolm Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Los Angeles, Calif.: University of California Press, 2002).

Ottoman Turks.[19] Remembering these groups in the histories of the discipline allows scholars to view Egyptology from a new angle, adding a rich story to its view of past practice.

Another direction historians have taken is in the line of post-colonial critique; first articulated in the 1970s it is often termed the "colonial rape narrative."[20] Criticisms in this vein were voiced most notably by historian and archaeologist Brian Fagan in *The Rape of the Nile: Tomb Robbers, Tourists, and Archaeologists in Egypt*.[21] Fagan, along with other historians who subscribe to this view, argues that while "one cannot blame the museum curator or collector of a century and a half ago for the attitudes they possessed," history must still condemn the early archaeologist who "was overcome with a passion to excavate, loot, or just remove the past to another place, where he could caress it and contemplate its glories without the disturbing qualities of its original context."[22] Yet, for all its efforts to outline the "outrageous tactics" of violating Egyptian remains by earlier archaeologists who used explosives and looted tombs, this Eurocentric literature represents "Egyptians merely as victims or bystanders, not participants, in the history of Egyptology."[23] Furthermore, women and non-European characters are simply left out. This form of colonial critique, then, is not as complete as it could be.

The most controversial of the post-colonial accounts is the "Afrocentric" narrative, of the late twentieth century, expressed most clearly by Martin Bernal in *Black*

---

[19] Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities*; Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*

[20] Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities*, 12.

[21] Brian Fagan, *The Rape of the Nile: Tomb Robbers, Tourists, and Archaeologists in Egypt* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975).

[22] Ibid., 362.

[23] Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities*, 13.

Athena.[24] The aim of scholars who subscribe to this view is to focus on the roles of native Egyptians and Africans in the history of the area while evaluating historically the presence of Western Europeans. In doing so, they attempt to demonstrate that European culture, especially that of the Greeks, was indeed heavily influenced by the ancient Egyptian and Phoenician civilizations. Bernal especially argues against the once common view of the whiteness of the Pharaohs and the idea that Western Europe's main predecessors were the philosophers of Greece and Rome. Although many of Bernal's opponents focus on his assertions about the racial assumptions of nineteenth-century Europeans, *Black Athena* is significant because it points to the roles of non-Europeans in the study of Egypt's history.[25] Timothy Mitchell, Donald Reid, and others have been further influenced by this kind of approach.[26] Mitchell argues that the colonial gaze of nineteenth-century Europeans over Egypt was one unable to be reconciled to what they had originally believed to be reality—the reality seen in photographs. The nineteenth-century Egyptians, in fact, were not as they had seemed in photographs and therefore had to be repositioned and reordered in order to be viewed "properly". Mitchell's focus is on the agency of the native Egyptians to change what Europeans believed about the Orient.

---

[24] Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (New Brunswick, N. J.: 1987); see also Chiekh Anta Diop, *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality* (New York: Lawrence Hill & Company, 1967). Diop's work was published twenty years before Bernal's, but Bernal's is more widely-read and comprehensive, so I will use it as exemplary.

[25] Critics include Egyptologists whose analyses can be found in M. R. Lefkowitz and G. MacLean Rogers, eds. *Black Athena Revisited* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1996). See for example, John Baines, "The Aims and Methods of *Black Athena*," 27-48; and David O'Connor, "Egypt and Greece: The Bronze Age Evidence," 49-61. It is important to note here that Bernal is not the first to argue for this influence, for as I will show in chapter 3, Murray and others were proponents long before him. He is simply one of the first to do so as a concentrated critique and attack on classical and colonial scholarship, thus spurring on the discipline of African studies. His work has caused a backlash in many other disciplines such as classics and ancient history, but those critiques are outside the scope of this dissertation. I am not responding to the colonial enlightenment narrative as a critic, but instead broadening the scope of it to include omitted groups.

[26] Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Los Angeles, Calif.: University of California Press, 1991).

Reid builds on Mitchell's work in order to centralize the history—albeit a relatively short one—of the involvement of native Egyptian archaeologists, and their struggles and successes in being able to study their own history.[27]

Each of these versions of the story takes a different angle, but each of them, in its part, is important to the understanding of the history of the study of Egyptology and its centrality in the lives of Europeans. Margaret Murray's life and career, and therefore the story of Egyptology I am about to detail, belong more to the colonial enlightenment narrative of history, yet with some slight alterations. First, even with all of its problems of omission and attitude, it is the narrative into which Murray and her cohort best fit: their goals were colonial in essence and her worldview was as well. Second, although the story in which Murray is placed is part of the traditional masculine colonial narrative, by using a social-historical feminist perspective, I focus on European women—a group of professionals that the original enlightenment narratives ignored. Finally, fieldwork was obviously a part of Murray's career and I will draw upon it in this chapter; however, my focus is on her work in England upon her return from the field, which, in reality, involved very few non-Europeans.

History of Egyptology

Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798 included engineers, mechanics, doctors and pharmacists, astronomers, zoologists, botanists, mineralogists, painters, architects, linguists, antiquarians, musicians, and political economists, who thus began the modern era's intensive study of the area around the Nile Delta and further upstream. Most

[27] Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*

scholars would agree that Napoleon's conquest had one main goal: to appropriate wholesale the country and history of Egypt for France.[28] For the French, Egypt could have been a strategically powerful territory, "designed to preempt Britain's easy access to its acquired territory farther east and to counter its rising profile in the area itself."[29] Furthermore, France was interested in the ideological authority gained by appropriating artifacts and artwork, "which, once displayed in Paris, would conspicuously declare France's superiority and power."[30] The British, however, soon arrived to help Ottoman forces regain control of Egypt from Napoleon's troops. The British-Ottoman alliance succeeded, and British forces stayed in Egypt (in this instance) until 1803.[31] Foreign occupation and threats of colonialism had an extraordinary impact not only on the economy and politics of Egypt, but also on the study of Egypt's history and on the practice of archaeology as a discipline. Egypt's role in the world economy had long been acknowledged by Europeans, but interest in the ancient artifacts and history became more widespread after the French invasion.[32]

Although the expedition and the artifacts, images, and stories that went with it may have "brought Egypt to Europe," it was "Britain's seizure of the Rosetta Stone [in

---

[28] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 83.

[29] Jeffreys, "Introduction—Two Hundred Years of Ancient Egypt," 1; Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 31.

[30] Morris L. Bierbrier, "Art and Antiquities for Government's Sake," in *Views of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Jeffreys, 70.

[31] Darrell Dykstra, "The French occupation of Egypt, 1798-1801," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt: Volume 2, Modern Egypt, from 1517 to the end of the Twentieth Century*, ed. M. W. Daly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 128-132. Egypt's political history is complicated, and is the subject of many studies. The Cambridge history is comprised of two long and complete edited volumes containing short chapters on a variety of topics. A short survey of Egyptian history is Glenn E. Perry, *The History of Egypt* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2004).

[32] See Andrew Bednarski, *Holding Egypt: Tracing the Reception of the* Description de l'Egypte *in Nineteenth-Century Great Britain* (London: Golden House Publications, 2005). More about the *Description* and the Rosetta Stone can be found in Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*; Bednarski, *Holding Egypt*; Tait, "The Wisdom of Egypt: Classical Views," 23-37; Moser, *Wondrous Curiosities*.

1801 that] touched off a century and more of Anglo-French Egyptological rivalry. …[both countries were] racing to snatch up the best antiquities."[33] The imperialist appropriation of artifacts by all European countries, but especially the British and French, is well known and well covered historically.[34] The importance of taking Egyptian artifacts, from the time of the Roman Empire to the twentieth century, was essential to establishing the colonial dynamic in the Near East. The consensus among historians of this period is that "the appropriation of archaeological monuments by colonial powers [was necessary] in order to canonize their world hegemony."[35] The literature maintains that "imperial powers aim to legitimate their rule by cannibalizing other civilizations in order to assume a supreme position in the order of the world…[therefore] living peoples of other civilizations are marginalized and cast aside as the refuse of history, whom history has bypassed in its imperial course."[36] During the nineteenth century, this became increasingly true.

The Europeans collecting and studying Egypt's past were supported, for the most part, by museums and learned societies, such as the British Museum and the Egypt

---

[33] Sandra A. Scham, "Ancient Egypt and the Archaeology of the Disenfranchised," in *Views of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Jeffreys, 173; Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 37. The importance of the Anglo-French rivalry cannot be overstated, as the tensions between Britain and France in Egyptology run throughout the history of the discipline. Furthermore, it was the French who controlled the antiquarian and archaeological interests in Egypt until the British occupation in 1882, and even after that, the French remained in charge of the Egyptian Antiquities Service. Moreover, within the midst of snatching up artifacts, the battle between the French and the British for a foothold in Egypt was a "turning point" in the history of modern Egypt, "fatally weakening the Mamluks, and paving the way for Muhammad Ali" (Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 32). Ali's rule opened the door for Europeans to come into Egypt and take many of the most valuable artifacts found at that time. His role in the economy and politics of Egypt cannot be overstated; however, since I focus on Egyptology in Britain, I will not go into detail here.

[34] See for example Hugh Cecil and Mirabel Cecil, *Imperial Marriage: An Edwardian War and Peace* (London: John Murray, 2001); Ronald Hyam, *Britain's Declining Empire: The Road to Decolonisation, 1918-1968* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[35] Fekri A. Hassan, "Imperialist Appropriations of Egyptian Obelisks," in *Views of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Jeffreys, 19.

[36] Ibid.

Exploration Fund in England.[37] As a group, these archaeologists—especially the French and the British—found that no other places "could be 'colonised' in quite the manner possible in Arab countries at this juncture."[38] In essence this meant that Arab countries—and Egypt in particular—were open to a brand of ideological colonization. Stephanie Moser argues that institutions such as museums and other exhibitions "do not simply transmit knowledge, but rather, create it."[39] In other words, artifacts in institutions served to create knowledge and archaeologists, by controlling that knowledge, were able thus to take control over the history and culture of other places. Moser's argument builds on Mitchell's *Colonising Egypt*, in which Mitchell argues that Egypt was conceptualized in Europe purposely as an exhibition, as a "carefully chaotic" event in which Europeans were able to view, experience, and investigate the exotic world while they tried, at the same time, to control it.[40] Mitchell focuses on Europeans in Egypt and how they travelled there in hopes of moving from "the exhibit to the real thing," but in reality encountered native Egyptians in their uncontrollable city. In spite of these circumstances, Europeans continued to frame Egypt as "the reoccurrence of a picture one had seen before…as the reiteration of an earlier description."[41] Moser, on the other hand, focuses on how European museums, and the British Museum in particular, "offered a picture of

[37] The Egypt Exploration Fund, now the Egypt Exploration Society, was founded in 1882 by Amelia Edwards and others "whereby scientific exploration, whether survey or excavation, might be undertaken by a British team in Egypt" (Margaret S. Drower, "The Early Years," in *Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society 1882-1982*, ed. T. G. H. James [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982], 13-14); see also Margaret S. Drower, "Gaston Maspero and the Birth of the Egypt Exploration Fund (1881-3)," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 68 (1982): 299-317. It was not until the later nineteenth century that universities, such as UCL, began to fund and teach the study of Egypt's history.

[38] Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 97.

[39] Moser, *Wondrous Curiosities*, 1-2.

[40] Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*.

[41] Ibid., 28-30.

ancient Egypt that was substantially different from the visions featured in the publications of the French expedition," as well as different from the contemporary reality.[42] The displays established both ancient Egyptian artifacts, and contemporary Egypt and Egyptians, as "wondrous curiosities."[43]

In *Conflicted Antiquities*, Elliott Colla expands on Moser's thesis and argues for the centrality of national institutions like the British Museum in the formation of English national identity through gathering artifacts; he centers his argument on the Egyptian Sculpture Room at the British Museum in the mid-nineteenth century.[44] Colla argues that because the objects in the Sculpture Room were contained in the British Museum—a national space—together they formed "an abstract image of the globe with London at its center. This room is thus also a pedagogical space, creating for metropolitan audiences a material inventory of the stuff of empire and its abstract concept."[45] Owning the Egyptian objects and displaying them in an English space socialized the English viewer "into seeing Egypt, already in 1825, as being under the power of their civilized gaze."[46] Moreover, the fact that the English had collected the artifacts and therefore controlled their physical placement as well as the knowledge created about them meant that the artifacts played "an important role in securing Britain's status as an international leader in the presentation of ancient Egypt."[47] Antiquities were also seen as "trophies representing British defeat of the French: since the French had wanted them, the British must have

[42] Moser, *Wondrous Curiosities*, 84.

[43] Ibid., 65.

[44] Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities*.

[45] Ibid., 5.

[46] Ibid., 4.

[47] Moser, *Wondrous Curiosities*, 65.

them."[48] Thus, institutions maintained considerable control over creating Egypt in the eyes of the Europeans.

Further control over Egypt is clear in that the Englishmen in positions of power in Egypt, such as Lord Arthur Balfour and Lord Cromer, believed that "knowledge of subject races or Orientals is what makes their management easy and profitable; knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge, and so on in an increasingly profitable dialectic of information and control."[49] Egypt was never an official British colony, but instead a protectorate; therefore the British presence in Egypt from the summer of 1882 through 1956 and the attitude of the British towards the native Egyptians created an environment of informal imperialism. In Egypt, this amounted to a "situation in which a powerful nation manages to establish dominant control in a territory over which it does not have sovereignty."[50] Margarita Díaz-Andreu addresses how the presence of informal imperialism affected the way archaeology was done by Europeans in various locations around the globe.[51] One of the ways in which this particular situation shaped archaeology in the Near East and Egypt was in the idea that Western civilization had some intellectual roots in the area and in the advanced civilizations who had inhabited it—not those who were living in Egypt at the time. Christians also made the claim that Egypt held the basis of their religious foundations. Pastors and parishoners, Jews and Christians alike revered Egypt as the home of the patriarchs and the Christ. In an early study of Egypt and European religion, Reverend James King wrote:

---

[48] Bierbrier, "Art and Antiquities for Government's Sake," 73-74; Moser, *Wondrous Curiosities*, 65.

[49] Said, *Orientalism*, 36.

[50] Margarita Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 99.

[51] Ibid.

> Abraham visited the Nile Valley; Joseph, the slave, became lord of the whole country; God's people suffered there from cruel bondage, but the Lord so delivered them that 'Egypt was glad at their departing;' the rulers of Egypt once and again ravaged Palestine and laid Jerusalem under tribute. When, in the fullness of time, our Saviour appeared to redeem the world by the sacrifice of Himself, He was carried as a little child into [and later out of] Egypt, and there many of His earliest and most vivid impressions were received. Thus, from the time of Abraham, the father of the faithful, to the advent of Jesus, the Lord and Saviour of all, Egypt is associated with the history of human redemption.[52]

Therefore, religious and imperial goals "were overlapping, complementary forces" in archaeology.[53] It is clear then that, during this time, "Western imperialism…firmly fastened its grip on Egypt. Archaeology and imperialism seemed to walk hand in hand."[54]

This particular context marks one of the foundations of Murray's career. As I made clear in the previous chapter, her childhood and youth placed her firmly within the religious and imperial worldview; however, another of Murray's frameworks is within the conventions of the profession of archaeology. Without the flexible institutional structure of UCL and the discipline as a whole, Murray and other non-traditional students might never have had the opportunity to be trained in methods and practice. It is precisely at this point in time where Murray's mentor, William Flinders Petrie, enters the narrative. Petrie will figure in key points in Murray's career not simply because retrospectively he is held to be one of the Great Men of archaeology and therefore

---

[52] James King, *By-Paths of Bible Knowledge, vol 1, Cleopatra's Needle: A History of the London Obelisk with an Exposition of the Hieroglyphics* (London, The Religious Tract Society, 1893), 7. For more details on this part of Christ's life see the Bible: Hosea 11: 1; Matthew 2: 13-23.

[53] Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Archaeology*, 131.

[54] Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 2.

difficult to ignore, but mainly because Murray believed, "[t]o trace the history of modern archaeology is practically to write the history of one man, Flinders Petrie."[55] Historians of archaeology implicitly agree with Murray's assessment of Petrie, and focus their discussions of the beginnings of *modern* scientific archaeology on him as well.[56] Furthermore, Petrie's work and his interest in and support of his students provided a welcoming environment for the development of a number of careers. Murray believed Petrie was a "Great Man" and thus participated in furthering this theme, while her own life undermined some of its more dubious assumptions, such as the idea that he researched and wrote alone, that he directed the department, and that his closest colleagues were men.

Petrie's endeavors in Egypt, well-noted and studied by historians, are most readily associated with his new scientific techniques of quantitative measurement, the objective information he gained from them, and the imperial agendas that informed his conclusions. Two of his early works, *Inductive Metrology* and *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh,* were influential in shifting the focus of archaeology in general and Egyptology in particular "from *a priori* deduction to inductive analysis," a dramatic change in nineteenth-century archaeological technique.[57] Before Petrie, as Philippa

---

[55] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 185. One cannot write a biography of someone without attempting to take and explain their viewpoint on certain important issues. This, I believe, is one that needs clarification. It is also important to note that Murray viewed Petrie as a heroic Victorian man of science. This is clear when reading her thoughts about Petrie, although they are mixed with some underlying tensions as we will see.

[56] See, for example, Daniel, *A Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology*, 175-176; Brian Fagan, *A Brief History of Archaeology: Classical Times to the Twenty-First Century* (Upper Saddle River, N. J.: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005), 94-97; and Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 197-200; Margaret S. Drower, *Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology*, 2nd ed. (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995). He was also a pioneer of scientific archaeology in Palestine.

[57] Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 89; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Inductive Metrology, or, The Recovery of Ancient Measures from the Monuments* (London: H. Saunders, 1877); W. M. Flinders Petrie, *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh* (London: Field & Tuer, 1883). However, a few historians lately have

Levine remarks, "the damage and desecration arising from careless excavation and primitive techniques was enormous."[58] Petrie was aware of the situation and had noted that "[t]he science of observation, of registration, of recording was yet unthought of, nothing had a meaning unless it were an inscription or a sculpture."[59] Yet the goal of *Inductive Metrology* was precisely to change this attitude of archaeologists and historians. Petrie painstakingly measured most of the chief megalithic monuments of England, and in doing so "he discovered the units of measure used by those ancient builders, and thereby proved to the world that here was a new method of investigating the past, a method which required no knowledge of art, no knowledge of language."[60] Because of these new methods, Murray remarked, "[f]acts and not words were now to be the order of the day."[61] Metrology and standardizing measurements were thought of as key factors of advancing all science and thus even the morality of Britain as a whole. Simon Schaffer states: "The virtues of the nation's metrology were supposed to display the virtues of national life."[62] The methods Petrie used in *Inductive Metrology* were thus fully in line with Britain's imperial and scientific missions. Furthermore, they shifted Petrie's focus from England's large monuments to those in Egypt.

---

argued that, because he was most interested in topographic information and the gathering of smaller material remains, especially in Egypt, he may not have been as influential in the practice of stratigraphic excavation as originally thought; see David L. Browman and Douglas R. Givens, "Stratigraphic Excavation: The First 'New Archaeology'," *American Anthropologist* New Series 98:1 (1996): 83.

[58] Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 33.

[59] W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology* (London: Sampson Low, 1931; reprint edition, New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), 19.

[60] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 21.

[61] Murray, *Splendour*, 314.

[62] Simon Schaffer, "Metrology, Metrication, and Victorian Values," in *Victorian Science in Context*, ed. Bernard Lightman (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1997), 449.

Petrie went to Egypt in 1880 in order to do metrological work on the Great Pyramids, which resulted in his book *Pyramids and Temples*. Like *Inductive Metrology, Pyramids and Temples* sought to make archaeology a discipline that was more objective and methodical, which would in turn change archaeological practice. Petrie clearly stated his goal:

> The Great Pyramid has lent its name as a sort of by-word for paradoxes; and, as moths to a candle, so are theorisers attracted to it. The very fact that the subject was so generally familiar, and yet so little was accurately known about it, made it the more enticing; there were plenty of descriptions from which to choose, and yet most of them were so hazy that their support could be claimed for many varying theories. Here, then, was a field which called for the resources of the present time for its due investigation; a field in which measurement and research were greatly needed, and have now been largely rewarded by the disclosures of the skill of the ancients, and the mistakes of the moderns.[63]

According to Levine, Petrie did such important mathematical and metrological work on the pyramids at Giza "that by the end of the [nineteenth] century David Hogarth could confidently claim that 'the excavator, from being a random hunter for treasure has become a methodical collector of evidence.'"[64] Petrie's methods and work forever changed the practices, and hence the public image, of archaeologists. Moreover, his methods placed the moral authority of metrology over the linguistic and cultural knowledge gleaned from the ancient monuments.[65] His goals can be seen in the context of the larger discipline of archaeology, in the important shift it was making towards being

---

[63] Petrie, *Pyramids and Temples*, 1-2.

[64] Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 89.

[65] Murray agreed with this position, but also thought that language was a crucial component to Egyptology. Without language one could not have "an accurate translation and interpretation of all inscriptions and documents" (Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 188).

established as a science, and in the context of the controlling protectorate presence of Britain in Egypt.

It is also important to note that Petrie's interests in Egypt were not strictly metrological. More recently, historians have noticed that his first observations were heavily based on Egypt's role in the biblical past and in biblical chronology. Starting in the 1883-84 excavation season, Petrie worked primarily for the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF), among whose goals were to shed light on the "Old Testament narrative, so far as it has to do with Egypt and the Egyptians…"[66] In fact, the first season of excavation by the EEF, led by French Egyptologist Edouard Naville, was biblical in nature. Naville identified Pithom as the "store city of Exodus" but not all scholars agreed.[67] David Gange is a strong proponent of this idea, and he argues that Petrie went to Egypt primarily to study the history of the Bible and its chronology.[68] This view is not universal, however.

While Petrie had some biblical interest in Egypt, this was not his main focus until much later in his career. In fact, I have argued that Petrie returned to Egypt on the urging of Francis Galton with a view to studying racial types in temples and tombs.[69] In the 1886-87 season Petrie worked for Galton, the UCL biometrician, taking photographs and measurements of the heads—both real remains and those depicted on temple walls—of the enemies and allies of Egypt. Galton asked Petrie to work on this project because he

---

[66] Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Archaeology*, 138.

[67] Drower, "The Early Years," 9-36.

[68] David Gange, "Religion and Science in Late Nineteenth-Century British Egyptology," *The Historical Journal* 49:4 (2006): 1083-1103.

[69] Kathleen L. Sheppard, "'You Call this Archaeology?': Flinders Petrie and Eugenics," (MA thesis, University of Oklahoma, 2006); Kathleen L. Sheppard, "Flinders Petrie and Eugenics," *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology*, forthcoming; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Racial Photographs from the Egyptian Monuments* (London: British Association, 1887).

needed data "for his studies on the skull measurements of racial types."[70] Petrie's work that winter was to take "photographs of the heads of different enemies and allies—Libyans, Hittites, Syrians, Nubians and Beduin—depicted on the walls of temples and tombs in Egypt…"[71] *Racial Photographs from the Egyptian Monuments* was the outcome. This was the beginning of Petrie's work with Galton in the discipline of eugenics, which spanned the whole of Petrie's career. Petrie spent his entire career with a variety of goals in mind, including biblical and anthropological ones; after he left Egypt permanently before the Second World War, he continued these efforts while digging in Palestine.[72]

As Petrie's student, many of his work habits and motives were passed to Murray, such as rapidly publishing detail-oriented studies. Although they differed in their esteem and knowledge of the language of ancient Egypt, Murray held a strong belief that archaeology was the "greatest and noblest of all studies, for the subject is the mental and spiritual advance of mankind, and therefore the investigations should not be fettered by the rigidity of the teachers."[73] Her sentiments echoed Petrie's passionate approach but laissez-faire manner with those he trained in the field. The studies of both Petrie and Murray began in and were centered around the department at UCL, a critical context within which Egyptology as a science was allowed to cultivate and produce practitioners.

---

[70] Drower, *Flinders Petrie*, 106.

[71] Ibid.

[72] For example, W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Palestine and Israel: Historical Notes* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1934).

[73] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 200.

At UCL

In 1826, University College London became the first university in England outside of Oxford and Cambridge. Founded as a foil to the conservative, aristocracy- and church-driven Oxbridge, the founders of UCL made it their goal to provide a "progressive alternative to those institutions' social exclusivity, religious restrictions and academic restraints."[74] Being outside the constraints of Church and Crown, UCL was able to offer classes and degrees that had never been offered before in England, such as architecture, Bengali law, and Chinese language to students who would have otherwise been unable to get a university education.[75] Unlike Cambridge and Oxford, UCL did not require knowledge of Greek or Latin for admission or for its students to take Holy Orders. It was a wholly new kind of institution.

This initiative, however, had its detractors. Newspaper articles, plays, and speeches were written, published and performed to discourage the founding of this new kind of learning institution. Future Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli let his feelings, as a gentleman, be known in his first novel, *Vivian Grey*:

> The only thing which he does not comprehend, is the London University. This affair really puzzles the worthy gentleman, who could as easily fancy a county member not being a freeholder as an University not being Oxford or Cambridge.[76]

Furthermore, UCL was called "The Godless Institution of Gower Street," and "The Cockney College" by journalists and playwrights alike because of the wide variety of

[74] http://www.ucl.ac.uk/about-ucl/history (accessed December 12, 2008). The most recent, in-depth history of the university is Hugh Hale Bellot's *University College London, 1826-1926* (London: University of London Press, 1929). It outlines the beginnings of the university and the troubles it had establishing itself, getting a charter, establishing areas of study and more.

[75] Ibid., 353.

[76] Benjamin Disraeli, *Vivian Grey*, Book II, (1826), 222; quoted in Bellot, *University College London*, 60.

students allowed to sit for exams and earn degrees. A poem, titled *Discourse Delivered by a College Tutor at a supper party*, appeared in *The Morning Chronicle* on 19 July 1835 and touted:

> Ye Dons and ye Doctors, ye Provosts and Proctors,
> Who are paid to monopolize knowledge,
> Come, make opposition, by vote and petition,
> To the radical infidel College
> …
> But let them not babble of Greek to the rabble,
> Nor teach the Mechanics their letters;
> The labouring classes were born to be asses,
> And not to be aping their betters[77]

However, UCL was not without its supporters and friends, a majority of whom were followers of Jeremy Bentham and his utilitarian ideals.[78] Thomas Macaulay, one of Bentham's disciples, wrote an article in *The Edinburgh Review* in response to UCL's detractors. In it he argued that UCL required no ancient ceremonies, lands, franchises, fancy robes, hoods or gowns, "no public orator to make speeches, which nobody hears, no oaths sworn only to be broken."[79] UCL wanted no emulation of the ancient traditions "which attract visitors from every part of the Island to the banks of the Isis and Cam."[80] On the contrary, UCL's purpose and goal was to teach useful subjects to the population in

[77] Bellot, *University College London*, 71-72.

[78] Jeremy Bentham is known as the "spiritual father" of University College London. He led the initiative to open a university in London and his efforts are detailed in James Henderson Burns, *Jeremy Bentham and University College* (London: UCL, Athlone Press, 1962). Incidentally, his mummified body and a wax replica of his head are on display in the south cloisters at UCL. His real head was replaced with a wax replica in the 1920s and 30s because students stole it to play rugby. UCL still owns his head but it is now in safe keeping.

[79] *The Edinburgh Review*, xliii, (1826), 340; quoted in Bellot, *University College London*, 73.

[80] Ibid.

the largest and fastest industrializing nation in the world. Concerning education, UCL's founders believed: "To be prosperous, it must be useful."[81]

Thus, having certain amounts of latitude made UCL the perfect institution to be the first to grant women degrees. In the 1872-1873 school term, "women were admitted to mixed classes," early UCL historian Hugh Hale Bellot noted, "and nothing very disastrous happened."[82] Although they were allowed to attend classes, education historian Carol Dyhouse remarks that female students at this time could tell "many stories of broom cupboards, of poky rooms in dingy basements and of side doors and separate entrances. …Women were treated as 'second-class citizens in all manner of ways.'"[83] Women were also allowed to take exams in their female-only classes, but they only became recognized officially as degree-earning students in 1878, and not in medicine until 1917.[84] Numbers of women students thus steadily grew, from 397 women out of 1098 students in 1900 to 1473 women out of 3228 students by 1926.[85] As a learning institution, for a number of years UCL would trail behind Oxbridge in a variety of ways, including endowments, well-established schools of study, and in quantity of available educational resources. However, this did not hinder UCL from hiring top-notch instructors, admitting exceptional students, and building on the foundations of utility and innovation.

---

[81] Ibid.

[82] Bellot, *University College London*, 371.

[83] Carol Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities 1870-1939* (London: UCL Press, 1995), 33. This will be discussed more in chapter 3.

[84] Bellot, *University College London*, 367-372. Though Cambridge had established Girton College, allowing women to attend segregated classes, in 1873, and Oxford had allowed women to attend classes from c. 1880, neither of these universities granted women degrees until the 1920s. University of London graduated four women in 1880 (Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex?*, 17).

[85] Bellot, *University College London*, 400.

According to Rosalind Janssen, it was for these reasons that Amelia Blanford Edwards, the "active defender of women's rights," chose UCL in which to endow a new department of study, the chair of which would bear her name.[86] Edwards, a journalist-turned-Egyptologist, gave clear instructions in her will that her money be used in "'the teaching of Egyptology with a view to the wide extension of the knowledge of the history, antiquities, literature, philology, and art of Ancient Egypt.'"[87] The person who held the professorship would have duties which included annual excavations in Egypt, lectures about the excavations, and teaching classes in "'the deciphering and reading of hieroglyphs and other ancient Egyptian scripts and writings.'"[88] Edwards' collections of Egyptian objects, which were acquired primarily from Petrie's excavations, as well as her large library, were bequeathed to the University on certain conditions, one of them being that the "classes, scholarships and exhibitions" at the newly founded department "were to be open to students of both sexes."[89] Other restrictions and conditions in Edwards' will made it clear to all that Petrie was Edwards' distinct first choice to hold the position. For instance, she resolved that "no official of the British Museum shall be eligible for the

[86] Janssen, *The First Hundred Years*, 3. Amelia B. Edwards was an author who, before her first trip to Egypt, had already published numerous novels and newspaper articles. After her first and only trip to Egypt, which happened because she and her travelling companion sought better weather, Edwards wrote *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile* (1877), the travelogue of her journey. From that point on, Edwards worked tirelessly to save monuments and history in Egypt by writing journal and newspaper articles and founding the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF). Joan Rees writes of her, "In a different age with more freedom for the exercise of her multiple gifts she might have been more notable but, be that as it may, she undoubtedly deserves an honoured place among the women of her day, who with courage and determination, fought their way through the restrictions and strictures of Victorian society to give expression to their talents and, in doing so, enriched us all" (Joan Rees, "Preparing to be an Egyptologist: Amelia Edwards before 1873," in *Egypt Through the Eyes of Travellers*, ed. Starkey and El Kholy, 44). See also: Joan Rees, *Amelia Edwards: Traveller, Novelist, & Egyptologist* (London: Rubicon Press, 1998); Amelia B. Edwards, *Untrodden Peaks and Unfrequented Valleys: A Mid-Summer Ramble in the Dolomites* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1872); and *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile: A Woman's Journey Among the Treasures of Ancient Egypt* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1877).

[87] Janssen, *The First Hundred Years*, 2; quoted from Amelia Edwards' will. Drower, *Flinders Petrie*, 200.

[88] Janssen, *The First Hundred Years*, 2.

[89] Ibid. Edwards' collections are included in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology collections.

chair," and surprisingly she added: "'Neither shall the first Professor occupying the Chair be a man above forty years of age'."[90] If these stipulations could not be met, the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford was to have the collections and money, and if they failed the items would go to the Fitzwilliam at Cambridge.[91] In January of 1892, at the age of 38, Petrie was named the first Edwards Chair of Egyptology at UCL, and, consequently, the first university chair-holder of Egyptology in Britain.

Murray arrived at UCL two years later, in January of 1894, when she was thirty years old. At that time, there was no real system for archaeological training at UCL—in fact, throughout England, "there was no training for students in that subject except at Oxford, where it was for language only."[92] The Egyptology department in the mid 1890s was confined to the Edwards Library, at that time housed in the South Library. The Library itself also "held a small museum of antiquities collected by Amelia Edwards and supplemented by Petrie's own purchases and annual discoveries."[93] Because the terms of Petrie's appointment included that "he should normally give a course of lectures in the first and third terms, but be free during the winter months to work in Egypt," he was gone much of the time; in fact, he was excavating in Coptos when Murray arrived.[94] Her first course in hieroglyphics was taught, then, by Francis L. Griffith, one of Petrie's favorite early assistants. The class consisted of about twenty women, both single and married,

[90] Ibid., 3, quoted from Amelia Edwards' will.

[91] Janssen, *The First Hundred Years*, 3.

[92] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 93.

[93] Margaret Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray (1863-1963)," in *Breaking Ground*, ed. Cohen and Joukowsky, 111.

[94] Janssen, *The First Hundred Years*, 4; Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 111. Mary Williams wrote that Murray had gone to Coptos with Petrie, but that was an inaccurate statement (Mary Williams, "Ninety-Eight Years Young," *Folklore* 72 [1961]: 434).

and a few elderly men.[95] This undoubtedly created a friendly and comfortable environment for Murray, in her first foray into a formal education. However, according to Murray, Griffith was not a good teacher, but he was the only option. She recalled that: "To a class utterly ignorant of grammar, we were generally completely confused by the end of the lesson, and said to each other, 'Did you get that last translation? May I copy yours?'"[96] She found that she had to work through George A. Erman's *Egyptian Grammar* on her own in order prepare herself simply to understand Griffith's class.[97]

On the other hand, Murray found Petrie to be an inspiring and competent teacher, when he found a worthy student, "he would take endless pains, and his clear mind and rapid grasp of a subject would make the difficulties disappear."[98] When Petrie returned from Coptos and found that Murray "excelled in facsimile drawing, he set her the task of reproducing some of the reliefs" that he had brought back or had photographed.[99] According to Drower, her "work was so accurate and her line so sure that she was thenceforward to act as the professor's chief illustrator."[100] In a time where photographs were an expensive nuisance and thus uncommon in site reports, Murray's abilities as a copyist and illustrator were invaluable to an archaeologist known for his thorough and quick excavation publications. Furthermore, in this period where female students were a

---

[95] Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray,", 111.

[96] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 95.

[97] Ibid. George A. Erman's *Egyptian grammar, with table of signs, bibliography, exercises for reading and glossary* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1894) was, and is still, a key text in understanding the ancient Egyptian written language, but challenging to work through independently. While this points to Murray's abilities, it indicates her drive and dedication even more.

[98] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 93.

[99] Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 112.

[100] Ibid. See, for example, Margaret A. Murray, *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1908) in which Murray hand-copied and hand-wrote the extensive lists.

painful minority, the fact that there was a relatively large number of women students in Egyptology, combined with the support and encouragement of a male tutor, was essential for Murray and other women in the same situation.[101]

It was Petrie who convinced Murray to research and write her first scholarly article. After she had finished her copy work for his report on Coptos, she asked if there was any other work she could do. He answered her: "'Yes…you can trace the descent of property in the Old Kingdom.'"[102] Her response was tentative as she "replied bravely though my breath was taken away at the magnitude of the task, 'If you will show me how.'"[103] He told her which sources and inscriptions to use in order to get the necessary information. After she had done the research, copying and translations, she gave the completed work to him so he could write the article. However, he turned the work over to her, telling her, "'No, you have done all the work, and now you must write the article.'"[104] She recalled that she "met that shock bravely and wrote the article."[105] That Murray was surprised at Petrie's assignment is indicative of two things: first, that it seemed the norm for her to do the work while someone else received credit for it; and second that at this point, in her first year at UCL, she clearly began as an assistant. While she would never completely shed the assistant role in her relationship with Petrie—even after Petrie's death Murray aided Hilda in producing posthumous publications for her husband—she would never again have tolerance for doing work for which she would not receive proper recognition.

---

[101] Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex?*, 145.

[102] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 94.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Ibid.

"The Descent of Property in the Early Periods of Egyptian History" was published in the *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology* in 1895.[106] In the article she aimed to shed light on the descent of land in the Old Kingdom, specifically from the fourth through the sixth dynasties. As sources, she used a few of Petrie's unpublished notes on tombs at Giza as well as published works by Mariette, Lepsius, and, of course, Petrie.[107] By presenting the list of farm names in hieroglyphics and with that list a diagram of which families owned which farms, she traced lines of descent through family farm names and ancestral relationships. Although she drew tentative conclusions about who might be related to whom, she made it clear that she did not propose to establish any kind of genealogy.[108] Murray also made claims about how certain families acquired farms, usually through marriage, inheritance, or by gift of the king.[109] However, it was not the scholarly conclusions of this article that made it a significant step in Murray's career. It was important, instead, because the article demonstrated Murray's clear and deep understanding of the hieroglyphic language as well as the use of anthropological methods in order to draw cultural conclusions about the usage and purpose of tomb writings in the Old Kingdom period. She was proud that she had filled "a small and possibly not a very important gap" in the research of Old Kingdom tombs, "but [it was] still a gap" that needed to be filled.[110]

While Murray was never married—to Petrie or to anyone else—in the beginning of her career she should be seen as part of a scientific couple. In *Creative Couples in the*

---

[106] Murray, "The Descent of Property in the Early Periods of Egyptian History."

[107] Ibid., 240.

[108] Ibid., 242.

[109] Ibid., 241-242.

[110] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 94.

Sciences, each of the short chapters presents the lives and careers of married scientific practitioners in order to highlight the roles of women in science throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[111] Not only does the study shed light on husband-wife collaboration, but it also lends itself to general conclusions about all scientific partners. In the introduction to the volume, Helena Pycior, Nancy Slack and Pnina Abir-Am argue that each professional pair did "better science than the [man] alone could have, and more science than the [woman] alone would have been permitted, but the [woman] always remained a subordinate scientific partner."[112] Furthermore, in "heroic narratives of archaeology," Margaret Root argues, "female coworkers who are not the wives of the male principals" face even worse kinds of subordination and subsequent erasure in the historical record.[113] Among historians, it is a foregone conclusion that without Murray's hard work, Petrie would not have been able to be as productive as he was.[114] It is also true that without Petrie's support, Murray may not have had the opportunities that she did, first as an assistant illustrator, then as a published author within one year of being a student. However, the kind of subordination Murray and other women experienced in their partnerships many times led to power struggles, personality clashes, and institutional and employment conflicts. While these kinds of confrontations will become clear throughout her career, Murray seemed to have been more focused on the fact that her "prospects for carrying on significant research" were greatly enhanced as Petrie's

---

[111] Helena M. Pycior, Nancy G. Slack, and Pnina G. Abir-Am, eds., *Creative Couples in the Sciences* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1996).

[112] Helena M. Pycior, Nancy G. Slack, and Pnina G. Abir-Am, "Introduction," in *Creative Couples in the Sciences*, ed. Pycior, et al., 11-12.

[113] Margaret Cool Root, "Introduction: Women of the Field, Defining the Gendered Experience," in *Breaking Ground*, ed. Cohen and Joukowsky, 10.

[114] See, for example, Janssen, *The First Hundred Years*, 10-26; Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray;" Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 185-200.

student and assistant.[115] Although she would continue to be connected to Petrie in her professional life, Murray had the advantage of not being tied personally to the Great Man. It was, however, a role from which she continually tried to free herself through writing and other displays of her own scientific expertise.

Furthermore, many women writing in Egyptology had entered the discipline by writing fiction or travel diaries and then later writing more scholarly work. Amelia Edwards is one example of this kind of writer; Harriet Martineau and Gertrude Bell are also included in this group. Both Martineau and Bell published travel journals before turning to more serious (read "masculine" or "scientific") writing later in life as a journalist and archaeologist, respectively.[116] In the end, the article served as Murray's entry into the professional academic world as a serious Egyptologist by "bringing her to the attention of many in what was still a very select field of scholarship."[117] It is unclear, however, how many people read or cited this article. It is easy to assume that most practitioners of Egyptology read it because it was in one of the only scholarly journals for the discipline at the time. Furthermore, the article appeared in the journal *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* just after an article about the Assyrian king Sennacherib, who had lost 185,000 troops to Israel in the Old Testament, and just before an article about the heretic king Akhenaten and his wife, so it is likely that most who called themselves Biblical archaeologists or Egyptologists read Murray's article.[118]

---

[115] Pycior, et al., "Introduction," 8.

[116] Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1838); and Gertrude Bell, *Safar Nameh. Persian Pictures. A Book of Travel* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1928; originally published anonymously in 1894).

[117] Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 112.

[118] See 2 Kings 18-19 for Sennacherib's battle against Israel; C. H. W. Johns, "Sennacherib's Letters to his Father Sargon," in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 17 (1895): 220-239; Alfred C.

Murray continued in her coursework until 1898 when Griffith, the hieroglyphics teacher, married Kate Bradbury and the two moved to Lancashire and later Oxford.[119] Murray became a Junior Lecturer to fill Griffith's absence in the basic hieroglyphics class, just four years after she began her studies.[120] She said, "This was a post for which I was fitted, for my own early struggles with the language and the knowledge of the struggles of other beginners, had given me a good deal of experience in the difficulties that beset a new language."[121] This proved to be true—most of her students cite Murray and *not* Petrie as a great teacher. At first, Murray could only come to London two days a week because, Drower states, "she was nursing her paralyzed mother. Much of the preparation for her classes was done by her mother's bedside (a fact she does not mention in her autobiography)."[122] She was paid a salary of forty pounds per year—her first earned salary ever—and she excelled at her new profession. Murray's transition from student to teacher was not uncommon for women at UCL in the early 1900s, but it was enough of an exception that it deserves more attention than scholars have given it.[123] However, given that the focus of this chapter is not necessarily on Murray's teaching but

---

Bryant, B.A., and F. W. Read, "Akhuenaten and Queen Tii," in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 17 (1895): 246-250.

[119] Kate Bradbury was one of Petrie's tireless workers, and quite a donor herself. She donated money for the estate taxes on Edwards' gift to the university as well as donating money to have all the unbound books in the library bound. When she died in 1902, she also left money to add to the Edwards endowment (see Janssen, *The First Hundred Years*, 9). Not a lot is known about this woman even though she worked for years at the side of Petrie, then with her husband Francis Griffith. It is because of her money, not her husband's, that the Griffith Institute of Egyptology, part of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, was established.

[120] It is unclear whether or not she ever finished her bachelor's degree. Teaching duties soon took over her life and she was from then on consumed with her own work as well as training her students.

[121] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 95.

[122] Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 115. This is an interesting omission, but one I know virtually nothing about. As Murray had no diaries and her more personal correspondence may be in Drower's possession, for the time being I cannot speculate more.

[123] One of the best sources is Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex?*

instead on her activities as a student and as a field assistant, I will return to this subject in the next chapter. For now it will suffice to say that until her retirement in 1936, Murray bore the brunt of the teaching load, thus making it virtually impossible for her to excavate in Egypt. Petrie indeed began as, and to a large degree remained throughout her career, Murray's mentor and teacher, but her firm grasp of the Egyptian hieroglyphic texts was a skill that Petrie himself did not have. As Egyptology relies mainly on ancient texts, Petrie thus came to depend on Murray's transcriptions and translations. She was then able to distinguish herself from her mentor on numerous occasions, especially in her many articles about ancient texts and book reviews of foreign—especially German—books. Later on, many of these appeared in the journals of which Petrie was the editor, such as *Ancient Egypt*. Murray was an excellent linguist and as the two continued to work closely together, the department at UCL was quickly established and recognized as an authoritative center for training in archaeological fieldwork and in the teaching and research of ancient Egypt.

The Osireion at Abydos

In 1902, at the age of thirty-nine, Murray was invited to excavate at Abydos with Petrie. Because of subsequent teaching and administration duties, this was her first and last true excavation season in Egypt. The Petries, working with the EEF, had been digging at Abydos since 1899, having taken over the site from the French Coptic scholar Émile Amélineau.[124] Murray joined a few other women on the crew at Abydos that year:

[124] B. J. Kemp "Abydos," in *Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society 1882-1992*, ed. T. G. H. James (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 71. For more about these previous excavations, see W. M. F. Petrie, *Abydos, Part I. 1902* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902); W. M. F. Petrie,

Mrs. Hilda Petrie, Flinders' wife of five years, Miss Jessie Hansard, an artist, and Miss Lina Eckenstein, a feminist and medieval scholar who worked at UCL until her death in 1931.[125] Murray became close friends with both Hilda Petrie and Eckenstein and remained so for many years.[126]

Life on excavation seemed to agree with Murray. She wrote of Petrie's famously Spartan living arrangements on site: "Though I don't mind roughing it, I do prefer for the roughness to be accompanied by a certain percentage of cleanliness."[127] She recalled the furniture made out of packing cases, her clothes hanging on nails driven into the wall, and the steamer trunk that supported her "wire-wove mattress and its frame."[128] She continued:

> The floor was the sand of the untouched desert, the walls showed the rough bricks. To anyone accustomed only to a comfortable English bedroom the general effect, especially at night when your one and only candle was lit, was like the pictures of a bare and poverty-stricken room in which a suicide is about to kill himself. But appearances are deceitful and the rooms were quite comfortable.[129]

Drower proposes that that winter at Abydos "must have been one of the happiest of Murray's life."[130] This is undoubtedly accurate. Not only did she get to dig and finally

---

Abydos, Part II. 1903 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903); E. R. Ayrton, C.T. Currelly, and A. E. P. Weigall, *Abydos, Part III. 1904* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1904).

[125] From the time of their marriage in 1897, Hilda clearly became Petrie's right hand in the field, while Murray was his right hand (and left hand) in the department.

[126] It was, in fact, Eckenstein who converted Murray to the idea that women's suffrage was possible. Upon her return to London, Murray became involved with the movement. See chapter 3 for more about Murray's involvement with feminism and her friendship with Eckenstein.

[127] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 125.

[128] Ibid., 117.

[129] Ibid.

[130] Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 114.

discover Egypt for herself, but Murray also indulged in her other passion: nursing. She recalled with fondness that on site she "did all the small doctoring that was required among the workmen," mending cuts, easing indigestion and relieving eye pain due to blowing sand.[131]

Although Murray had her adventures, there were also frustrations, especially when dealing with problems stemming from her sex and the appropriate or expected gender roles on site. Murray noted with some irritation that the men on excavation were, seemingly, "accustomed to the Victorian man's ideal of what a lady should be, a delicate fragile being who would scream at the sight of a mouse."[132] In fact, her experience on the excavation began with the first of many occurrences of gender discrimination that Murray would experience throughout her career. At the beginning of the dig, she received one morning's worth of training from Petrie and was sent off immediately to lead an all-male crew. She wrote that she was surprised at his manners, but felt that she maintained her composure: "…I started off as if I were quite accustomed to such a situation."[133] Her group, not surprisingly, was unwilling to be led by a woman so she turned them around and marched them back to camp, where she was met by Petrie. She recalled that she "knew by his expression that he must have been quite well aware of what was likely to happen and looked upon it as a test of my ability to manage a gang composed of males only."[134] She was angry with Petrie and his behavior; she also resented the fact that the male university students who had also come to Abydos and

[131] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 123-125.

[132] Ibid., 116.

[133] Ibid., 118.

[134] Ibid., 119.

whom Petrie was training received three weeks of close instruction, while she had but a few hours of his time.[135] Later in life, Murray recalled, "after that I had no trouble with men or boys (or Petrie)."[136] This type of treatment was not uncommon, however. Root argues that while the chauvinism of the local male laborers on a site was a challenge for women, "the challenges posed by the male chauvinism of the heroic excavation director were frequently and demonstrably much worse."[137] Needless to say, Murray's frustration was justified as she was fully prepared and competent to excavate in Egypt: not only had she been teaching in the department for five years at that point, but she also noted that she "had already a fairly good knowledge of Egyptology by books and museum specimens, and had written a few articles, but had not done any fieldwork."[138]

Women's roles in fieldwork at this time did not usually entail leading groups of Egyptian diggers, excavating or clearing rooms, or even being out of doors for long. Historians of archaeology recognize that in the field, "work in the dirt tends to be considered heroic, whereas analysis and interpretation of the actual material record once exhumed tends to be considered humdrum labor—a repetitive domestic chore of academic ordering. As such it has traditionally been assigned to women."[139] Indeed, Murray had a variety of jobs on the site, many of which were traditional jobs done by women. First, with Hansard and Eckenstein, Murray was to copy the inscriptions from the nearby ruins of a temple. However, women on Petrie's crew had been known to do the "dirty work" for a variety of reasons. Where many archaeologists at the time, such as

---

[135] Ibid.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Root, "Introduction," 14.

[138] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 115.

[139] Root, "Introduction," 12.

Auguste Mariette, would hire numerous hands and scholars to do intellectual work, would build permanent European houses on-site, and would have other expensive amenities, Petrie's spartan ways meant that he and his small crew would dig as efficiently as possible in order to get the most accomplished for the least amount of money.[140] Money matters aside, Petrie simply trusted women to do a wide variety of work that crossed traditional gender lines. This probably stemmed from the work ethic of his wife, who, from their first season in Egypt together, had taken on a lion's share of labor and menial tasks.[141]

Murray's main job, then, with Hilda Petrie, was to lead a digging crew to clear debris from a new part of the site, "a mysterious structure…in the area behind the great temple of Sethos I"; preliminary digging the year before "had established that a large stone building lay buried beneath the sand."[142] After days of clearing desert sand and tracing faint outlines of walls and foundations, they reached the floor of the building, forty-one feet below the surface. Murray wrote of finding the strange new structure: "Throughout this excavation it was always the unexpected that happened; we expected to find a passage, we found chambers and halls; we expected to find it roofed in, the roof had been completely quarried away; we expected to find a tomb, we found a place of worship."[143] In fact, they "had found a building which has no known counterpart in Egypt."[144] The underground building turned out to be what is now known as the

[140] Petrie did hire Egyptian diggers and a cook, but had very little staff in comparison to other teams. Gertrude Bell always traveled with her full tea service and silk dresses with full skirts shipped in from Paris.

[141] For more about Hilda Petrie, see Drower, *Letters from the Desert*.

[142] Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 113.

[143] Murray, *Osireion at Abydos*, 1.

[144] Ibid.

Osireion, a temple dedicated to the Egyptian deity Osiris, the god of the underworld, who was also the local deity of Abydos.

The publication of details of the excavation in Abydos was Murray's first site report, *The Osireion at Abydos*. In it, Murray focused on discerning the purpose and use of the Osireion in ancient Abydos through the study of inscriptions found in the two rooms which they were able to clear of debris, as well as through knowledge of Egyptian religion, myth and language. In the introduction to the report, Petrie stated that Murray's work would, he hoped, "serve to clear up and emphasize the various aspects and connections of one of the fundamental deities of the Egyptian worship and beliefs."[145] Not only did Murray explain what was found at the site, translate it into English and publish images of it—which is what many other site reports do—but she also spent a great deal of time discussing the worship of Osiris in ancient Egyptian religion, using mainly Greek and Egyptian sources.[146] Murray identified and explained the site using Strabo, an ancient Greek traveler and author, as a main source. She proposed, and Petrie agreed, that the Osireion contained what was known as Strabo's Well, arguing that the water Strabo saw in the low areas of the site were actually "the remains of the inundation, which he mistook for a natural spring."[147] Though Mariette had originally placed Strabo's Well in another place in the temple complex, further studies by other archaeologists have shown Murray to be correct.[148]

---

[145] W. M. F. Petrie, "Preface," in Murray, *Osireion at Abydos*, vii.

[146] Murray, *Osireion at Abydos*, 25-35.

[147] Ibid., 2. Murray's use of Greek sources demonstrates the fact that Egyptologists were still dependent on the Greeks as authorities for Egyptian history.

[148] See Henri Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos, Volume I, Text* (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1933), 32-33.

The point of Murray's research was in ascertaining the symbolic and actual usage of the building. At first, Murray had hypothesized that the temple was a mortuary temple of Merneptah, the son of nineteenth dynasty king Seti I, but because Merneptah already had a tomb and temple in the Valley of the Kings it soon became clear that this was not the case.[149] Therefore, by detailing the worship of Osiris and his different roles in religious practices as well as in temple and tomb inscriptions, Murray ventured to show that "the king, in his life time as well as in death, was identified with Osiris; this being so, the fact of his being called Osiris does not of itself show that this was his funeral monument."[150] Thus, it became clear that the structure was used for the "special worship of Osiris and the celebration of the Mysteries."[151] This was the obvious choice, according to her, because "[i]t is only to be expected that Osiris, one of the chief deities of Egypt, should have a special place of worship at Abydos, where he was identified as the local god."[152] As Osiris has many forms and duties, Murray expounded on the theology of this god, his legend in Egyptian religious lore, his widely varying incarnations, and how Egyptians worshiped him.[153] She used a variety of sources—Egyptian and Greek texts as well as modern scholarship—and concluded that it was "the confusion of names and forms that makes the study of Osiris so difficult," and she "endeavoured to point out only a few of his many manifestations."[154]

---

[149] Murray, *Osireion at Abydos*, 2-3.

[150] Ibid., 2.

[151] Ibid., 3.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Osiris was worshipped as the Sun-god (possibly as Ra), the Moon-god, a god of vegetation especially protective of the tamarisk and the sont-acacia trees, a god of the Nile, and, in his most recognizable form, the god and Judge of the Dead (Ibid., 25-29).

[154] Ibid., 26.

Murray's use of Egyptian and Greek texts was a common practice at this point in the study of Egypt. Many sites that were excavated in the last years of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth century were new discoveries for the discipline. There were no previous site reports to pull from or previous knowledge of many of the buildings or inscriptions found by the crews. This was especially true for the Osireion, as it was (and still is) the only building of its kind in all of Egypt. Ancient inscriptions and Greek sources like Strabo were the only sources Murray had to give her any information. The lack of sources led to her doing a comparative religious study regarding the worship of Osiris within ancient Egyptian practices and then drawing anthropological and cultural historical conclusions.

Identifying the mysterious structure was crucial to the excavation season, to the study of the history of Abydos, and even more so to the study of funerary structures in ancient Egypt. Although *Osireion* was written for Egyptologists and archaeologists, in subsequent studies of the site, not many scholars acknowledge Murray's groundbreaking report.[155] There are few reviews of the actual publication and, outside of a small number of references in articles and other excavation reports about the site, there is little mention of Murray's work. Edouard Naville, who worked on the site after Murray and the Petries had left, remarked that "[f]or the knowledge of the existence of a passage going probably towards the temple, we are indebted to Prof. Flinders Petrie, or rather to Miss Murray his assistant, who was the first to attempt an excavation behind the temple of Seti I."[156] Barry J. Kemp's more recent history of archaeology at the site states: "Our knowledge of

[155] For example, Rosalie David, in *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos* (Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1981), cites Murray throughout, but does not cite Murray when talking about the Osireion (see pp. 7-10).

[156] Edouard Naville, "Abydos," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1:1 (1914): 5.

the Osireion comes to us, however, only from a long drawn-out programme of work. It was begun with a single season in 1902 funded through the Egyptian Research Account and under the direction of Margaret Murray and Mrs. Petrie."[157] It is fortunate that numerous excavations took place at the site after Murray's, the most productive of which were directed by Henri Frankfort from 1925-1929 and written up in *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*.[158] An intensive study of the inscriptions—and thus a new understanding of the structure—was possible due to Frankfort's work. The date and purpose of the structure, also called the Centotaph, or false tomb, of Seti I, has been the subject of a variety of hotly disputed theories; however today there is a relative consensus that Kemp clearly states:

> The purpose of this strange place can be found in the tradition of building cenotaphs at Abydos: it was a home for the king's spirit at the place where the resurrective powers of Osiris could be experienced at their fullest. The building thus seems to combine the form of a contemporary royal tomb with a piece of architectural symbolism, that of the mound rising from the primeval waters on which, in religious texts, creation had first taken place.[159]

As more recent archaeological finds have revealed, the building "was designed to appear as a subterranean hill or island surrounded by water-carrying channels."[160] Today there is high ground water, due to the Aswan Dam, which means that the structure is permanently

---

[157] Kemp "Abydos," 84.

[158] Henri Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, and *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos, Volume II, Plates* (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1933). See also, Henri Frankfort, "Preliminary Report of the Expedition to Abydos, 1925-6," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 12:3/4 (1926): 157-165.

[159] Kemp "Abydos," 84. For other theories, see David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, 10.

[160] David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, 10.

underwater and can only be seen from above—"The island of creation awaits its own resurrection."[161]

Murray had begun this resurrection, while at the same time she assumed roles in the field that most women would not have the chance to take on for many years. Egyptology was male-dominated; however, especially at the new and underfunded department at UCL, excavators took able-bodied and able-minded crew to dig and discover. Murray and Hilda Petrie went to transcribe but ended up finding a unique piece of the Egyptian past that put UCL, the EEF, the Petries, and especially Murray, on the map.

Saqqara Mastabas

Petrie did not invite Murray to excavate with him during the following season (1903-04), but, because of her work in Abydos, he did ask her to return to Egypt to work with two other women: Hansard, the same artist and assistant from Abydos, and Jessie Mothersole.[162] Murray described her living quarters that winter, although not as sparse as at Abydos, as being built "of cold draughts with a few stones between."[163] Murray's work in Saqqara was not geared toward excavation, and much less toward making discoveries, as the work in Abydos had been. The aim instead was to copy inscriptions and sculptures of the tomb chapels—called mastabas—at Saqqara, "of which Mariette had already published hurried, rough and sometimes inaccurate copies."[164] Auguste

[161] Kemp "Abydos," 85.

[162] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 125.

[163] Ibid.

[164] Ibid.

Mariette had been the first to excavate the site in the early 1860s, and his original report of the site, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire* contained inscriptions and plans of 115 of the mastabas.[165] He excavated many mastabas like that of Kha-bau-Soker, and found statues, such as the wooden statue of the official Ka-aper, which has since been known as the "Shekh-el-beled"—both of which Murray wrote about.[166] The hurried report—hand-written by Mariette and published posthumously by Gaston Maspero—was not complete or detailed because Mariette had been more focused on excavating the Serapeum.[167] His notes were hurried and had multiple mistakes and omissions that archaeologists have been correcting since it was published. Jacques de Morgan and Norman de Garis Davies also excavated at Saqqara in the late 1890s. Garis Davies in fact re-cleared tombs, such as those of Ptah-hotep and Akhet-hotep, that Mariette "had only superficially described" thus making possible "the exhaustive description of this mastaba with its especially remarkable reliefs."[168] Their work also made it possible for Murray to re-clear and copy in detail the inscriptions of many of the mastabas.

Using the *reïs*, an Egyptian site foreman, who had dug with Mariette, she was able to find "the best tombs to re-open" so she could correct the previously incomplete copies of the tombs.[169] Two mastabas, inscriptions of which Murray published, were

---

[165] Jean-Philippe Lauer, *Saqqara: The Royal Cemetery of Memphis, Excavations and Discoveries since 1850* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), 55. Auguste Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire: Fragment du dernier ouvrage de Auguste Édouard Mariette* (originally published 1888; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1976)

[166] Lauer, *Saqqara: The Royal Cemetery of Memphis*, 31.

[167] The Serapeum is the name given to a tomb group holding the mummified sacred Apis bulls of Memphis, at Saqqara. Mariette discovered and excavated these tombs in 1851-1852. See Lauer, *Saqqara: The Royal Cemetery of Memphis*, 21-28; Auguste Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis* (Paris, 1882).

[168] Lauer, *Saqqara: The Royal Cemetery of Memphis*, 71.

[169] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 125.

found in the Cairo museum and in the yard of Mariette's fieldhouse near the site.[170] Much of the work was done in dangerous conditions, however, and Murray told the reader of her 1905 site report that "with the courage born of ignorance I ventured under bulging walls and slanting roof-stones to obtain measurements. That the danger was more in appearance than in reality is shown by the fact that not one of those walls or roofs has collapsed yet."[171] It was clear throughout the report that Murray's main purpose was to clear debris "only for inscriptions and not for plans," so she did not follow paths through doors to unsculpted chambers because she considered it a waste of time.[172] She was able to correct many of the inaccuracies in Mariette's original report. More importantly, she documented tombs which he had overlooked, including the small tomb of Ka-em-hest and the tomb of Ptahshepses I—a small, colorfully painted tomb excavated by Mariette but, according to Murray, not noticed by him.[173]

Murray, Hansard and Mothersole copied and published ten complete tombs, three of which were not recorded by Mariette, and inscriptions from two others.[174] She noted:

> Since the publication in 1898 of the tomb of Ptahhetep by the Egyptian Research Account, followed by Mr. Davis' work for the Egypt Exploration Fund, it has been felt that facsimile copies of the smaller and less known mastabas were very desirable, and with two artists to help in the copying it was a good opportunity to start the work.[175]

---

[170] Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I* and *Gurob*, 1.

[171] Ibid., 2.

[172] Ibid., 5-7.

[173] Ibid., 24-26.

[174] Ibid., 1.

[175] Ibid.; N. de G. Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saqqareh, Part I, The Chapel of Ptahhetep and the Hieroglyphs* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1900); and N. de G. Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saqqareh, Part II, The Mastaba. The Sculptures of Akhethetep* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1901).

The inscriptions were carefully recorded in facsimile plates and the texts and figures were thoroughly explained in the text of the report. Furthermore, Murray not only noted in detailed lists the colors of each of the hieroglyphic signs in each of the tombs, but she also documented and explained the hieroglyphs that were "either rare, peculiar, or of unusually good and detailed forms."[176]

The tomb of Sekhemka, was, according to Murray, "the most important of the three which we copied and which Mariette left unrecorded."[177] Murray stated that the workmanship of the tomb, though "not up to the standard of Ptahhetep II or Ka-em-hest," was still better than the others.[178] Many of the inscriptions and much of the paint had disappeared from time and wear, and possibly "a little scraping with a penknife" by archaeologists—Murray included.[179] Murray's investigations soon demonstrated why she argued the importance of the tomb: the unusual content of some of the inscriptions. The content in Sekhemka's tomb was, for the most part, standard tomb subject matter for the period, but there were some distinguishing features. Murray described a portrait of Sekhemka's wife, Khentkaues, that seemed to be taken "from life, the face [of which] being different from the ordinary type."[180] There also appeared in an inscription bearing images of the family members what seemed to be the grandchildren of Sekhemka. Murray noted that it was "very rare to find grandchildren commemorated in a tomb; as a

[176] Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I* and *Gurob*, 40-45, plates XXXVII-XL.

[177] Ibid., 7.

[178] Ibid., 8.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Ibid., 9. "Ordinary type" being the standard Egyptian artistic register. The most famous king to deviate from the standard register was Akhenaten, the so-called "heretic king," of the eighteenth dynasty (see Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten: King of Egypt* [London: Thames and Hudson, 1988]). For a complete explanation of this register, its development throughout ancient Egypt, and beautiful photographs and reproductions, see Gay Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997). See also the discussion in chapter four.

general rule, only a man's own generation and the generations immediately preceding and succeeding him are noted."[181] She did not further explain the implications of this, but continued with a final unique attribute of this and other tombs of Saqqara: that of "roughly incised or scratched hieroglyphs, giving the name of a servant, side by side with finely sculptured inscriptions."[182] The servants, it seemed, "inserted the names themselves when the artist had omitted them."[183] Graffiti was not uncommon in tombs of all periods of Egyptian history, but servants inscribing their own names was something found often in the mastabas of Saqqara. This may have been because of the ease of finding and entering the tombs not long after they had been built or, indeed, sealed off. Apart from these few features, the tomb as a whole seemed to be quite common in its contents and form, so much so that in her chapters describing the offering and rare hieroglyphic inscriptions in more social and historical detail, Murray mentioned the tomb of Sekhemka just once, to state that it revealed conventional offerings.[184]

Shortly after Murray's trip to Saqqara, in accordance with Petrie's "impatience to get all the information from an excavation published at once," Murray's site report was in print and, according to Murray, "was soon established as the only way to publish information about such decorated tombs."[185] Since the report by Mariette consisted of hand-written notes and line drawings, Murray's account with facsimile copies of the

---

[181] Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I* and *Gurob*, 9.

[182] Ibid., 9.

[183] Ibid.

[184] Ibid., 29.

[185] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 127; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* and *Gurob*. Although there is no definitive cited influence of Murray's approach on later reports of this nature, more recent publications demonstrate a similar structure in text and image publication and subject matter, for example, W. V. Davies, A. El-Khouli, A. B. Lloyd, and A. J. Spencer, *Saqqâra Tombs I: The Mastabas of Mereri and Wernu* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1984).

tombs and lists of rare hieroglyphics, their translations and a complete list of the colors in which they were recorded was obviously a new and more desirable approach. Because of Petrie's impatience with "the slowness of scholars," the first part did not include the translations by Kurt Sethe; *Saqqara Mastabas Part II* was thus finally published, complete with the translations, in 1937.[186]

As all excavation reports were, and are, *Saqqara Mastabas* was meant to be read almost exclusively by scholars, although non-scholarly donors and subscribers to the EEF also received copies. No reviews are extant; however, Murray continues to be a leading source for those writing about tomb drawings, tomb chapels, and inscriptions.[187] There is no doubt that Murray's work was a crucial piece of the scholarship regarding tomb paintings and the meaning behind them from the area in and around Saqqara.

With the Hyperdiffusionists

Early on in her career, by being on-site with Petrie to get familiar with practical archaeology, teaching theory in the classroom, and having experience at other universities with other scholars, Murray began to develop her own theoretical stance. She was influenced by Petrie and his ideas about the spread of cultures into and within ancient Egypt and how customs and beliefs changed because of that movement. Murray also read Grafton Elliot Smith's and William Perry's work about the diffusion of cultures.

[186] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 127. Margaret Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas Part II* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1937).

[187] See, for example, B. M. C., "The Dress of Ancient Egyptians: I. In the Old and Middle Kingdoms," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 11:8 (1916): 166-171; G. A. Wainwright, "Seshat and the Pharaoh," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 26 (1941): 30-40; Selim Hassan and Zaky Iskander, *Excavations at Saqqara, 1937-1938* (Cairo: Antiquities Department of Egypt, 1975); and J. R. Ogdon, "A Note on an Inscription from the Tomb Chapel of 'Idw (G 7102)," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 69 (1983): 159-161.

She combined the different theories to formulate her own, which she detailed in her 1949 work *The Splendour that was Egypt*. Although this book was published almost fifteen years after her official retirement from UCL, it is an important source for understanding her theoretical stance during this earlier period.

Splendour is a collection of Murray's lectures spanning almost thirty years and, for the most part, as we will see in chapter three, her teachings displayed conventional representations of contemporary theory. However, there were several points presented in *Splendour* that did attract critical reactions due to their controversial nature. Scholars were quick to realize and comment on these points in attempts to divert public attention from what they believed were the most distressing issues. One reviewer, G. A. Wainwright, seemed disturbed by the idea of "consanguineous marriages and the succession to the throne," but said that Murray's presentation of "a number of genealogies of private persons as well as of Pharaohs…bring out very clearly that father-daughter and son-mother marriages were commonplace."[188] Two other reviewers took issue with her presentation of some religious assertions, mainly in her comparison of Egyptian religion to Christian beliefs. Thomas A. Brady, history professor at the University of Missouri, gave it as his judgment in the *American Historical Review* that Murray clearly had "little understanding of the material she is dealing with" because, he argued, she made "[v]ague references to what Christianity borrowed from ancient Egyptian religion" thus causing "those who have studied Christianity and know it as a religion to lose confidence in the author's purposes and judgment."[189] John Wilson of the

[188] G. A. Wainwright, Review, "The Splendour that was Egypt by Margaret A. Murray," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 36 (Dec. 1950): 120.

[189] Thomas A. Brady, "Review: *The Splendour that was Egypt: A General Survey of Egyptian Culture and Civilisation* by Margaret A. Murray," *The American Historical Review* 55:4 (July 1950): 878-9.

Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago agreed with Brady and warned readers that the "chapter on religion should be treated with every reserve."[190]

A final reviewer, I. J. Gelb, also of the Oriental Institute, said that *Splendour* was "concerned more with facts than fancy interpretations, and the general reader, if not too sensitive, may get some understanding of the splendor that was Egypt."[191] However, for a majority of his short review, he contended not with the body of the book—with which he had little problem—but instead with the introduction: "My reaction is negative. It might have been less so if I had started the book by reading its six main chapters, skipping the Introduction. But the facile, exaggerated, unbridled statements in the Introduction spoiled my appetite for the rest of the book."[192] He continued: "In the very first sentence of the Introduction we read about Egypt that 'within the narrow limits of that country are preserved the origins of most (perhaps all) of our knowledge.'"[193] Gelb argued that "such a sweeping statement about the origin of our knowledge could not be taken seriously."[194] Yet, the book they reviewed was, in essence, the text of Murray's lectures that she had been giving for thirty years prior to and leading up to the publication of *Splendour*. When discussing these reviews, it is crucial to remember that these kinds of "sweeping statements" for which Gelb and others criticized Murray had been taken seriously for close to three decades by a group of well-respected scholars known to historians as the hyperdiffusionists. Timothy Champion, Henrika Kuklick and others

---

[190] John A. Wilson, "Review: *The Splendour that was Egypt: A General Survey of Egyptian Culture and Civilisation* by Margaret A. Murray," *The Journal of Religion* 30:4 (October 1950): 279.

[191] I. J. Gelb, "Review: *The Splendour that was Egypt* by Margaret A. Murray," *The Scientific Monthly* 70:4 (April 1950): 275.

[192] Ibid.

[193] Ibid.; also, Murray, *Splendour*, xvii.

[194] Gelb, "Review," 275.

argue that this was a fringe movement, but it was not. The ideas Murray put forth in her teaching and in *Splendour*, although controversial to some, had a wide array of subscribers.

Murray first scribbled such ideas in her early lecture notes, writing in 1911 that Egypt "has exercised an influence on the history of the world out of all proportion to its size."[195] They did not exercise this power through military means, nor did Egypt's influence begin with its "rediscovery" by Europeans in the late eighteenth century. Egypt's authority was in its position as "the first beginnings of material culture…the beginnings of the sciences…the beginnings of the imponderables…"[196] Egypt had begun civilizing centuries before the Greeks, and, Murray stated, the "greatest Greeks acknowledged that they had learnt all from Egypt, that they were children in wisdom compared to the egyptians [sic]."[197] In *Splendour*, she argued that "Egypt was to the Greek the embodiment of all wisdom and knowledge."[198] The Greek culture then took what it learned from Egypt and "they passed on to later generations that wisdom of the Egyptians which they had learnt orally from the learned men of the Nile Valley."[199] It was in this way that "[i]n every aspect of life Egypt has influenced Europe, and though the centuries may have modified the custom or idea, the origin is clearly visible."[200]

---

[195] M. A. Murray, "Lecture I, Predynastic Period," 1911, MS ADD 387, A-561, Series 1, Special Collections, University College London, London.

[196] Murray, *Splendour*, xvii.

[197] Murray, "Lecture I, Predynastic Period."

[198] Murray, *Splendour*, xvii.

[199] Ibid.

[200] Ibid.; In the early 1930s, Murray taught an Oxford Extension course based on the connections between Egypt and Europe: Margaret Murray, "Lecture I: Egypt & Europe—Introductory & Prehistory," n.d., MS ADD 387, A-561, Series 1, Special Collections, University College London, London.

These ideas were not originated by Murray, nor did they end with her, but they were heavily influenced by the work of Grafton Elliot Smith, who held the chair of anatomy at Manchester from 1909 and then at UCL from 1919 to 1936, William James Perry, and other diffusionists. Diffusionists were, in the family of anthropology, chronologically and ideologically located between the evolutionists of the late nineteenth century and the functionalists of the early twentieth century.[201] Diffusionists disputed the evolutionists by claiming that "what cultural variation obtained among peoples was a function of their social organization, not their natural endowments."[202] These main tenets were accepted by anthropologists at the time. In her history of British anthropology, *The Savage Within*, Kuklick explains that:

> Diffusionists fairly represented the functionalist position that 'social facts are of a special order, just as objective and independent as any other facts of nature, and require their own special mode of explanation' (an axiom from which no functionalist, however interested in psychology, would have dissented); and diffusionists agreed that a people's social organization was important to its environmental adaptation.[203]

However, historical consensus argues that the "most controversial feature of the diffusionists' work was their historical account of cultural evolution, articulated by Elliot Smith and Perry before the First World War, when they were at Manchester

---

[201] See, for example, Henrika Kuklick, *The Savage Within: The History of British Social Anthropology, 1885-1945* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1991), 119-165; and George Stocking, *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology, 1888-1951* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 208-220. Kuklick's work focuses on the social and cultural conditions surrounding the advent of diffusionism and discusses in depth the effect that the "shell shock" of World War I had on the pessimistic view of human nature that diffusionism took. For Kuklick, diffusionism focused mainly on the individual in the interwar period and tried to provide a framework for explaining how English gentlemen could have degenerated so quickly on the battlefield and in the trenches. I will not focus on that aspect of diffusionism.

[202] Kuklick, *The Savage Within*, 125.

[203] Ibid., 122.

University…"[204] Following Elliot Smith and Petrie, to a certain extent, Murray subscribed to this school of thought as early as 1911 but her ideas had been developing for years before that. These theories were more or less the accepted anthropological framework for cultural development in the 1910s and 1920s, but fell into some disrepute afterwards in most academic circles.[205] However, as Kuklick recognizes, this subsequent fall from grace of the hyperdiffusionists, and even the more moderate adherents of the group, "should not blind us from the school's earlier importance…the diffusionists did not begin as cranks."[206] Furthermore, I argue that the assertion that hyperdiffusionists were fleeting is inaccurate and should not "blind us" to later adherents to diffusion throughout the twentieth-century, such as Engberg, Murray, and Bernal.[207]

Not unlike Murray and other Egyptologists, Elliot Smith spent most of his time arguing that it was Egypt's "unprecedented type of environment," which included desert, a fertile valley for agriculture, and its central geographic location, that allowed for the development of sciences, religion, and civilization.[208] But, contrary to the established chronology of culture, the conclusion Elliot Smith reached was that Egypt was indeed the

---

[204] Ibid., 123. For more about Elliot Smith and Perry working together and resulting mutual influences, see Timothy Champion, "Egypt and the Diffusion of Culture," in *Views of Ancient Egypt since Napoleon Bonaparte: Imperialism, Colonialism and Modern Appropriations*, ed. David Jeffreys (London: University College London Press, 2003), 127-145; and H. A. Waldron, "The Study of the Human Remains from Nubia: The Contribution of Grafton Elliot Smith and his Colleagues to Palaeopathology," *Medical History* 44 (2000): 363-388.

[205] For a more thorough tracing of the development of these ideas in anthropology and a broad understanding of diffusionism and its practitioners, see Kuklick, *The Savage Within*, 119-165.

[206] Ibid., 124.

[207] Robert Martin Engberg, *The Dawn of Civilization, and Life in the Ancient East.* The University of Knowledge Wonder Books (Chicago: University of Knowledge, Inc, 1938); Murray, *Splendour*; Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*, Volume I: The Fabrication of Ancient Greece, 1785-1985, Volume II: The Archaeological and Documentary Evidence, Volume III: The Linguistic Evidence (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987); and Martin Bernal, *Black Athena Writes Back: Martin Bernal Responds to His Critics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

[208] G. Elliot Smith, *In the Beginning: The Origin of Civilization* (London: Gerald Howe Ltd., 1928), 39.

foundation of culture and thus all knowledge, beliefs and customs disseminated from Egypt to the rest of the world. He argued that it was in "Egypt's great service to humanity, and of all that followed in its train" that justified a renewed effort to study Egypt and its part "in moulding the world's civilization."[209] This perspective differed markedly from the classical view that the primary influence on European culture had come from Greece and Rome; however, Elliot Smith believed that he had hard evidence to refute this claim. He had studied mummification in Cairo and at Manchester, and he came away with a thorough comprehension of the processes required.[210] Understanding that mummification was not only an Egyptian practice, but that it was also practiced by other cultures the world over, Elliot Smith "convinced himself that [the procedures for mummification] were so complex that they could only have been invented once," thus leading him to the conclusion that knowledge and practice of the procedures had spread from Egypt.[211] He expanded his theory and in 1911 "he came out firmly in favour of diffusion over evolution and independent parallel development, laying the foundations for the short-lived domination of this theory in British social anthropology."[212]

His first full articulation of diffusion was in his book *The Ancient Egyptians and Their Influence upon the Civilization of Europe*.[213] In it, he maintained that "no single factor has had an influence so great and so far-reaching as the discovery of metals," metal-working and the technology made possible by such tools, and that all of this

[209] G. Elliot Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians and Their Influence upon the Civilization of Europe* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1911), 7.

[210] G. Elliot Smith, *A Contribution to the Study of Mummification in Egypt* (Cario: L'Institut Egyptien, 1906); G. Elliot Smith and W. R. Dawson, *Egyptian Mummies* (New York: Kegan Paul, 1924; reprint edition, 2002).

[211] Champion, "Egypt and the Diffusion of Culture," 129; Stocking, *After Tylor*, 212.

[212] Champion, "Egypt and the Diffusion of Culture," 128; Stocking, *After Tylor*, 210.

[213] Elliot Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*.

development took place in Egypt.[214] Using these tools, Egypt "raised civilization out of the slough of the Stone Age."[215] Knowledge of science, such as astronomy along with the ability to perform procedures such as mummification, combined with institutions such as kingship and government, and the ability to build megalithic monuments, demonstrated the improbability of independent invention within cultures. Elliot Smith gave this reasoning to support his claim: "No theory of parallel development can be seriously adduced to explain these curious changes" in other civilizations that, although geographically close to Egypt, were culturally dissimilar.[216] It was thus Egypt's superior knowledge combined with "her peculiar geographical situation," which allowed it to be "adequately isolated to be free to develop her own civilization without interference from outsiders, yet at the same time so closely in touch with the world at large" to be able to spread cultural influence broadly even though Egypt was relatively small.[217] Elliot Smith's main point in this work was that "the Egyptians, by the force of their example [and not through military force, such as that used by Rome], were able to lead their European relations out of the wilderness of the Stone Age into the promised land of the higher stage of civilization."[218]

Critics of Elliot Smith's hypotheses were counted in the highest echelons of universities and anthropology and archaeology departments. His biographer, Warren R. Dawson, noted that his continued affirmations of the "diffusion heresy," especially at meetings of the British Association from 1912-1915 "provoked the attacks of orthodox

[214] Ibid., 2.

[215] Ibid., 6.

[216] Ibid., 21.

[217] Ibid., 26-27.

[218] Ibid., 22.

anthropology."[219] In the 1927 James G. Frazer Lecture in Social Anthropology at Cambridge University entitled "The Diffusion of Culture," Robert R. Marett spoke at length about Elliot Smith's ideas.[220] Marett's main problem with Elliot Smith was that he had little evidence to prove his claims that Egypt was the beginning of the known world, and therefore his theory, which Marett called "attempted generalization…on the vastest scale," fell apart when examined closely.[221] Marett argued that even in using what evidence was available from mummification customs in Egypt, Elliot Smith "kept revising his opinions as he went along, and did not announce at the start what only dawned on him at the finish."[222] In the end, he fully disagreed with Elliot Smith "on the question of Egypt as the cradle-land of civilization," arguing that "a dogma to the effect that Egypt was the fountain-head of civilization is of no use to science at all."[223] However, Marett also added the following sentiment: "…in real life Prof. Elliot Smith has always struck me as a most reasonable as well as otherwise charming man. It is only on paper that he appears to me to let his enthusiasm run away with him."[224] The emphasis on the absence of reason in the hyperdiffusionist school was, and still is, a repeated argument.

Although these theories were widely disputed by Elliot Smith's contemporaries, Dawson stated in 1938 that "the principle of the Diffusion of Culture is now implicitly or

---

[219] Warren R. Dawson, "A General Biography," in *Sir Grafton Elliot Smith: A Biographical Record by His Colleagues*, ed. Warren R. Dawson (London: Jonathan Cape, 1938), 54.

[220] R. R. Marett, *The Diffusion of Culture*, The Frazer Lecture in Social Anthropology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927).

[221] Ibid., 25.

[222] Ibid., 13.

[223] Ibid., 29, 22.

[224] Ibid., 37.

explicitly accepted in current ethnological literature (except by a small minority of die-hards)."[225] William Perry argued further that although "the controversy has somewhat abated, agreement has never been reached."[226] It is clear that many anthropologists picked up on some of the tenets of hyperdiffusion and were able to develop them; Perry was one of them. Perry's theory of diffusionism, although it "adopted Elliot Smith's view of Egypt as the origin of these innovations," tended to focus more on agriculture than on mummification.[227] In his 1923 *Children of the Sun*, Perry attempted to show that Egyptian culture spread throughout the world by making its way through the Mediterranean cultures, then into India and China, and next through the Pacific and thus into America. This kind of approach may have influenced Elliot Smith to focus on agriculture as well, which he did in his 1928 work, *In the Beginning: The Origin of Civilization*, although he did not completely dismiss the spread of metal technology and mummification.[228] The book is the first in a series entitled "The Beginning of Things," and Elliot Smith instructed his reader that the series was "based on the acceptance of the principle of the Diffusion of Culture," the case for which "will only be fully revealed when the series is complete, by the piling up of evidence drawn from every subject and from every quarter of the globe."[229] Such evidence, he stated, would thus demonstrate

[225] Dawson, "A General Biography," 54.

[226] William J. Perry, "Anthropologist and Ethnologist," in *Sir Grafton Elliot Smith*, ed. Dawson, 214.

[227] Champion, "Egypt and the Diffusion of Culture," 132-134; W. J. Perry, *The Children of the Sun: A Study in the Early History of Civilization* (New York: Dutton, 1923).

[228] Elliot Smith, *In the Beginning*. Timothy Champion also notes this shift in Elliot Smith's work in "Egypt and the Diffusion of Culture," 143.

[229] Elliot Smith, *In the Beginning*, 1.

that Egypt "was the cradle, not only of agriculture, metallurgy, architecture, ship-building, the kingship and statecraft, but of civilization in its widest sense."[230]

It was in this work where Elliot Smith finally answered classicists' questions about the foundation of Greek and Roman civilization. He told his critics that:

> The high civilization that developed in Greece in the course of the millennium before the Christian era was inspired by influences from Crete and Asia Minor and represents the effects of the merging with them of Egyptian, Syrian and Mesopotamian civilizations…and so [these influences] became free to develop in an essentially rational manner into the high culture of Greece.[231]

He also answered critics' questions about America, arguing that Egyptian culture spread from southeast Asia, through the Pacific Islands and straight into North and South America. He concluded, "Once this fact is admitted the case for the reality of the general principle of the diffusion of culture is sufficiently established."[232] Elliot Smith presented maps which showed the direction of the flow of culture as it left Egypt, moving throughout the world, mixing with other cultures, both changing their respective ways of life and changing to adapt to new environments. However, it is clear from the reactions of his contemporary critics that this answer did not suffice.

Although few critics, if any, explicitly state why they have an intense distaste for Egypt's position as the cradle of civilization, one position stands out above all. As Martin Bernal recently argued, to European scholars, "the stories of Egyptian colonization and civilizing of Greece violated 'racial science' as monstrously as the legends of sirens and centaurs broke the canons of natural science. Thus all were equally

[230] Ibid., 36.

[231] Ibid., 86.

[232] Ibid., 90.

discredited and discarded."[233] If Egypt was the progenitor of European heritage, not only would the racial hierarchy be undermined and the cultural authority of present-day Europeans be questioned, but also the entire history of Europe would have to be rewritten to include a mysterious and exotic people. As Stephanie Moser argues, in the early eighteenth century, Egypt was fashioned by Europeans to be exotic, strange, curious and frightening.[234] Thus, the knowable Greeks, with their decipherable language, their intelligent philosophy and their great strides in early science would have to be reevaluated as secondary to a culture whose history scholars did not properly understand. As Dawson stated, although many anthropologists at the time saw the merits of the theory of diffusion of cultural traits, many were not prepared to accept that they spread particularly from Egypt.

Bernal further argues that the British public accepted Elliot Smith's notions readily because "'diffusionism' fitted so well with contemporary Imperialism; [and] because his Egyptians were not African."[235] On the other hand, he claims that "[p]rofessional ancient historians and Egyptologists were naturally much more wary. As far as I am aware, there was no attempt to incorporate his theories into their academic disciplines."[236] Timothy Champion has argued more recently that Elliot Smith's thesis was "largely ignored by Egyptologists, perhaps because it had very little to say about Egypt itself."[237] These assessments are inaccurate. A brief analysis of Robert Engberg's

---

[233] Bernal, *Black Athena*, vol. I, 8.

[234] Moser, *Wondrous Curiosities*. See the next chapter for a further discussion of this topic.

[235] Bernal, *Black Athena*, vol. I, 270.

[236] Ibid., 270.

[237] Champion, "Egypt and the Diffusion of Culture," 131; 140. For more in-depth discussions about hyperdiffusionism and its followers: Daniel, *A Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology*, esp. 247 and 317; and Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 150-155.

The Dawn of Civilization and Petrie's *The Making of Egypt* will demonstrate that the diffusionist views were indeed incorporated into theories of cultural beginnings and development.[238]

The Dawn of Civilization began with the assertion that "Ancient history, to many, used to begin with the Greeks."[239] Engberg continued, stating that "Greece had learned much from the Orient, although she called the foreigners barbarians. At an earlier date Egypt had applied the same term to the Greeks before the Greeks became civilized."[240] From these bold statements, Engberg, who was based in the faculty at the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, proved his points by using evidence such as early writing, the development of the calendar, the advent of mummification rituals, beginnings of architecture and the growth of artistic forms and styles. Although he made use of the same evidence that Elliot Smith and Perry had relied upon for their histories, he did not attempt to detail the expansion and diffusion of cultures from Egypt; instead, he simply demonstrated how Egypt was the cradle of each of these aspects of civilization. Engberg's case was strong enough that he was able to conclude that the "earliest great civilizations were along the Nile and in Asia. …The story of our civilization goes back through Europe, Rome and Greece to the Orient."[241] Similarly, Flinders Petrie argued in *The Making of Egypt* that cultural changes came about because of "new elements coming in from different directions."[242] On the other hand, Petrie's work focused on the change

[238] Engberg, *The Dawn of Civilization*; W. M. F. Petrie, *The Making of Egypt* (London: The Sheldon Press, 1939).

[239] Engberg, *The Dawn of Civilization*, 18.

[240] Ibid.

[241] Ibid., 382.

[242] Petrie, *The Making of Egypt*, 55.

of prehistoric Egyptian civilization due to the influx of new peoples and cultures—thus due to the diffusion of cultural traits into Egypt from outside influences. He claimed that, in general,

> [i]n changes of population there may be a general substitution (as by Hulagu); or the killing of men and scattering of women (Melos); killing of men and capturing women (Troy); enslaving men and taking women (Belgium, 1914); victors ruling helots (Sparta); victors ruling over a stable population (Turks); mixture of diverse peoples (Copts and Arabs); assimilation of immigrants (England, Flemings and, later, Huguenots) ; or there may be merely an adoption of foreign ideas (England, some from Persia and Japan).[243]

Anatomical changes, grave goods, and variations in carving motifs and pottery styles marked the coming of new groups of peoples into Egypt. Even though Petrie did not address changes in civilizations other than Egypt, the attributes of diffusionism are evident in his claims. Clearly, then, the hyperdiffusionists were a significant influence within the human sciences. The general framework, if not the specific details, of hyperdiffusion found its way into the work of many prominent anthropologists and archaeologists thus assuring a much longer period of popularity than current scholars would have us believe.

Murray's lectures further demonstrated an adherence to this school. As we have seen, Murray believed that archaeology was the study of the history of humanity, throughout all times and all areas of the earth. I argue that it was the diffusionists' attempt to "provide a seamless narrative of the human past" within a complex and

[243] Ibid., 9.

generally applied framework of change that drew her to it.[244] Like Engberg and Petrie, Murray was not a disciple of Elliot Smith's in the manner of Perry, but she adopted some diffusionist views, applying them to her work within Egypt and discussions of Egypt's history. For the most part, for most Egyptologists, it was the diffusion of cultures *into* Egypt that had caused substantial cultural and technological changes. Like Petrie, Murray focused her central discussion on the cultural changes brought about in Egypt's history "in terms of mass migrations or the arrival of smaller groups who brought about cultural change by mingling culturally and biologically with the existing population."[245] Going further than this, however, Murray, agreed with Elliot Smith and Perry that it was the spread of cultural traits *out* of Egypt that allowed for its disproportionate influence on the rest of the world.

Most of Murray's teaching agreed with widely accepted Egyptological theories, and in this case her ideas were not as far off-track as originally believed. Furthermore, it is clear that her teaching was also crucial to the dissemination of these theories of cultural change throughout the world from its beginnings in Egypt. Critics specifically took issue with those statements in the introduction to *Splendour* with which Gelb had such a problem, but the same ideas were also articulated in her earlier lectures. Although she did not cite them explicitly, many of Murray's ideas likely came directly from Elliot Smith, Perry, Engberg and Petrie.[246] Like other diffusionists, she attributed Egypt's dominance culturally and scientifically to the unique environment of Egypt. In *Splendour*, she wrote,

---

[244] Champion, "Egypt and the Diffusion of Culture," 134.

[245] Petrie, *The Making of Egypt*; and Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 154.

[246] *Splendour*, although published 15 years after her retirement from full-time teaching, offered the same outline and theories that her original course lecture notes did.

> In every aspect of life Egypt has influenced Europe, and though the centuries may have modified the custom or idea, the origin is clearly visible. … Egypt always held a unique position among the ancient civilisations of the world. Geographically she was in touch with three continents, Europe and Asia were on her threshold, and she herself was situated in Africa. … Egypt was the supreme power in the Mediterranean area during the whole of the Bronze Age and a great part of the Iron Age; and as our present culture is directly due to the Mediterranean civilisation of the Bronze Age it follows that it has its roots in ancient Egypt."[247]

In her lectures, Murray also told her students that in Egypt's eighteenth dynasty (roughly 1587-1414 BC), Egypt was the "mistress of [the] known world…[there have been] 3 great ruling nations, Eg[ypt], Rome, England."[248] Significantly, she used the very evidence Elliot Smith did—writing, writing utensils, clocks, calendars, astronomy and physics.[249]

The proposed hypothesis of cultural development described in *Splendour* and course lectures places Murray in the center of the hyperdiffusionist school led ideologically by Elliot Smith and Perry. However, unlike some in the hyperdiffusionist circle, Murray did not go so far as to say that Egypt's influence spread directly across the Pacific like Elliot Smith and Perry believed, or that Egypt had any *direct* influence on any area outside the Mediterranean and Europe.[250] Furthermore, according to Champion, hyperdiffusionism was a "fully and explicitly formulated expression of a more extreme

---

[247] Murray, *Splendour*, xviii.

[248] M. A. Murray, "Lecture II, Dyn. XVIIIth (contd)," n.d., MS ADD 387, A-561, Series 2, Special Collections, University College London, London, England.

[249] Murray, *Splendour*, 289-313; 222-288.

[250] Elliot Smith goes into great detail about calendars, clocks and writing in this work, arguing that the very act of his writing on January 1, 1928 at noon was only possible through the spread of Egyptian knowledge, see 52-62.

version of [diffusionist] ideas that were common at the time…"[251] Diffusionists are "now largely ignored, or at best banished to a marginal place in the histories of archaeology or anthropology. …They are often regarded as indistinguishable from the lunatic fringe."[252] Thus, because many archaeologists and historians of archaeology tend to place this school of thought in the margins of the narrative, Murray is relegated there as well. For example, while Glyn Daniel accuses Elliot Smith of a "violent advocacy of an Egyptocentric hyperdiffusion," some "great" archaeologists, such as V. Gordon Childe, are excused from their involvement in this group. Bruce Trigger argues that "as late as 1940 Childe saw some merit in [Elliot] Smith's and Perry's" ideas of diffusionism, even though "he rejected their specific historical speculations…"[253] Furthermore, Sally Green discusses Childe's views of diffusion, stating plainly that he may have been a little crazy when he agreed with Elliot Smith on certain points, but that "[i]n more normal times his sense of reality led him to oppose the excesses of hyper-diffusion."[254] To place diffusionists within the bounds of lunacy was, and still is, the popular position to take.

Murray, I believe, never lost her "sense of reality," as some would argue, when she was teaching her students the current accepted model of cultural development for Egypt. Although her ideas were published after the school allegedly had fallen into obscurity, *Splendour* was an outline of the lectures she had given to students and the general public alike. Murray's career-long goal of engaging the public in scholarly discussions led her to publish *Splendour* for the enrichment of the public and not

[251] Champion, "Egypt and the Diffusion of Culture," 139.

[252] Ibid.

[253] Bruce G. Trigger, *Gordon Childe: Revolutions in Archaeology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 87-88.

[254] Sally Green, *Prehistorian: A Biography of V. Gordon Childe* (Bradford-on-Avon: Moonraker Press, 1981), 97.

necessarily for scholars, but it was still meant to be useful for both groups. This may have frightened some scholars, such as Gelb, however, with the idea that the general public would believe everything Murray wrote. Scholars knew that this book was for the general public, which may have made it all the more threatening.

Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to place Murray properly in the burgeoning profession of Egyptology. From the start she was a rising scholar; however, Murray's gender provided for some tensions throughout her career, and were made most explicit in her work in the field. Excepting women such as Harriet Boyd Hawes and Gertrude Bell who had the means to run their own excavations, Murray was one of the few women who performed both the "heroic" dirty work as well as the humdrum analysis of objects.[255] Petrie brought copyists on excavation with him, women such as his wife Hilda Petrie, whose job it was to catalogue and copy artifacts for publication. As Hilda excavated and proudly got her hands and skirts dirty, Murray, too, was not strictly a copyist. She clearly filled the roles of excavator and crew leader as well as publishing many reports based on the analysis of artifacts and inscriptions. Murray took advantage of the situation on Petrie's sites and was able to convert her opportunities into two "monumental contributions" to the discipline within two years.

No one has looked at these specific works in a historical sense, but publications by women archaeologists in this period have been more widely appreciated as of late. Root argues that these reports

[255] Mary Allsebrook, *Born to Rebel: The Life of Harriet Boyd Hawes* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1992).

> first in artifactual or detail analysis and then in the synthetic studies of iconography, stylistic valence, cultural transmission, social history, and economics emerging out of these systematic and close readings—[have] been truly pathbreaking. …their results have been the stuff that has really shifted the field from treasure hunt to historical endeavor and then from tabulation of dry chronologies to exploration of the workings of social systems.[256]

Murray's work demonstrates this shift and the site reports examined here are good examples of detailed analysis leading to a more social and cultural history of Abydos and Saqqara. Murray's accounts, with their meticulously copied inscriptions and lithographed plates are demonstrations of her competence in fieldwork as well as in research, drawing and writing. In addition, they further reveal her ability to perform in a competitive profession.

Even though Root, Cohen and Joukowsky, and other recent historians of women in archaeology, have begun to point to the importance of women's jobs and roles in the discipline, Murray's work offers a point of critical reappraisal of the influence women exerted. Egyptologists have depended on *Osireion* and *Saqqara Mastabas* as scope-defining works for the last 100 years not only to learn from and then build on the scholarship, but also as references which continue to shape research on these topics.

Within the context of the new department at UCL and Murray's status first as assistant and then as colleague to Petrie, she started to lead the way for more women students and fieldworkers in Egyptology. As the status of women in education and the professions continued to change, Murray's work became even more visible within the discipline and she became a sought-after lecturer, teacher, and role model for women

[256] Root, "Introduction," 12-13.

entering university. As I will show in the following chapters, she herself began to seek out ways in which she could aid women in their quest for opportunities and recognition in the public and in authoritative fields of study.

Finally, her work in this period demonstrates Murray's decisive shift from being a Victorian daughter to being not only a woman on her own, but also a scientist in her own right. Her explicit theoretical shift away from Petrie towards the hyperdiffusionist school established her on her own ground in a subject area that had traditionally placed women in the lab as menial workers. The fact that Murray followed a different intellectual path than her sometimes overpowering mentor meant that she could separate herself from him in order to become known to her contemporary scholars as an archaeologist and not just as his assistant.

Chapter 3: 1904—1914: The Classroom at UCL

Introduction

Upon her return to London from the field in 1904, Murray said that "family affairs" kept her in London—it is possible that she was referring to her mother's failing health.[1] Not only that, but she was also buried in administrative and teaching duties at UCL. She was also active at the University of Manchester, first organizing and cataloging the museum's Egyptology collections and then performing a mummy unwrapping at the university in 1908 (see chapter 4). Her academic work in this period and at these two universities gave her a considerable amount of power in deciding what was important in the discipline of British Egyptology. In the department at UCL, it was she, with some oversight by Petrie and the college board, who determined which subjects students should learn and in which practical skills they should be proficient in order to receive a diploma and work in the discipline. Designing a course curriculum in a department which, from its inception, "stood at the centre of British archaeological effort in Egypt," meant that Murray would guide future archaeologists into the discipline based upon what they learned from her in the classroom as well as have a hand in shaping the disciplinary focus for at least the next four decades.[2] In this period, it was an unusual occurrence for a woman to be able to shape a science in so direct a manner. This training program allowed her to greatly expand her sphere of influence well outside of the university.

Murray also became deeply involved with and active in the feminist and suffrage movements; this activism lasted the rest of her life. As a female teacher in the only

[1] Margaret A. Murray, *My First Hundred Years* (London, William Kimber and Co., Ltd: 1963), 103.

[2] Negley Harte and John North, *The World of UCL* (London: UCL Press, 1991), 120-121.

university in England offering degrees to women, Murray was a feminist not only in her activities, but also by the example she set for her female students. She encouraged them in their studies, mentored them in their professional and personal lives, and paved the way for more women to enter the field of Egyptology both in excavations and at universities as teachers and as students.

The previous chapter focused on positioning Murray within Egyptology on a number of levels and especially her "trail blazing" out in the field; this chapter focuses on her work in the classroom in England and how she continued to lay the groundwork for Egyptology as a new science. I will concentrate mainly on her teaching activities at UCL before the Great War, while giving some attention to the period during and after the war as well, when she excavated in Malta and Minorca for Louis Clarke, curator of the Cambridge Museum of Ethnology and Anthropology. Murray published two Egyptian grammars, in 1905 and 1911, which were used by her students and were purposed for use by anyone who wished to learn how to read, write and understand hieroglyphics.[3] While I will address these books within the context of classroom use, I will focus particular attention in this chapter on the one major publication that was the outcome of her many years of teaching, *The Splendour that was Egypt*, as well as her organization of systematic field archaeology training at UCL.[4] Here I highlight Murray's role as an educator of contemporary and future Egyptologists as well as of the general public.

Murray was continuing to push through certain barriers in the professions, even though much of her work is still considered to be "invisible." Her activity in this period

---

[3] Margaret Murray, *Elementary Egyptian Grammar*, 5th edition (London: University College Press, 1905); Margaret Murray, *Elementary Coptic (Sahidic) Grammar* (London: University College Press, 1911).

[4] Margaret A. Murray, *The Splendour that was Egypt: A General Survey of Egyptian Culture and Civilisation* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959; first edition, 1949).

was crucial to the development of the Egyptology department at UCL, but it has yet to be discussed in the discipline's historical record. This is partly because her work took place in the classroom, a space women used to influence the study of science and to effect wider change through their students' continued work. The classroom can be seen as a gendered space—a sphere of influence allowed for women given the assumption that it is a place from which their authority rarely leaves. Because of the fact that women have long dominated this area of learning, it is a space that is largely forgotten in the history of science.[5] Murray's biggest legacy was her students. By centering analysis on the classroom at UCL and, in the next chapter, on four works written for general audiences and the public exhibition at Manchester, I will compare and contrast her approaches to each audience. This assessment will demonstrate that Murray was not, in fact, a popularizer of scientific information, in the common sense of this concept, but that she was a public educator. She presented scientific theories and ideas in similar ways to her students both in the classroom and to the public.[6] The public also had access to *The Splendour that was Egypt*, although it was published fourteen years after her official retirement from UCL. This book was the culmination of Murray's long years of teaching

[5] For more about forgotten women in education or women in forgotten spaces see: Carol Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities 1870—1939* (London: UCL Press, 1995); Margaret Cool Root, "Introduction: Women of the Field, Defining the Gendered Experience," in Getzel M. Cohen and Martha Sharp Joukowsky, eds., *Breaking Ground: Pioneering Women Archaeologists* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan Press, 2004), 1-33; Helena M. Pycior, Nancy G. Slack, and Pnina G. Abir-Am, eds. *Creative Couples in the Sciences* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1996).

[6] Her work at UCL and through the extension courses is better discussed in the context that Peter Bowler outlines in *Science for All: The Popularization of Science in Early Twentieth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009) because the extension courses were most popular in the early twentieth century. Bowler's book, like Bernard Lightman's *Victorian Popularizers of Science: Designing Nature for New Audiences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), tends to focus on the natural and not the human or social, "low", sciences. Therefore, I use Bowler's framework and some of his conclusions to discuss Murray's work, but many other specific aspects do not apply to Murray.

and lecturing, and made available to a wide readership Murray's deeply held views about Egypt's antiquity and influence on the rest of the world.

Her activities at UCL demonstrate that she desired to train her students to become well-rounded professional archaeologists and that she wanted to pass that knowledge further to the public through lectures and demonstrations given in evening classes at the British Museum.[7] Furthermore, it was through her teaching that she passed on the intellectual and imperial heritage of Egyptology. Within the context of Murray's career as a teacher, I will attempt to establish why the classroom is marginalized in the history of archaeology. It is crucial to give proper credit to those pioneers and path-breakers in the lecture hall, such as Murray.

Feminism and Suffrage

At the heart of Murray's career in this period was her passion for feminism and her efforts to provide better opportunities for women at the university. Throughout her career, and especially during the First World War, Murray continued to show what it was to be a professional woman; she and others in her generational cohort laid the groundwork for "New Women" who were entering the profession as "New Scientists." Murray's involvement with the feminist and suffrage movements cannot be overlooked in a thorough analysis of her career, but it often is. Throughout her life, Murray had often demonstrated that she believed that women should receive education equal to that of men and be able to succeed in a professional career. She had also shown some inclination for the vote, but it was only just before the Great War that she became more involved in the

[7] For more about University Extension Courses, see chapter four of this dissertation and Bowler, *Science for All*, 82-83.

movement. Carol Dyhouse argues that women teachers usually, but not always, "supported women's suffrage and …were committed feminists, although always of a very discreet kind."[8] Root further argues that "[a]ny woman of this era who ventured into the archaeological field was clearly a radical nonconformist."[9] Murray championed feminism and the fight for the vote in various ways, not only by donating money and volunteering in groups that helped women's causes, but also by participating in various protests, marches and demonstrations. Her principal feminist occupation, however, was simply that she *was* in fact a university instructor. She taught both women and men on equal terms and on equal ground. Her encouragement and support of all of her students fostered a friendly atmosphere for women students at a time when Oxford and Cambridge refused to allow women to earn degrees.[10] Murray's feminism is inextricably linked to her teaching at UCL. Teaching would have been unlikely without some adherence to the women's movement and her participation in suffrage and equal education would have been improbable for her outside of the university context.

Because Murray was silent on many important historical episodes in her autobiography, the fact that she devoted a whole chapter to suffrage and feminism is highly significant. At the beginning of the chapter, Murray recalled that for most of her life she had "regarded the idea of votes for women merely a theory."[11] Once she began to listen to the arguments of a few close friends, such as Lina Eckenstein and Mrs. Sheldon Amos, who were "ardent suffragists," Murray claimed that she was soon "quite

[8] Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex*, 64.

[9] Root, "Introduction," 19.

[10] Women were, in fact, still separated from men and unable to earn equal degrees until 1920 at Oxford and 1947 at Cambridge.

[11] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 167.

converted" to the movement; however, she "took no active part in the campaign."[12] Drower takes a similar line, arguing that "[t]hough a passionate feminist, Margaret Murray was not a militant suffragist."[13] I would argue with both authors. As an autobiographer, in many cases Murray was guilty of what Carolyn Steedman describes as an "autobiographical injunction," where the author chooses to present "a history of expectations, orders and instructions rather than one of urges and desires."[14] I believe that Murray's involvement in feminism can best be characterized as that of a professional academic who was a New Woman and a New Scientist, the definitions of which will become apparent in the following section.

As I discussed in the introduction, many biographical treatments of women's lives lack central stories and narrative lines for the sake of appearing moral, proper, and acceptable to certain readerships. Dyhouse has also demonstrated that, in this period, professional women in particular found it necessary to conceal their feminist activities. She argues that many women students and faculty were active participants in "militant and disruptive activities," but that most "were careful to avoid militancy, particularly in view of their need to keep their reputations clear for a future [or, in Murray's case, current] career in teaching." Furthermore, "there were many women…who preferred to keep out of the public eye altogether."[15] One such woman was Jane Johnston Milne,

---

[12] Ibid., 167. Her friends and colleagues at the Abydos dig in 1903-4 were especially influential.

[13] Margaret Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray (1863-1963)," in *Breaking Ground*, ed. Cohen and Joukowsky, 117. She put forth the idea that it may have been "her diminutive height deterred her from taking part in the more violent demonstrations" (117).

[14] Carolyn Steedman, "Enforced Narratives: Stories of another self," in *Feminism and Autobiography: Texts, Theories, Methods,* ed. Tess Cosslett, Celia Lury and Penny Summerfield (London: Routledge, 2000), 25-39.

[15] Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex*, 217-220.

Senior Tutor to Women Students at Birmingham in the early twentieth century.[16] She had a clear interest in the position of women in the university, but in her activities she had to practice "propriety and decorum, and most crucially…the avoidance of anything which might scandalize parents or bring the institutions into disrepute."[17] Milne's students' futures were central to her own and, Dyhouse contends, "[w]hether she would have identified herself as a feminist or not…she [still] fought many a battle on their behalf."[18] Deemphasizing her feminist activist involvement for the sake of appearance is undoubtedly the case with Murray. Through both Murray's personal recollections and the historical context in which the movement developed, it will become plain that Drower's assessment of Murray and Murray's own evaluation of her role in the feminist and suffrage movements are simply incomplete and incompatible with reality, and a historical reappraisal of Murray's roles in these movements and the impact she had both at UCL and in the profession-at-large as a feminist is necessary in order to understand more fully the dilemmas and risks she faced in her work at UCL.[19]

Murray as a New Woman and a New Scientist

The image of the New Woman was a variety of things, depending on a woman's socio-economic and political background as well as her future goals. "She" was given a multitude of names, each describing different aspects of her character: "The 'wild

[16] Sir H. Frank Heath, ed., *The Yearbook of the University of the Empire 1932* (London: The Universities Bureau of the British Empire, 1932), 22; Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex*, 72.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid., 83.

[19] Histories of the feminist movement abound, such as, Gisela Bock, *Women in European History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002); Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert, eds., *Connecting Spheres: European Women in a Globalizing World, 1500 to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Harold L. Smith, *The British Women's Suffrage Campaign, 1866-1928* (London: Longman, 1998).

woman', the 'glorified spinster', the 'advanced woman', the 'odd woman'; the 'modern woman', 'Novissima', the 'shrieking sisterhood', the 'revolting daughters' – all these discursive constructs variously approximated to the nascent 'New Woman'."[20] She was "the Superfluous Woman" against whom a "tremendous amount of polemic was wielded…for choosing not to pursue the conventional bourgeois woman's career of marriage and motherhood."[21] She could be anti-marriage, bucking tradition and societal norms in order to "speak on her own behalf."[22] Similarly, many believed she was a proponent of sexual freedom and opposed to marriage in order to pursue those freedoms. Although difficult to define, there was one thread of continuity weaving throughout these characters: "she was dangerous, a threat to the *status quo*."[23] That is, this odd, wild, glorified shrieking sister was a real entity with which society must contend.

At the turn of the century, the New Woman was the main heroine—or villainess, depending upon your philosophy—in numerous novels at the turn of the twentieth century. Ann Ardis's and Sally Ledger's recent studies focus on this turn-of-the-century fiction as a means by which to study the historical New Woman.[24] Ardis and Ledger agree that "what writers and readers at the *fin de siècle thought* the New Woman was, the way in which she was constructed as a product of discourse, is just as 'real' and historically significant as what she *actually* was."[25] That is to say that the phenomenon

[20] Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the* fin de siècle (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 3.

[21] Ann L. Ardis, *New Women, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 1.

[22] Ledger, *The New Woman*, 10.

[23] Ibid., 10-11.

[24] Ardis, *New Women, New Novels* (1990); Ledger, *The New Woman* (1997).

[25] Ledger, *The New Woman*, 3 (original emphasis).

of the fictional New Woman character can and should be seen as the one who existed in reality. Contemporary critics of this strong idea of realism were worried that the claims made in the novels—especially those about sex—would actually come true. As Ardis and Ledger both demonstrate, it is the clear connectedness of both the literary and the actual entity that make analysis possible at both levels.

Teresa Mangum's more recent work about the New Woman novel argues that fictional prose brought into relief for readers the "feminist issues and feminist characters" of the *fin de siècle*.[26] Mangum argues that the characters and the novelists themselves "forced their readers to question the biological essentialism at the heart of ideal womanhood," and this specific genre of literature "emerged as one of the most powerful forms of resistance to this ideal."[27] While authors wrote fictitious stories about these female characters who were trying to figure out what, who and why she was, the real-life New Woman herself was trying to do the same.[28] One example is Sarah Grand (1854-1943), an author who "lived as well as wrote the often self-contradictory role of the New Woman."[29] She broke from her conservative beginnings and early life as a military surgeon's wife in India and left her husband of twenty years to become a writer. She moved to London and wrote one of the first novels in this particular genre, *The Heavenly Twins*, a story about "miserable marriages, sexual double standards, and the ravages of venereal disease."[30] Throughout the novel, she "debunks conventional femininity by

---

[26] Teresa Mangum, *Married, Middlebrow, and Militant: Sarah Grand and the New Woman Novel* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: 1998), 1.

[27] Ibid., 2.

[28] Susan Kingsley Kent, *Gender and Power in Britain, 1640—1990* (London: Routledge, 1999), 262-310.

[29] Mangum, *Married, Middlebrow, and Militant*, 2-3.

[30] Ibid., 2-4.

portraying female desire but redirecting it from romance to education, occupation, and community."[31] Similarly, Grand's life in London was full of active political participation in the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), the non-militant group for women's suffrage. Furthermore, she was "an officer of various women's organizations, including the Pioneer Club, the Women Writers' Suffrage League, and the National Council of Women."[32] Grand's life was a contradiction, exhibited in her various roles as wife, mother, writer, and feminist. She represents only one of a vast array of women's life stories that ran parallel to one another in this period of role-defining, role-reversal, and self-discovery.

Interestingly, Ardis, Ledger, and Mangum neglect any discussion about the New Woman as a New Scientist, but their literary criticisms are useful as a foundation from which to analyze H.G. Wells' 1909 novel about just such a figure, *Ann Veronica*, in light of Murray's career and activist inclinations.[33] As Maroula Joannou points out, *Ann Veronica* was "the first New Woman novel whose heroine is also a New Scientist."[34] It is true that there were other novels portraying women as independent, entering universities and the professions as scientific practitioners—for example Edith Ayrton Zangwill's *The Call*, published in 1924, and two years later Charlotte Haldane's *Man's World*; Joannou uses both novels as useful comparisons with *Ann Veronica.*[35] However,

---

[31] Ibid., 9.

[32] Ibid., 4.

[33] H. G. Wells, *Ann Veronica*, ed. Sita Schutt (New York: Penguin Books, 2005). *Ann Veronica* was originally published in 1909.

[34] Maroula Joannou, "'Chloe Liked Olivia': The Woman Scientist, Sex, and Suffrage," in *Literature, Science, Psychoanalysis, 1830-1970: Essays in Honour of Gillian Beer*, ed. Helen Small and Trudi Tate (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 196.

[35] Ibid., 195; Edith Zangwill, *The Call* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1924); Charlotte Haldane, *Man's World* (London: Chattow & Windus, 1926). It is not a coincidence that the female authors of these two books

Wells, through the character of Ann Veronica, not only "established a powerful and provocative typology for the representation of the female scientists," but he also established a representation of the new independent female.[36] Stanley Kauffman, a literary critic from the 1930s and 1940s, argued that although Wells' influence within the literary crowd was waning in the middle of the twentieth century, his works were still influential.[37] He cautioned the young readers of the day that they would lose out on "great-souled, comprehensive works of art which have life forever crystallized in their pages," by overlooking novels like *Ann Veronica*.[38] Because the life of the New Woman has been "forever crystallized" in the fiction of the period, I will use the first New Scientist novel to clarify Murray's activities in feminism and in science in order to place her firmly within this cohort.

Ann Veronica is a novel set in London, circa 1908.[39] The protagonist, Ann Veronica Stanley, "had black hair, fine eyebrows and a clear complexion…[she] walked and carried herself lightly and joyfully as one who commonly and habitually feels well, and sometimes she stooped a little and was preoccupied."[40] This New-Woman-to-be was "vehemently impatient – she did not clearly know for what – to do, to be, to experience."[41] Significantly, she was an educated woman who was unhappy with the prospects that awaited a woman of her upper middle-class standing. She had been a

---

were the daughters of eminent scientists of the time: engineer Hertha Ayrton and biologist JBS Haldane, respectively.

[36] Joannou, "'Chloe Liked Olivia'," 195.

[37] Stanley Kauffman, "Wells and the New Generation: The Decline of a Leader of Youth," *College English* 1:7 (1940): 573-582.

[38] Ibid., 578.

[39] Wells, *Ann Veronica*.

[40] Ibid., 7.

[41] Ibid.

student at the Tredgold Women's College (Imperial College's fictional counterpart), and upon the end of her studies there, felt that she was at an impasse. Ann Veronica felt that the world "had no particular place for her at all, nothing for her to do, except a functionless existence varied by calls, tennis, selected novels, walks and dusting her father's house."[42] There was always the possibility of marriage to a suitable man, and then children, but none of these options appealed to her. Under the partial influence of the Widgetts, a neighboring family "of alien sympathies and artistic quality," she decided to move to London against her father's wishes.[43] Upon her painfully unplanned arrival in London, Ann Veronica's life was turned upside down. She had little money—her father had cut her off—she knew almost no one, she had no plan and no job. However, she learned quickly how to navigate the difficult life that was single-womanhood in early twentieth-century London, and was able to return to her studies as she had hoped.

Although critics, both past and present, tend to focus on *Ann Veronica* as being a story about the "glorified sexual freedom of the emancipated woman," the story, in fact, ranges more widely, portraying a young woman caught in the many contradictions of life as a woman and a scientist at the turn of the century.[44] Wells portrays his protagonist as independent yet loyal to her family, as an activist who was discerning in her choice of causes, and as a self-possessed individual who was still a little unsure of herself. At the heart of the novel is the dynamic character of a young woman who was intelligent and

---

[42] Ibid., 8-9.

[43] Ibid., 10.

[44] Catherine Kord, "Review: *Shadow Lovers: The Last Affairs of H.G. Wells by Andrea Lynn*," *The Antioch Review* 60:4 (2002), 710. See also George Robb, "The Way of All Flesh: Degeneration, Eugenics, and the Gospel of Free Love," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 6:4 (1996): 589-603; Robb discusses both the free love advocacy in *Ann Veronica* as well as how suffragists criticized Wells for making the false connection between feminism and free love.

ambitious, yet still powerfully influenced by an older male mentor. Many of the women moving to London in this period had similar characteristics, Murray included. Murray's loyalty to her family cannot, I think, be questioned, as it was clear that her family was important to her. In her youth she obeyed her father's wishes not to get a paying job and at the beginning of her career she cared for her mother in London as she lay dying.[45] Her humility and self-deprecation can be seen plainly in her autobiography, and seems to have been a trademark of Murray's disposition, yet she was confident enough in her abilities to set high goals and achieve them.

New Women were essentially feminists, but they were not necessarily suffragettes or suffragists. Convincingly, Ardis points out that much of the scholarship concerning the suffrage activity in this period has "tended to overshadow other women and other aspects of women's history at the turn of the century."[46] This may be why Ann Veronica was written as both a feminist and a suffragist and that her involvement was as part of the "shrieking sisterhood." Ann Veronica, much like Murray, had become interested in the suffrage movement and the idea of women's rights when she saw how difficult being a single woman independent of a man's protection could be. Wells' character soon became connected to a small group called "The Women's Bond of Freedom," and quickly involved herself in a march-turned-violent-protest and was subsequently and shamefully imprisoned.[47] As an active member of the militantly suffragist Women's Social and

---

[45] Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 115.

[46] Ardis, *New Women, New Novels*, 5. Some examples include: Boxer and Quataert, *Connecting Spheres*; Barbara Caine, *English Feminism, 1780—1980* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Philippa Levine, *Victorian Feminism, 1850-1900* (London: Hutchinson Press, 1987); and Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Images of the Suffrage Campaign, 1907—1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

[47] Wells, *Ann Veronica*, 183-197. She was so ashamed that, like many other incarcerated suffragists, she gave a false name on the registrar at the jail in order to keep her father's good name from association with the movement.

Political Union (WSPU), Murray participated in "the first procession of protest to the Houses of Parliament in 1907."[48] Furthermore, she belonged locally to a "small suffrage society" and walked in a number of other processions, the later ones much larger than the 1907 march.[49] These marches, defined as spectacular by Lisa Tickner, were designed to demonstrate that "all sorts and conditions of women wanted the vote, and that women who wanted the vote were not as they were popularly conceived to be in the public mind or caricatured in the illustrated press."[50] They left a durable impression equally on those who marched and those who witnessed them. Still, like other female scientists, Murray could not afford the publicity—or the consequences—of a militant fight for the vote. Too much attention drawn to her activities could have been detrimental to her career, and she does not appear to have engaged in a great many of them.

Like Murray, physicist Hertha Ayrton (1854-1923) was a scientist and suffragist at the beginning of the twentieth century. In addition to a marriage and family, Ayrton's life was spent pursuing scientific work. She was a woman of firsts in science, including: the first to read a paper at the Institute of Electrical Engineers in 1899 ("The hissing of the electric arc"); the first to be elected a full member of the Institute that same year; the first to be proposed to membership of the Royal Society (1902); and the first and only to have won their prestigious Hughes Medal (1906), awarded for discovery in the physical sciences.[51] Thus, by the time she joined the WSPU in 1906, Ayrton "was already one of

[48] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 167; Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 117.

[49] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 172. She was never incarcerated, as far as I have been able to find.

[50] Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women*, 59.

[51] Joan Mason, "Hertha Ayrton (1854-1923) and the Admission of Women to the Royal Society of London," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 45:2 (1991): 201-220.

the most respected scientists in the country."[52] To the detriment of her scientific activity, however, she spent much of her time in suffrage activities, participating in "every major suffrage procession including the 'Mud March' in February 1907" and the suffrage procession of June 1911 in which she headed the science section.[53] Although her heavy involvement in the movement had to lapse because of her professional duties, her career does not seem to have suffered the ill effects about which Dyhouse warns. Ayrton may have allowed the suffrage movement to occupy much of her time because she was already a respected scientist by the time of her heavier engagement, therefore she was not building a career as much as she was maintaining it. Unlike some others, Murray did not devote the greater part of her time to public suffragist activities. It is difficult to say why this may have been the case, as explicit statements on her part do not exist. Murray's career was still relatively new when she became involved in this issue, and she may have feared putting it at risk. Moreover, it is likely that because her time was already divided between teaching, research, and administration of the Egyptology department, she could not afford the time. Although she did not lack the commitment to the fight for suffrage and other rights, Murray's attentions were needed elsewhere professionally.

What is certain is that Murray's involvement with the fight for women's rights and freedoms did have a positive outcome within the university. *My First Hundred Years* is full of Murray's recollections of a number of other activist happenings in and around UCL. Her experience with the all-male crew at Abydos is evidence of her perceived passivity shifting into assertiveness when she felt a situation called for it. Another important example was Murray's feat at the 1913 meeting of Section H of the British

[52] Joannou, "'Chloe Liked Olivia'," 204.

[53] Ibid., 205; Mason, "Hertha Ayrton," 211.

Association (BAAS), the main point of which was to "draw up a memorial to the Government, pointing out the immense importance of giving some training in anthropology to all Government servants who were to go out to our possessions overseas."[54] The assertion of this memorial was the idea that the training would aid the administrators in understanding the culture of different peoples so that they would not offend the natives by their "sheer ignorance."[55] Murray noted throughout the speeches by "[a]ll the chief anthropologists," including Charles Seligman of the London School of Economics and Alfred C. Haddon of Cambridge, that no one had mentioned the training of women.[56] Toward the end of the meeting, Murray tried to remedy this by hurrying to Haddon who sat towards the front. She recalled:

> I took him by the shoulders and shook him (I was *really* annoyed) and whispered, 'Dr. Haddon, it is very important that the women should be trained. It is quite as important to train them as the men.' Dr. Haddon sprang up and muttering 'Of course, of course. My fault, my fault,' hurried to the platform…[57]

Haddon, in contrast to Murray, spoke from the platform in front of everyone there and said:

> 'Whenever in my speech I mentioned the training of men I meant also the training of women. It is most important that women should be trained, because all we know about the beliefs and customs of the women of these primitive peoples is what men have told men, and what do *they* know about it.'[58]

---

[54] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 96.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid., 97.

[58] Ibid. (original emphasis).

According to Murray, he "retired amid a whirlwind of applause," and she was quite proud of herself for making "a more effective impression by that sudden loss of temper than I could have done if I had made a calm and logical speech."[59] Later on, however, she was informed by her friend and colleague, the folklorist Edward Sidney Hartland, that he disagreed with her opinion. When she inquired as to why this was, he replied: "'Anthropology is not a subject for women. …Because there are many things a woman ought not to know.'"[60] Clearly this was not an argument Murray applied to herself, although there were many other anthropologists at the time who held these opinions.

Murray did not stop knowing and writing about these so-called "unpleasant subjects," but her work on these topics was more than once rejected from publishers for reasons related to gender propriety. She recalled a specific time in which Petrie rejected an article of hers for *Ancient Egypt*, which probably caused some tension within their professional relationship. She said "it was the only article of mine he ever refused."[61] She wrote the article about "a common title in ancient Egypt among those of rank, and could be held by both men and women."[62] Petrie told her that it was "not suitable" for the journal he edited. The *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* must have agreed with Petrie because the research was "promptly but less gently refused."[63] Incidentally, Murray continued, the *JEA* published an article over the same topic a few months later written by

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid., 97-98.

[61] Ibid., 98.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

Kurt Sethe.[64] For Murray, "it showed that a man might write on such subjects and be praised for his knowledge and insight, but not a woman."[65] Murray did not let these rejections negatively affect her continuing work at UCL, but she began to "reserve articles on 'un-pleasant subjects' for *Man.*"[66] One of these articles, "Note on the 'Sa' Sign," was co-written with Charles Seligman.[67] After presenting various theories on the origins and meaning of the particular sign, Seligman and Murray concluded that, signifying "protection," "sa" must be the sign of Taurt, "the hippopotamus-headed goddess of childbirth," because she "is almost invariably represented carrying this sign either in front or on each side of her, her hands resting on the top as she stands upright."[68] The topic of the article may have been seen as objectionable for a woman, especially when their detailed analysis and conclusions were made clear. Seligman and Murray proposed that the sign itself was a representation of the female "uterus and its appendages."[69] Writing about female anatomy and its cultural representations was one of the anthropological subjects about which "a woman ought not to know." It is possible that the editors of *Man* allowed this scholarship because it was co-authored by a man who was a distinguished anthropologist, but it may also have been because the editors of *Man* disagreed with Hartland's earlier sentiment. However, when examining many of Murray's other articles that appeared in *Man*, such as "Evidence for the Custom of

[64] Because Murray did not tell readers of her autobiography what this article was about, I have not been able to find a specific article by Sethe in the *JEA*.

[65] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 98.

[66] Ibid.

[67] C. G. Seligman and M. A. Murray, "Note on the 'Sa' Sign," *Man* 9:8 (1911): 113-117.

[68] Ibid., 114.

[69] Ibid.

Killing the King in Ancient Egypt," "Child-Sacrifice among European Witches," and "Witches' Fertility Rites," it seems that the second reason is the most valid.[70]

Where her chosen topics of research broke a few propriety barriers, at UCL her behavior did so as well. At her home institution, Murray was instrumental not only in getting the women faculty and staff a common room, but also in attempting to desegregate the sexes within their respective common rooms. She described the original ladies' common room as "a long narrow strip of a room...[which] had a slab of slate all down one side, making a kind of table and taking up half the width."[71] There were places to sit and some "apparatus for making coffee," but the room was so small that there was "only space for six people standing, beyond that it was uncomfortably crowded."[72] In order to make a point, Murray and the tutor for the women students, Winifred Smith, invited the Provost to the room for coffee. She said: "The lamb came to the slaughter…[and] before long that room was so packed" that the Provost realized quickly that there was little to no room in the small space for more than a few people.[73] Murray and Smith's plan worked "very successfully because the next time there was an allotment of rooms, we got one sufficiently large for the number of people who would occupy it."[74] It soon became known as the "Margaret Murray Room," where all members of staff and faculty could comfortably sit and drink coffee. However, it has since been made an

[70] M. A. Murray, "Evidence for the Custom of Killing the King in Ancient Egypt," *Man* 14 (1914): 17-23; M. A. Murray, "Child Sacrifice among European Witches," *Man* 18 (1918): 60-62; M. A. Murray, "Witches' Fertility Rites," *Man* 19 (1919): 55-58.

[71] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 159.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

"administrative office and, unfortunately, Murray's name was removed from the door."[75] In order to mix the sexes, Murray began asking male colleagues to come to the women's common room after lunch for coffee. She wrote: "Then the inevitable happened; these colleagues of ours realised that they were receiving hospitality which they could not return and they did not like the feeling. They wanted to return kindness and there was no means of doing so."[76] One Colonel Harris did eventually invite Murray into "the lion's den," as she called it; and she went. She recalled that as she entered the room "I encountered looks of shocked horror, changing to fury, from the die-hard anti-feminists present." Even so, she "had quite a pleasant time" but was not invited back—nor were any women—for quite some time.[77]

As a female tutor and a scientist Murray had the interests of her female students and colleagues at the center of her vision for the university. As Joannou argues about female faculty members in this period: "One can, it seems, be a New Woman activist or a lover or a scientist but not all three, and not even two of the three."[78] Murray, for all intents and purposes, chose to be a scientist.[79] At the same time, she managed to navigate the waters of feminism and as such she was not only able to contribute to the leading scholarship in her field and to press the boundaries of what a woman should know and could write about, but she was also able to further the feminist cause in a variety of effective and important ways. As a female public figure at the university, she was

[75] Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 118.

[76] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 160.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Joannou, "'Chloe Liked Olivia'," 207.

[79] Murray was not married. Not much is known about this aspect of her life—whether she chose to remain single by disappointing would-be suitors or, conversely, if she did not have an opportunity to marry.

necessarily less interested in the spectacle of the movement, but in no way was she less interested in seeing results. The effects of her struggle are easily brought into focus when we look at her passion and lasting legacy: her work in the classroom with her students.

Teaching Egyptology at UCL

The Egyptology department at UCL was growing at a fairly good rate. By 1900, the entire University of London had 1,908 students, 397 of which were women.[80] Egyptology, a "small, self-contained body" within University College, claimed only a fraction of the total number of students, but a substantial number were women. In fact, from the very beginning, women students were a fixture in Egyptology classes.[81] Murray wrote of this period: "There were in the College only seventy-two women students, of which our contribution was about twenty."[82] Egyptology was particularly appealing to women because of the fact the public could easily access and participate in viewing and experiencing it, unlike classical archaeology or prehistory. Similarly, as the "radical infidel," progressive public university, UCL was a place where not only working-class men but also women of all classes could feel welcomed—if not be treated as equals. Murray taught and had an impact on all of the students coming through the department in these years, many of whom went on to become well-known and respected in Egyptology.[83] The size of the museum collections was also growing rapidly, augmented annually by Petrie's finds from his excavation seasons, for which the department had

[80] Hugh Hale Bellot, *University College, London, 1826-1926* (London: University of London Press, 1929), 400.

[81] Rosalind Janssen, *The First Hundred Years: Egyptology at UCL, 1892—1992* (London: University College London Press, 1992), 6.

[82] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 158.

[83] Janssen, *The First Hundred Years*, 14.

been given a large space at the college with special display cases.[84] While Egyptology would always remain a small department, it had grown substantially in its first twenty years and had quickly become a reputable training ground for future Egyptologists.

Much of this growth would not have been possible without Murray's steadfast and determined effort. Murray returned to the department in 1904, after back-to-back trips to the field with Petrie's crew.[85] Each year, Petrie continued to spend the winters digging in Egypt; he usually left "in mid-November and did not return till April or even May." [86] All historians recognize the need for excavations in Egypt to be done during the winter months when the weather is cooler in Egypt, and although they mention Petrie's absence during the majority of the school year, most do not discuss who, then, would have taken his place.[87] Clearly, it was Murray. Janssen and Drower both recognize that she "ran a regular Department during Petrie's annual absences," organizing the seminar schedules, giving tours to visiting dignitaries like the Queen, and managing students.[88] Murray recalled of Petrie's short stints of presence in the department that, although he was "always willing to help he could not give any regular training to the students."[89] She therefore "shouldered a heavy load of teaching in all three terms of the semester, including evening classes twice a week."[90] For the remainder of her career at UCL, Murray continued a busy teaching schedule, teaching day classes at the college while in the evenings she "taught in the evening school and gave courses outside the college,"

[84] Ibid., 17-20.

[85] See chapter 2.

[86] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 103.

[87] Janssen, *The First Hundred Years*, 15-26 for discussion of Petrie's teaching and excavation schedule.

[88] Ibid., 14; Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 121.

[89] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 103.

[90] Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 116, 121.

such as Oxford extension courses at the British Museum, in order to supplement her annual UCL salary of 200 pounds.[91]

Even with all of Murray's hard work in the creation of the curriculum, preparation of lectures, and guidance of future scholars through research and writing, her students are known to historians as "Petrie's pups," even though they rarely saw Petrie in the classroom. There are several reasons as to why this may be. The most obvious and likely explanation is that the department was begun with money meant to fund Petrie specifically, and then was "built" by Petrie through his excavations and research. All of this, however, was made possible by a veritable army of assistants, one of the first of whom was Murray. A second reason may be because Murray's various appointments divided her time among teaching and other duties at UCL, working at other museums, cataloging and detailing their collections, and teaching short courses at outside institutions. These institutions included the Manchester Museum, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (for which she was elected a fellow, F.S.A. Scot.), the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh, the Dublin National Museum, and the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.[92] This reason is not very convincing, however, because Petrie divided his time between Egypt and UCL, while also lecturing and doing work for some other museums. A third reason, and as likely as the first, is that Murray's relatively indefinite status at UCL tends to undermine recognition of her work in the historical record.

Murray's full schedule and vague appointment status were not uncommon, however. Many women who were teachers at universities in this period had risen from

[91] Ibid., 121; Janssen, *The First Hundred Years*, 22.

[92] Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 116.

the student ranks in the same department; rarely did women get hired into a department from the outside as a teacher until after the First World War. Even then, many times, women in positions similar to Murray's were saddled with comparable workloads. In her research about women in British universities in this period, Dyhouse outlines the effort that many women academics had to put forth in order to make ends meet, to receive collegial recognition, or in order now to receive any kind of recognition from historians.[93] She notes that the status of an academic appointment such as Murray's, "was often rather ambiguous," and relates that "these posts were often underpaid, insecure, and carried heavy teaching responsibilities."[94] Edith Morley, one of the first female academics at the University of Reading, had a situation which was similar to that of Murray, and she remarked that: "'If a lecturer be known to teach between twenty and thirty hours a week, it is tolerably, though not entirely, safe to assume that it is a woman who is so foolish.'"[95] Foolish, possibly due to the fact that when so much time was spent in the classroom teaching—not to mention preparing lessons—that there was little time for research of her own. Unlike Petrie and other men who spent winters in the field which resulted in excavation notes, data and theories to write up for publication, Murray and her fellow women teachers had little to no data to contribute to the study of the field—unless they did the research on their own time.[96]

Perhaps the most significant reason Murray is left out is one that Janssen points to in her history of the department: a student who called him or herself a "Petrie Pup" did so

[93] Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex*, 139-140.

[94] Ibid., 136; 139.

[95] Edith Morley, quoted in Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex*, 139-140.

[96] See, for example, Margaret W. Rossiter, "'Women's Work' in Science, 1880-1910," *Isis* 71 (1980): 381-398.

because they were part of a group "selected by Petrie to act as his assistants in the field."[97] This term was applied to all students who were fortunate enough to be chosen for fieldwork, even though they had spent a majority of their preparation time learning and interacting in the classroom with Murray. Murray's labors, however influential within the walls of the department, were in the classroom, and not in the field. Excavations in the early part of the century historically take precedence as the real training ground over any work done in the classroom. Again, as Root argues in the introduction to *Breaking Ground*, the heroic, usually male, field archaeologist is favored in history over what is contrasted as the passive, usually female, assistants and teachers.[98] This hierarchy of prestige can be seen even in Drower's biography of Murray in the same volume, and in Murray's autobiography itself. Drower follows the basic outline that Murray's autobiography does, where more attention is paid to Murray's fieldwork, travels and publications as a result of travel than it does to her teaching, students, or work at UCL. [99]

But without Murray's classes, Petrie would not have had the pool of students from which to choose his future protégés. Although Janssen quotes Petrie as saying "No greater mistake is made than supposing that an excavator must needs be a scholar," he depended on Murray's courses to prepare his excavators with the knowledge necessary to be archaeologists, and not just diggers.[100] It is clear that she aimed to "deter dilettante

[97] Janssen, *The First Hundred Years*, 12.

[98] Root, "Introduction," 9. Root notes this, but the volume *Breaking Ground* and the brief biographies which it contains tend to stress fieldwork over research, teaching, and publication.

[99] Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 109-141.

[100] Janssen, *The First Hundred Years*, 13.

applicants" by making the course material sufficiently rigorous and comprehensive.[101] Petrie appreciated this, and counted on "her sharp eye" which "divided the sheep from the goats and many distinguished men started in this way."[102] That Petrie recognized Murray's substantial contribution to the science through her toil in the classroom is significant. It demonstrates that, even as a "heroic" excavator, he still acknowledged the importance of the classroom. More work needs to be done to fully comprehend the considerable role that coursework played in the development of archaeology, but in Murray's case this importance is undeniable.

The curriculum with which Murray stayed busy teaching was of her own making. Within the department itself, she was constantly "engaged in organising the training of students in Egyptology, which meant also the general principles of archaeology, and in research work and writing."[103] Murray believed that archaeology was "the whole history of man's advance, mentally and spiritually, from the time of his emergence from the animal as a true human-being until the present day."[104] She made the case that archaeologists should thus have knowledge of a variety of disciplines, such as anthropometry, anatomy, geology, mineralogy, ancient and modern languages of their chosen area of study, and a knowledge of how objects such as tools and pottery were made.[105] She therefore recognized the need for an "intensive and extremely practical" training course in these subjects for students who were to enter the field. Over the course of a few years of teaching, Murray developed a diploma program, which involved eighty

[101] Ibid., 12.

[102] Ibid., 13.

[103] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 103.

[104] Ibid., 189.

[105] Ibid., 191-193.

total hours of coursework in each term.[106] The two-year program, the first of its kind in England and first fully implemented in 1911, "gave a complete and systematic training in archaeology."[107] After completing the coursework, students took eleven exams and, if they passed, the student was awarded a diploma, "known as the College Certificate in Egyptology."[108] The purpose of the course, in its entirety, was to provide "able students with the opportunity for active fieldwork with the professor."[109] "The Professor," of course, was always Petrie.

The first students to be taught under the new system came to the department in 1911. Janssen's history outlines the student body in the department in the years before the First World War, mentioning specifically a class of six "who all arrived around 1911 [and who] became known as 'The Gang'."[110] Murray recalled the training of these specific students in her autobiography with fondness, stating that they showed:

> gratifying results later: Rex Engelbach became Director of the Antiquities Museum of Cairo; Guy Brunton became the Deputy Director and also made a name for himself by his work on the predynastic periods of Egypt. Mrs. Brunton and Miss Myrtle Broome became well known for their illustrations.[111]

---

[106] Janssen, *The First Hundred Years*, 11.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Ibid., 12.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Ibid., 14.

[111] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 103. Their work became well-known in Egyptology: Guy Brunton and Reginald Engelbach, *Gurob*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt, Twenty-Fourth Year, 1918 (London: BSEA, 1927); Reginald Engelbach, *The Problem of the Obelisks, From a Study of the Unfinished Obelisk at Aswan* (London: T. F. Unwin, Ltd., 1923); Myrtle F. Broome, Amice Mary Calverly, and Alan Henderson Gardiner, *The Chapels of Osiris, Isis and Horus* (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1933). Winifred Brunton illustrated most of her husband's work. Murray had many other future archaeologists come through her classes, such as Gertrude Caton-Thompson and H. S. Smith, who held the Edwards Chair in the Egyptology department from 1970-1986.

The Bruntons also became close personal friends of Murray as well as the Petries, and painted portraits of both Murray and Petrie that now belong to the department.[112]

An early syllabus from the 1912-1913 school term indicates that the course had components in the history of Egypt, religion and customs, language, art, physical anthropology and ethnology, and mineralogy and geology of Egypt.[113] Murray taught five of the classes, such as Egyptian history, Egyptian religion, and numerous language classes, September through April and brought in other professors to teach specialized subjects. These specialists included Ernest Gardiner, the Chair of Classical Archaeology at UCL, who taught a class on ancient art, and Charles Seligman, who taught anthropological methods.[114] Petrie was of course included—he taught three classes: Religious Life in Egypt, Recent Discoveries (a course about his past year's work), and Dating of Objects.[115] Although the components offered in the certification course changed over the years, the basic outline from 1911 was still in use as late as 1935 by Stephen Glanville, Petrie's and Murray's successor, thus demonstrating its usefulness in training students for careers in Egyptology—in the field or as teachers.[116]

Murray wrote that she included in *Splendour* what actually interested her students and the general audiences with whom she had had contact throughout her career.[117] Furthermore, the rich resources found in a few student notebooks from this period

---

[112] Janssen, *The First Hundred Years,* 14.

[113] Ibid., 12. Other syllabi show similar components. For example, M. A. Murray, "A Course of Six Lectures on Egyptology" Syllabus, British Museum, London, c.1915, MS ADD 387, A-561, Series 1, Special Collections, University College London, London. This syllabus has lectures on religion, the gods, cults and rituals.

[114] Janssen, *The First Hundred Years*, 12.

[115] Ibid., 13.

[116] Ibid., 12; "University of London, University College, Session 1934-35. Department of Egyptology," Course Listing, UCL Records Office, University College London, London, England.

[117] Murray, *Splendour*, xxi-xxiii.

demonstrate not only what Murray taught in these classes, but also shows the high level of scholarship and expertise Murray expected from students and how they received and processed the information.[118] In order to provide more details as to what Murray likely taught in her classes, I will draw on these student notebooks as a supplement to Murray's indicatives of pedagogical focus in *Splendour*, her syllabi, and her hand-written lecture notes from this period.[119]

While it is not in the scope of this dissertation to go into great detail about Murray's specific ideas about kingship, religion, social organization and the like, it is necessary to touch on a few examples to demonstrate that, in general, she did not break from the widely accepted model of Egypt's history. We will therefore have a window into what she believed was important for her students to know and understand as they began their careers.[120] It will also further demonstrate the power Murray was able to exercise in the discipline through her teaching as well as the influence she had on the public's view of Egypt—or at least the level of influence that the critics feared she might have.

The main ideas in Murray's lectures that pertained to Egyptian history, chronology and culture—as made clear in *Splendour*—were in line with the

[118] Notebooks from the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology Archives, University College London, London, England, especially in folders PMA/WFP1/115/12/1-2; PMA/WFP1/115/2/6 (1-2); and AITKEN/01.

[119] I rely on *Splendour* because it is near to impossible to track down all of Murray's lecture notes or obtain all students' notebooks from this period. Comparing what she says in *Splendour* to what her undated lecture notes say, the two are nearly identical. *Splendour* allows me to cite published information, as opposed to unpublished, virtually unavailable, sources. Furthermore, I was able to locate reviews on *Splendour*, but not reviews on her teachings, making it easier to comment on what other Egyptologists thought about her ideas.

[120] M. A. Murray, "A Course of Six Lectures on Archaic Egypt" Syllabus, British Museum, London, 1911, MS ADD 387, A-561, Series 1, Special Collections, University College London, London; M. A. Murray, "A Course of Six Lectures on Egyptology" Syllabus, British Museum, London, c.1915, MS ADD 387, A-561, Series 1, Special Collections, University College London, London.

contemporary theories of her day and much of the general information given in the courses she wrote has become standard teaching in many Egyptology departments today.[121] As have many before and many after her, Murray began her classes by introducing students to the uniqueness of Egypt, arguing that a student of Egyptian history could not understand Egypt without understanding its climate or geography.[122] Murray's hand-written lecture notes from a course given in 1911 state: "Egypt [is] merely [a] long ravine cut by [the Nile] river though [a] natural fault in [the] limestone plateau… This little narrow strip of cultivable ground [is] bordered by desert, enclosed by cliffs, & divided by a river…"[123] Due to the deposit of nutrient rich soil each year by the annual flooding of the river plain, it was possible for inhabitants of the unfriendly environment to grow food and sustain a population. Echoing these sentiments in the introduction to *Splendour*, Murray informed the reader that the history of Egypt had thus begun.

Murray then covered topics such as the dates and chronology of the dynasties, which Pharaohs belonged to which period, and which periods were known as weak or strong, expansive in land or in knowledge, or declining in both. One student's notebook from the general "Egyptian History" course records Murray's teaching that the twelfth

---

[121] Looking through other syllabi or any book about Egypt, the outline and subject matter are generally the same as Murray's syllabi for various courses, although the conclusions do vary. I do not talk in great detail about the content of her lectures or of *Splendour* here because most of the ideas presented within them are generally familiar to students of Egyptian history and have been repeated and expounded upon in a variety of works. In other words, for the most part, there is little that is surprising in Murray's teachings.

[122] This is usually the first thing that new students to Egyptology are taught as well: pick up any book about Egyptology and you will see first a discussion of the map of the Nile as it flows through Egypt, the distinct line that divides the desert and the farmland, and the dominance of the sun in all life. For recent examples, see Bruce G. Trigger, "The Rise of Egyptian Civilization," in *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, ed. B. G. Trigger, B. J. Kemp, D. O'Connor, and A. B. Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, reprint edition), 1-70, esp. 8-11; and Barry J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London: Routledge, 1989), esp. 1-15.

[123] M. A. Murray, "Lecture I, Predynastic Period," 1911, MS ADD 387, A-561, Series 1, Special Collections, University College London, London. She echoes these ideas in the introduction to *Splendour*, xvii.

dynasty was the "Great engineering period," and that in the eighteenth dynasty Egypt was at the "Summit of Power. Egypt [was the] mistress of [the] known world."[124] In *Splendour*, she continued the explanation of Egyptian history and government, informing the reader that the "Pharaoh was, as always, the supreme head, but under him were numerous officials appointed by himself."[125] These officials made up the bureaucracy, mainly occupied with collecting taxes and managing revenues. Agriculture was dependent on the annual inundation, which took place from about the beginning of what we know as September to about the end of November, and Egyptians used tools such as the hoe and the ox-driven plow.[126] The architecture of Egypt was based on the "starkness of the landscape" and the power of the sun to light or provide shade in its shadow.[127] Except for some dwellings of the commoners such as those at Deir-al Medina, the architecture that has survived until today has been religious temples and mostly elite tombs, ensconced in religious symbolism and "made for Eternity."[128] As the river and sun were, and still are, the sources of life in Egypt, they are central to the understanding of architecture. Science as well was dependent on the river and sky. The Egyptian lunar calendar, for example, was based on the study of the constellations.[129] Murray's comparatively brief chapter about the language and literature of the Egyptians focused on

[124] G. B. Aitken, Notebook "Egyptian History, Vol. I," Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology Archives, AITKEN/01, University College London, London.

[125] Murray, *Splendour*, 73.

[126] Ibid., 79.

[127] Ibid., 223-4.

[128] Ibid., 224. For more about Deir al-Medina, see Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 248-260.

[129] Murray, *Splendour*, 285. See also, for example, Otto Neugebauer, "The Origin of the Egyptian Calendar," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 1:4 (1942): 396-403; and Otto Neugebauer, "Astronomical Papyri and Ostraca: Bibliographical Notes," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 106:4 (1962): 383-391.

a few examples of religious, dramatic and lyric poetry and prose which she re-translated herself.[130]

Although in *Splendour* she only introduced the reader to examples of hieroglyphic writing, in the classroom she argued the importance of the ability to translate and read ancient Egyptian script, a knowledge of which her mentor did not prioritize. Murray's language courses were intensive undertakings. Introductory students used Murray's texts, *Elementary Egyptian Grammar* and *Elementary Coptic (Sahidic) Grammar*, but the more advanced students copied texts from stele in the Petrie Museum and the British Museum for translation and transliteration in their own notebooks.[131] Margaret Drower's notebooks from the early 1930s show copies and translations of texts—complete with Murray's corrections in red—from examples such as the "Stele of Thethi, XI Dyn[asty]. Brit[ish].Mus[eum]. (No. 614)," as well as notes from Murray's lectures on the imperative forms of verbs, participles and perfect, imperfect and passive voices.[132] Drower took specific notes and marked certain ones for emphasis, such as: "…the differences of vocalization have left no trace in the hieroglyphic writing; the determination of VOICE and TENSE must often depend solely on the context…"[133] Murray did not impart this kind of knowledge to the reader of *Splendour* because she had done so in previous, more relevant, works such as the grammars she wrote, and in books about Egyptian literature, all of which were available to the public.

---

[130] Murray, *Splendour*, 289-313. I will discuss many of these issues in more detail in the next chapter.

[131] Murray, *Elementary Egyptian Grammar*; Murray, *Elementary Coptic (Sahidic) Grammar*.

[132] Margaret Drower, "Egyptian Exercises, c. 1931," Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology Archives, 12/1, University College London, London.

[133] Margaret Drower, "Egyptian Exercises, c. 1931," Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology Archives, 12/2, University College London, London.

In *Splendour*, her largest chapter was the one about Egyptian religion. Because of the large amount of scholarship about this particular subject, of which Murray wrote many volumes, she argued that the discussion had "become somewhat stale." However, demonstrating just how crucial religion was to all inquiries into Egyptian history, she still went into considerable detail.[134] She stated that the religious beliefs of Egypt were "never static," but consisted mainly of a broad pantheon of gods beginning with the various forms of the Sun god and Pharaoh, and spreading all the way to deities at the local level.[135] She reminded her readers that although it is easy to be shocked and confused by Egyptian beliefs, "this same religion had for thousands of years brought to its believers help in time of trouble, comfort in sorrow, and courage in the face of death," much like Christianity does for Christians today.[136] She inferred a few parallels from ancient Egyptian religion to Christianity, arguing that there were "resemblances" throughout both as well as citing scripture when discussing Egyptian deities.[137] She also included a brief discussion of the burial customs, including mummification and some burial customs of the non-elites.[138]

Although it may seem like a superficial survey, much of the material in *Splendour* and in the introductory classes was designed to prepare students for more specific subject matter. Courses such as "The Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt" detailed Egyptian

---

[134] Murray, *Splendour*, xxii.

[135] Ibid., 124-221. In this chapter she also gave a few paragraphs to the attention of the idea of primitive goddesses. She went into more detail about goddesses in her later work, *The Genesis of Religion* (London: Kegan Paul, 1963).

[136] Murray, *Splendour*, 124.

[137] Margaret Murray, "Lecture XII, Christian Period," 1911, MS ADD 387, A-561, Series 2, Special Collections, University College London, London; Murray, *Splendour*, 124.

[138] Ibid., 185-212.

methods of stoneworking, painting, glass making, woodworking, weaving and more.[139] In 1911, lectures for the second-year class in Archaic Egypt began with a general history of the early period, followed in the next five weeks by more in-depth analyses of various issues in this episode of Egyptian history, including art, religion, culture and customs, and kingship.[140] Murray was a thorough and rigorous teacher, and expected the same devotion to the subject from her students.

Her students from the evening university extension courses were expected to meet the same standards as her full-time university students as well. These extension courses, made available through Oxford, Cambridge, and London universities and usually taking place in London, allowed students who could not attend classes during the day due to work or family obligations to get an education at night. Peter Bowler estimates that, at the height of the extension courses offered by a number of universities, "[a]round 50,000 students were attending, and although the number taking examinations declined after the first decade of the new century, actual attendance at courses remained high."[141] He argues that the decline in examinations and the fact that the middle classes made up most of the attendance meant that most of the students were not necessarily attending for the sake of course credit, but were still learning nonetheless.[142] While this may have been true for some, it was not the case for all. Many students attended these courses in order to gain an education and start a career. For instance, Mrs. Georgina B. Aitken began as a

[139] M. A. Murray, "A Course of Six Lectures on The Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt," Syllabus, British Museum, London, n.d., MS ADD 387, A-561, Special Collections, University College London, London.

[140] M. A. Murray, "A Course of Six Lectures on Archaic Egypt" Syllabus, British Museum, London, 1911, MS ADD 387, A-561, Series 1, Special Collections, University College London, London.

[141] Bowler, *Science for All*, 82.

[142] Ibid., 83. These students likely formed the part of the general population that bought Murray's and other science writers' books in this period. See chapter four for more discussion of this.

student of Murray's in her 1911 extension course "Archaic Egypt," but soon became a full time student and assistant in the department at UCL.[143] Her notebooks from the evening courses are laden with line drawings and notes from classes in which Murray used the collections at the British Museum for her presentations. Murray's syllabi from these courses also detailed the requirements in each course, including weekly papers, regular attendance, sufficient home study, and the passing of a final examination.[144] A last, troubling, aspect of these university extension courses was the periodic lack of available resources. Bowler states that the amount of natural science that could be taught was limited, due to "the problem of providing equipment for experiments," but this did not hinder Murray's teachings in the human sciences.[145] Murray's courses took place in the British Museum where she had at her disposal the famous collections of the museum and a wide range of knowledge and creativity in her exposition. The students in Murray's evening and extension courses, then, were afforded the same lectures, demonstrations, and resources that the full-time students at the department had at their disposal and were thus expected to maintain the same level of commitment to learning.

Throughout the course of her long teaching career, many students came and went through the department, enrolling in the two-year course with mixed results. Relatively

---

[143] Aitken is not easy to find in the historical record. She was a student in the department from at least 1911 until 1919, when she was recognized as an official member of faculty. She taught the evening classes, covered for Murray when she traveled for other lectures, and retired in 1929 (Janssen, *The First Hundred Years*, 14, 22). She kept copious notes in Murray's classes, and these are left at the Petrie Museum Archives. In an obituary of Rex Engelbach, Guy Brunton mentioned her briefly as "a family friend…who was a student at University College, London" and who was responsible for introducing him to Petrie in 1911 (Guy Brunton, "Reginald Engelbach," *Annales du Service des Antiquitiés de L'Egypte*, Vol. XLVIII [Cairo: Imprimerie de L'Institut Français d'Archaeologie Orientale, 1948], 1).

[144] M. A. Murray, "A Syllabus of a Course of Six Lectures on Egypt and the Bible," *Oxford University Delegacy for Extra-mural Studies, University Extension Lectures Committee*, 1938, UCL Special Collections, University College London, London, England.

[145] Bowler, *Science for All*, 83.

little is known about Murray's relationships with her students; however from the memories of a few we can begin to get a clearer picture of Murray as an instructor and mentor. One student who came to UCL after the First World War, Sir Laurence Kirwan, recalled that she was a "good, clear, and concise" instructor who would take him and other students to "a sparse lunch at Maple's in Tottenham Court Road where she talked about her other passion: medieval witchcraft, on which she was a leading authority."[146] Margaret Drower, the last living student of Murray's and one of her biographers, recalled the "very informal atmosphere in the Department," saying that "[m]ost tuition took place around a table in the Edwards Library, Margaret Murray passing chocolates to and fro, and going off on an excursus about witches."[147] Murray was clearly devoted to teaching and equally devoted to the well-being of her students who enjoyed both formal instruction and informal mentoring relationships with their teacher both inside and out of the classroom.

While these remembrances are crucial to our understanding of Murray's institutional presence, it is in Murray's correspondence with a scholar at the Manchester Museum, Miss Winifred Crompton, that we may see evidence of the kind of relationship Murray's students likely experienced.[148] Murray and Crompton had begun working together when Murray arrived in Manchester in 1906 to work for the museum. She was there to organize and catalog the Egyptian collections, and two years later performed the mummy unwrapping (see chapter four); the two continued both a professional and a

[146] Janssen, *The First Hundred Years,* 24.

[147] Ibid., 25.

[148] Crompton later became the Keeper of Egyptology at the Manchester Museum and aided G. Elliot Smith with many of his works about diffusion.

personal relationship for years after.[149] Many of the first letters from Murray to Crompton dealt with the numbering of the mummy bandages, as well as with health and personal news of mutual friends of theirs.[150] It is, however, the later letters that reveal Murray's care for her informal student. In letters from 1919 and 1920, Murray advises Crompton—who was already Assistant Keeper of the Egyptology collections at Manchester—to write to other scholars with specialized knowledge if she had troubles in certain areas of study. Murray attempted to ease any discomfort Crompton might have had with that situation, and told her: "say I told you to write."[151] About one year later, Murray encouraged Crompton to write an original piece of research about nome signs in Egypt. As Petrie had led Murray through her first writing projects, Murray did the same for Crompton:

> Why don't you work up some of these points yourself? It is time you did a piece of solid research, & this is a good subject to begin on. Just go ahead & do it, you are quite qualified for it. Take the nome signs, & find out all the early signs; this will throw a flood light on the local ceremonies and on the early religious beliefs. The John Rylands Library will get you the books you want, if they know you are really in need of them. Don't be afraid of asking, & don't be afraid of tackling a subject that is quite within your powers.[152]

A few days later, Murray wrote to advise Crompton on research methods:

---

[149] The Petries were also close friends of Crompton's. A letter from Hilda in November of 1922 begins with talk of son John Petrie disliking his sixth year math class. It also mentions a "tremendous find in the Tombs of the Kings, by Mr. Carter, of XVIIIth furniture &c time of Tutankhamen, & going back to Akhenaten – a new royal tomb apparently" (Hilda Petrie to W. Crompton, 30 November 1922, Manchester Museum Archive, Manchester, England).

[150] Such as the letter from M. A. Murray to W. Crompton, 29 June 1909, Manchester Museum Archive, Manchester, England. I have not been able to locate many letters at all, and finding any written *to* Murray is even more difficult.

[151] M. A. Murray to W. Crompton, 20 February 1919, Manchester Museum Archive, Manchester, England.

[152] M. A. Murray to W. Crompton, 5 February 1920, Manchester Museum Archive, Manchester, England.

> There is no royal road to research. You must look through everything that has been published; keep careful notes in a book, & never trust to your memory. Better keep four note books, one for early, one for O[ld] K[ingdom], one for M[iddle] K[ingdom], & one for N[ew] K[ingdom]. When you read an article, take the author's facts & not his conclusions, verify all his references. It is a desperately slow job. … If you get into difficulties, write to me.[153]

Dyhouse contends that, in this period, "[u]niversity authorities were *in loco parentis*, and felt that women needed special protection and chaperonage that could only be discharged by a woman."[154] Murray, as a faculty member and therefore unofficial chaperone, took it as part of her duties to take care of her female students. Murray likely offered encouragement and gave similar research and scholarly guidance to all of her students, women especially, near and far.

Malta and Minorca

During World War I, universities were almost void of students and teachers who had left to support the war effort; Murray, therefore, was free to pursue other avenues for the duration of the war, if she so chose. Wanting to help her country, she went to be a nurse again, but her poor health would not let her pursue that course for long. After a few weeks of war work, she was sent home and ordered to rest, but she did not break from her studies. Continuing her journey through the past, Murray became interested in myths about the Holy Grail and wrote a short article about the connection of those legends to

[153] M. A. Murray to W. Crompton, 9 February 1920, Manchester Museum Archive, Manchester, England (original emphasis).

[154] Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex*, 59.

ancient Egyptian mythology.[155] The article appeared in Petrie's new journal *Ancient Egypt*, for which Murray became a constant contributor during the war.[156] After the war and the Petries' permanent move to Jerusalem in the late 1930s, Murray became the editor.[157] Also at this time, Murray began to research the history and the origins of witchcraft, although it is not clear what sparked this interest.[158] She wrote a few of the earliest academic studies on it, soon becoming an expert in the subject and being honored with the presidency of the Folklore Society (1952-1954).[159]

After the Great War, Murray continued to train Egyptologists, manage the department and collections at UCL, and publish her independent research. She still bore the brunt of the teaching load, even though after the war new faculty members—all women—came to work in the department.[160] True to the nebulous and overworked nature of women's university work, Murray combined her duties at UCL with travelling back and forth to Manchester and Cambridge in order to teach and to organize museum

[155] Margaret Murray, "The Egyptian Elements in the Grail Romance," *Ancient Egypt* 3 (1916): 1-14.

[156] See some of her articles, for example, Margaret Murray, "The Coptic Stela of Apa Teleme," *Ancient Egypt* 1 (1914): 156-158; Margaret Murray, "The Temple of Ramses II at Abydos," *Ancient Egypt* 3 (1916): 121-138; Margaret Murray, "Some Pendant Amulets," *Ancient Egypt* 4 (1917): 49-56.

[157] Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 118.

[158] Murray's work on witchcraft was the subject that made her well known to the general public in this later period (Ibid., 119). Her research postulated the theory that medieval witchcraft rituals "represented the remains of an ancient pagan religion that was displaced by Christianity but survived, in England at least, until the eighteenth century" (Ibid.). In Egyptology she had always studied spirituality and religious practices, and these theories continued into her work on witchcraft. I will not go into great detail about Murray's work in witchcraft studies in my dissertation; that is a subject for a whole other study and I will be focusing on her work as an archaeologist rather than as a folklorist and witchcraft historian. Her main publications in witchcraft had considerable influence in the scholarly study of the subject but did not become best-sellers until the 1960s. Margaret Murray, *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe: A Study in Anthropology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921; reprint edition, 1962); Margaret Murray, *The God of the Witches* (London, J. Murray, 1931; second edition, 1962). For a more comprehensive discussion of this, see Margot Adler, *Drawing Down the Moon: Witches, Druids, Goddess-Worshippers, and Other Pagans in America Today*. Revised and Expanded edition (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986 [1979]), 45—60. Scholars continue to study and critique her work in witchcraft today see, for example, Jacqueline Simpson, "Margaret Murray: Who Believed Her and Why?" *Folklore* 105 (1994): 89-96.

[159] Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 132.

[160] Janssen, *The First Hundred Years*, 22.

collections at both universities. While her activities at Manchester (1908-1910) will be central to the discussion in the next chapter, here I will briefly discuss her 1920s and 1930s excavations in Malta and Minorca for the Cambridge Museum of Ethnology and Anthropology. It was in her work for Cambridge in the Mediterranean that Murray was able to conduct her own excavations and produce scientific accounts of the results. Murray and her assistants were one of the first groups to scientifically explore the prehistoric archaeology of the area. During this time not only did Murray train field archaeologists *outside* of the classroom, but she also broadened her influence on the developing discipline of archaeology as a whole.

In the early 1920s, Louis C. G. Clarke, the curator of the Cambridge Museum of Ethnology and Anthropology, personally financed excavations in Malta and Minorca and hired Murray to carry them out over the long summer holidays.[161] Pamela Jane Smith points out that Clarke was the last "Gentleman Curator" at the Museum: "[a]long with his considerable wealth, he brought artistic presence and cultivated grace to the museum."[162] Clarke's presence also brought an air of informality to the Museum, and, "[b]y all accounts, the Museum operated pleasantly, if chaotically. ...Improvisation was encouraged; volunteer work was greatly appreciated and well recognised."[163] It is unclear if Clarke approached Murray of his own accord or if Petrie had recommended her skills to him; however, it was undoubtedly the informal, improvisational environment that allowed Murray the latitude to work with Cambridge while still a full-time faculty member at UCL.

---

[161] Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 121-124; Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 129-134.

[162] Pamela Jane Smith, *A Splendid Idiosyncrasy: Prehistory at Cambridge, 1915-1950* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 84.

[163] Ibid., 82.

Since the summer was the only time that Murray's grueling teaching schedule lightened and she was free to excavate, from 1922 through 1925 she spent four seasons in Malta. She took assistants with her, such as her friend Dr. Edith Guest from the UCL medical department and her student Gertrude Caton-Thompson.[164] Murray employed local, experienced Maltese men to help with the digging and manual labor on site. She also trusted them to explain to her many of the ancient legends in the Maltese religion and culture.[165] Demonstrating Petrie's influence, Murray quickly produced three volumes of excavation reports, and multiple articles about her findings in Malta.[166]

The first two years of excavation Murray and her crew diversified their efforts on the island: digging in a cave called Ghar Dalam, where they hoped to find prehistoric vertebrate remains; exploring areas such as Santa Maria tal Bakkari, which provided some megaliths and structures for the analysis of the Roman period on the island; and detailing materials at Borg en Nadur, which turned out to be a small site of ruins yielding a wealth of materials for Murray's studies. Murray and her crew found an assortment of prehistoric and later human and animal remains as well as pottery and evidence of some possible religious practices. The last two years of excavation and analysis were devoted

[164] Gertrude Caton-Thompson began as a student at the UCL Egyptology department in 1921. Her experience in the field was led first by Petrie, then by Murray in Malta. She believed that, especially in Egypt, more could be learned from the remains of a settlement than by the remains of a tomb. She was the first to use the scientific archaeological methods that Petrie had pioneered on the remains of a home or town, thus providing corroboration that Petrie's sequence dating was accurate. See Margaret S. Drower, "Gertrude Caton-Thompson (1888-1985)," in *Breaking Ground*, ed. Cohen and Joukowsky, 351-379. See also, Gertrude Caton-Thompson and Guy Brunton, *The Badarian Civilisation* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1928). For more biographical information, see Gertrude Caton-Thompson, *Mixed Memoirs* (Gateshead: Paradigm Press, 1983).

[165] Margaret A. Murray, *Excavations in Malta*, Part I (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1923).

[166] Ibid.; Margaret A. Murray, *Excavations in Malta*, Part II (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1925); Margaret A. Murray, *Excavations in Malta*, Part III (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1929). Murray also produced many shorter articles about her findings in Malta, such as Margaret Murray, "Stone Implements from Borg en Nad," *Man* 23 (1923): 65-66.

to Borg en Nadur, the name of the site meaning "Fortress on the Nadur Hill."[167] Murray's fascination with ancient religion undoubtedly persuaded her to focus on this particular site. Indeed, it turned out to be a megalithic site that had been a place of religious worship since prehistoric times, according to Murray and Caton-Thompson, and they were able to trace the material remains and date them as recently as the pre-Christian Roman era.[168]

Again, there are no extant reviews of the excavation publications; however, in Maltese archaeology today Murray is still recognized as an important pioneer in the field. Archaeologist Claudia Sagona argues that even though Murray's excavations of prehistoric Malta "do not help the discussion in terms of sequence," her site reports "provide more illustrations reflecting the cultural remains at the site."[169] Echoing these sentiments, Caroline Malone, Simon Stoddart and others remark that Murray's reports, while not aiding in sequence dating or many other cultural conclusions, do offer archaeologists a broad "assembly of systematic samples of material culture," thus making hers "the most easily quantifiable prehistoric excavations to date from the Maltese Islands."[170] That Murray's Maltese excavation reports are still being cited as important by today's archaeologists speaks to her skill and attention to detail, not to mention her expertise in an area well outside her usual purview.

---

[167] Murray, *Excavations in Malta*, Part I, 4.

[168] Murray, *Excavations in Malta*, Part III, 22-30.

[169] Claudia Sagona, "Malta: Between a Rock and a Hard Place," in *Beyond the Homeland: Markers in Phoenician Chronology*, ed. Claudia Sagona (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 489; 499.

[170] Caroline Malone, Simon Stoddart, et al., "Introduction: the Intellectual and Historical Context," in *Mortuary Customs in Prehistoric Malta: Excavations at the Brochtorff Circle at Xaghra (1987-94)*, ed. Caroline Malone, Simon Stoddart, et al. (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2009), 15, 6.

In 1932, a few years after her final excavations in Malta and the same year that she received her honorary Ph.D. from UCL, Clarke again asked Murray to lead an excavation for the Museum, this time in Minorca.[171] At the age of sixty-nine, Murray accepted the position mainly because she wanted to continue to do fieldwork. Similar to the sites in Malta, Minorca was also a Mediterranean site recognized for its megaliths and its pre-Christian religious practices; as before, Murray was assisted by Dr. Guest.[172] Although she went to Minorca twice, the trips were brief but productive. The excavations made important pottery and skeletal finds that were published in the excavation reports, *Cambridge Excavations in Minorca*.[173] As she did with the Maltese materials, in Minorca Murray focused on the evidence of religious practices and the formation of organized religion in pre-Christian societies. Impressed by the megaliths, Murray argued that "[t]he splendour of the monument, the pains expended on its erection, the care with which it was enclosed, all point to the same conclusions, that the upper stone was the emblem, the outward and visible sign, of the Deity, raised up on high to be viewed by all the people."[174] Murray's discussions throughout the site reports were based upon her interpretation of the megaliths as areas devoted to worship and praise of a pre-Christian deity. Her interpretations were crucial to the development of the archaeology of these sites and the prehistory of Europe in general. Until Murray's excavations, many scholars speculated as to the purpose of these megaliths, but Murray attempted to give a definitive answer. Her work in Minorcan archaeology seems to have been ignored by

[171] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 135-137.

[172] Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray," 123.

[173] Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, 135-136; Margaret A. Murray, *Cambridge Excavations in Minorca, Sa Torreta* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1934); Margaret A. Murray, *Cambridge Excavations in Minorca, Trapucó* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1938).

[174] Murray, *Cambridge Excavations, Sa Torreta*, 10.

many scholars—there are no reviews to be found and she was not widely cited, if at all. However, it is clear that, as in Murray's scholarship about ancient Egypt, her focus in both Malta and Minorca was on the development of religion and society in the Mediterranean.

Conclusions

Murray's educational goals were two-fold: first, to add to the knowledge about the history of Egypt; and second, to inform the public and keep them involved in the growing discipline. Implicit in both of these goals was the fact that she was teaching her students and the public the Orientalist view of Egypt, revealing the mysteries and explaining what had been unknowable, thus making it knowable and controllable. Murray pursued the first goal by teaching and graduating students who were prepared to go into the field and become experts in their own right. They were also fully prepared and trained to teach Egyptology at the college level, by the variety of subjects they had to learn as well as the depth into which Murray took them in the scholarship. At the same time, Murray produced articles and books which contributed to the existing scholarship about Egypt, the language and the culture. Much of this, however, took place behind the scenes where the heroic archaeologist does not go: the classroom and lab where the (mostly) female assistants belong. As a new science, Egyptology was more fluid when it came to gender placement, thus allowing Murray to be more in the public eye. As a New Woman and a New Scientist, Murray took advantage of her position not only to direct the discipline down a more open and publicly accessible path, but also to open the way for more women to enter education and the burgeoning fields of science at UCL.

Murray's striving for equal education led her to pursue interactions with the public and to involve them in all facets of the science. Murray's activism in London and at UCL, although seldom discussed, is crucial to the understanding of the direction in which she took her career after this point. It is clear that she taught men and women as equals, and expected them to be treated as such in the professional world. Because of the impartiality with which she treated both men and women, Murray had more latitude in working with and training her female students. For example, she was able to take Gertrude Caton-Thompson into the field as her assistant in Malta, something that may not have been possible at another institution. Contrary to what many histories portray, the work and research in which Murray engaged was extremely visible, when seen in the context of the Egyptology department at UCL; on the other hand, in the historical record, her work was seen simply as being Petrie's right hand. Even in the provision passed by UCL upon Murray's retirement, thanking her for all of her work for the college over four decades, "[m]ention was made of the fact that, when Petrie was absent, she had assumed responsibility for the entire teaching and administration of the Department."[175] Mention was not made of the fact that, most years, Petrie was absent for most of the school year. Her role within the department had not changed significantly, but she was helping other women students to pursue professional avenues that had not been open to her.

Murray's work was intensely motivated by scientific research and furthering scientific and historical knowledge. The excavations for Clarke at Cambridge were possible not only because as a female teacher Murray was overburdened during the school year, but also because her desire to excavate, study, and publish historical material

[175] Janssen, *The First Hundred Years*, 30.

remains was overwhelming. She wished to produce new and original works about the history of humankind and she saw Clarke's offer as a means to that end. Much of her work was aimed at an audience that included both scholars and non-scientists to persuade members of both groups to see this work as important socially and economically. Furthermore, spreading information to the public through lectures and books such as *Splendour*, gives credence to the argument that she was not, in fact, simply a popularizer of science, as Lightman and others discuss. However, Murray's role is difficult to define in the terms historians use today. In the next chapter, I will analyze her work that was directed more at the general public than at academics. Doing so will reveal her as a mediator and popular educator, a spectacular show-woman and scientific lecturer.

Chapter 4: The Classroom-at-large, 1908-1935

Introduction

Chapter four covers a slightly longer period than the previous two chapters, and it overlaps part of the period covered in the last chapter. I chose these dates because in 1908, Murray was the first woman to lead a public mummy unwrapping, and 1935 was the year she officially retired from UCL. During this thirty-year period Murray maintained her various tasks at UCL while at the same time venturing away from London to take on a variety of appointments at other universities. In the previous chapter I briefly discussed Murray's excavations in the Mediterranean for Cambridge as an appointment that not only gave Murray latitude in training her students outside of the classroom, but it also allowed her to expand her sphere of influence to various arenas in the discipline of archaeology. She continued to pursue a broad range of interests for the rest of her career; in this chapter I will discuss specifically Murray's curatorial work at the Manchester Museum and her public educational outreach, which consisted of writing books for the public and teaching extension courses at the British Museum. Murray continued to perform the "women's work" in the discipline—teaching, training, translating, organizing, and administrating—however, by engaging the public in the study of ancient cultures, she was shaping the way future research would be done as well as the way in which the public understood Egypt.

It is clear that by this time Murray had established herself in Egyptology: she was an educator, focusing on her students in the classroom and the public at large; she was an author of original works presenting theories of the history and religion of Egypt; and she was the main administrator and teacher of a small but renowned academic department

and training program for new professional archaeologists. At Manchester, her appointment culminated in the first public mummy unrolling in decades, and the first to be led by a woman. Assisted by scholars from other disciplines, Murray slowly and diligently removed the linens from the remains of Khnum-Nekht, a Middle Kingdom figure discovered as part of a tomb group by Petrie's crew in 1907. Her focus here was both academic and spectacular, geared at the large audience of students, scholars, and paying Mancunians who witnessed the show. The report that soon followed shared this mixed audience. In *Tomb of the Two Brothers*, Murray detailed the remains of the tomb group and introduced both Egyptologists and non-specialists to important funerary and cultural knowledge from the then little-known Middle Kingdom period. Both the lecture and the unrolling with its written report were situated between the time of the Victorian spectacular sciences and the specializing science of the early twentieth century. Many times, women were usually the ones explaining difficult information in more easily understood terms; however, Murray stepped out of this gendered role by translating the exotic, ancient information for a mixed audience of scholars and the public, men and women. Not only that, but Murray's work at Manchester also shows her passion for research, discovery and education of the public, revealing new knowledge about the mysteries of Egypt, while at the same time adding new perspectives and information to academic scholarship.

Throughout this period, Murray's dedication to education stands out as she wrote books about Egypt specifically for a public audience, and in this chapter I focus on four short works which were aimed at explaining aspects of ancient Egyptian history and culture to the general public. These books differed from her other works that were

written with the public in mind, such as in *The Splendour that was Egypt*, in that each new publication dealt with a specific subject of study about ancient Egypt, instead of being a more general survey. More importantly, they were published by John Murray, a publishing house that catered to a more general readership. Furthermore, as the mummy unwrapping at Manchester did, these works further solidified the Orientalist position of power over Egypt and its inhabitants using the knowledge gained by studying its past. Finally, they placed Murray in the category of a popularizer of science, which, to some historians, would endanger her being categorized as a scientist or might cheapen that claim. However, this is clearly not the case. Murray was a popularizer in the sense that she wanted to spread science to the public, but not so in the framework that some historians claim a popularizer operated—that is, that her work was written from the top down or necessarily simplified.[1]

Manchester and Mummies

On Thursday, May 7, 1908, *The Manchester Guardian* reported:

> Yesterday afternoon, in the Chemistry Theatre at the Manchester University, before a peering collection of twentieth-century men and women and twentieth-century students, Khnumu Nekht was bared of his wrappings and brought once more to the light of day. …Near the body the linen sheets had rotted, and they fell to pieces at a touch. The bones, however, were more or less perfect. There were traces of flesh on them.

[1] For a more recent discussion of this issue, see the June 2009 *Isis* Focus Section: Historicizing "Popular Science," pp. 310-368; especially Andreas W. Daum, "Varieties of Popular Science and the Transformations of Public Knowledge: Some Historical Reflections," *Isis* 100: 2 (2009): 319-332.

> It was on the whole a gruesome business, and one or two people left early.[2]

Murray herself was dressed in a white pinafore, her hair neatly pinned back. The audience that day was a mixture of the interested, but general, public as well as university students and members of the Manchester Egyptian Association.[3] The only detailed report of the investigation, *The Tomb of the Two Brothers*, was published two years later and remains today one of the leading studies of the mummification processes and human remains of Middle Kingdom Egypt.[4] The book, like the unwrapping itself, was directed at both a scholarly audience—those who stood to gain important information about the history of medicine, disease, culture, society, and religion of a previously little-known period—and the general public, those who Murray hoped to engage in the topic so they could learn more about Egyptian history and human history in general. Furthermore, in characteristic Orientalist and Egyptological fashion, through these two media the ancient bodies and the mysteries they could unravel were revealed to scholars and the public alike, thus making the unknown known, giving order to the chaos.

G. A. Wainwright, archaeologist and professor at Oxford University, remarked in a later review of her work in the late 1940s, that Murray's life-long anthropological approach to Egyptology allowed for "a peculiarly intimate view of life in ancient Egypt."[5] Furthermore, he argued that Murray's approach in writing for the public provided for "'human interest'" in Egypt's past which "differentiates it from most

---

[2] "The Mummy of Khnumu Nekht of the XII Dynasty (About 2500 B.C.)," *The Manchester Guardian*, 7 May 1908.

[3] Rosalie David, *The Two Brothers: Death and the Afterlife in Middle Kingdom Egypt* (Bolton, U.K.: Rutherford Press, 2007), 103.

[4] Margaret A. Murray, *The Tomb of the Two Brothers* (Manchester, UK: Sherratt & Hughes, 1910).

[5] G. A. Wainwright, Review, "The Splendour that was Egypt by Margaret A. Murray," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 36 (Dec. 1950): 120.

accounts."[6] Her ambition of sharing science for the purpose of public understanding was clearly demonstrated in the work she did at the Manchester Museum, when she invited a wider audience into the realm of the usually exclusive Chemistry Theatre and introduced them to a particular ancient Egyptian. Implicit in this presentation was the fact that Murray was revealing, exposing and objectifying the Oriental "Other" in a way that could not be done at any other juncture. Sahar Sobhi Abdel-Hakim argues that in England and the West, "mummies offer a site in which death could be located, watched, studied and known about, contained and possessed – a spectacle where death could be controlled."[7] Murray's work implicitly allowed for the discovery and creation of knowledge about the East, which, according to Said and others, was what made control and subordination of the East and its people possible.

Historically, Murray's study at Manchester is set conspicuously at the end of a long line of public spectacles which displayed mummified remains as objects of curiosity and which dated back to before the sixteenth century. During the Victorian period, the public began to encounter science in a variety of entertaining ways including panoramas, displays at the Crystal Palace, and entertaining magazines and books.[8] These spectacles, most recently analyzed by Bernard Lightman in *Victorian Popularizers of Science*, were highly entertaining shows in which people were, to a certain degree, educated about

---

[6] Ibid.

[7] Sahar Sobhi Abdel-Hakim, "Silent Travellers, Articulate Mummies. 'Mummy Pettigrew' and the Discourse of the Dead," in *Egypt Through the Eyes of Travellers*, ed. Paul Starkey and Nadia El Kholy (Oxford: ASTENE, 2002), 123.

[8] Richard Altick, *The Shows of London: A Panorama History of Exhibitions, 1600-1862* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978); Bernard Lightman, ed. *Victorian Science in Context* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Aileen Fyfe and Bernard Lightman, eds., *Science in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century Sites and Experiences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

different aspects of science.[9] Not only this, but Murray's study also sits at the beginning of the professionalization of Egyptology and thus the start of the scientific and experimental investigation of mummified remains. Furthermore, the study marks the beginning of an on-going project that is still based at Manchester: the Manchester Museum Mummy Project.[10]

Murray's lecture in 1908 and her book in 1910 are firmly entrenched in the scientific realm of the "cultural marketplace" as discussed by Aileen Fyfe, Bernard Lightman and others in *Science in the Marketplace*. The marketplace and scientific spatial economy defined the places in which and the manners by which people were learning, living and being entertained in the nineteenth century. In the introduction to this volume, Fyfe and Lightman argue that the marketplace was made up of various places, sights, and experiences, of which science was an integral part.[11] While their argument focuses on the natural sciences in the late nineteenth century, I apply their framework to Egyptology and archaeology in the early twentieth century for three reasons. First, the natural sciences occupied such a large space in the cultural and social experience of nineteenth-century citizens because it was in the process of professionalizing, thus being withdrawn from the public view; Egyptology, archaeology and other social sciences did not do this until later, therefore making it possible to apply many of the same assumptions to a slightly later period. Next, Egyptology has consistently engaged a large part of the public imagination, therefore it is culturally in-

[9] Bernard Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science: Designing Nature for New Audiences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

[10] A. R. David, ed. *The Manchester Museum Mummy Project* (Manchester: Manchester Museum, 1979); David, *The Two Brothers* (2007).

[11] Aileen Fyfe and Bernard Lightman, "Science in the Marketplace: An Introduction," in *Science in the Matketplace*, ed. Fyfe and Lightman, 1-19.

demand both as entertainment and as a topic of study.[12] Finally, *Science in the Marketplace* deals only with the natural sciences, but Fyfe and Lightman call for further study and the application of their ideas to the social sciences as well as constantly emphasize the variety of the roles of sites, experiences, and creation of knowledge.[13] I aim to begin to answer this call, and I argue that Murray brought the creation and discovery of knowledge from the field to the lab, moving the site of experiencing science from the trowel's edge to the laboratory table.

Murray herself sits conspicuously between two oftentimes opposing audiences: the public and the academy. Elliot Colla argues that "in the official history of Egyptology, there is a long-standing delight in the tension between the pure scientism of archaeological research and the fact that Egyptological discoveries have always aroused widespread curiosity and intense aesthetic interest."[14] The contention between the two audiences, Colla maintains, is that the scientist has always tried to "'purify' Egyptology's science from popularizing influences of culture and politics. That is, to make sure that the unreason of Egypto-*mania* does not contaminate the rationality of Egypto*logy*."[15] I argue that although this may have been true for many Egyptologists, Murray had a different goal. She did not want, necessarily, to purify Egyptology as much as she wanted to involve the public in the scientific inquiry with the aim of correcting popular misconceptions, and not to separate the mania from the -ology, but instead to bring reason and understanding to the mania.

---

[12] Sally MacDonald and Michael Rice, eds., *Consuming Ancient Egypt* (London: University College London Press, 2003).

[13] Fyfe and Lightman, "Science in the Marketplace," 4-5.

[14] Elliot Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities: Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 2007), 179.

[15] Ibid., (original emphasis).

Many times this kind of scientific activity goes unrecognized in more general histories of Egyptology and even by Murray herself—she did not mention Manchester or the mummy unwrapping in her own autobiography.[16] However, this episode in her career is a central one to the history of British Egyptology. Not only did Murray become the first woman to lead a public mummy unwrapping in England, but she also brought the Manchester Museum into the public eye in a way that Petrie's previous years' work never had.[17] This episode brings Murray from the margin of this story into the center, and further highlights her role as an agent of change in the history of archaeology. In essence, Murray occupied the place between the field and the lab, between the academy and the public, between spectacle and science.

Egypt in the Public Eye

The perception of Ancient Egypt in the public was and still is varied and complex: it is, at once, "scholarly, aesthetic, morbid, sensational, occult, dotty," exotic and familiar, spectacular and routine.[18] Scholars have long had to contend with public perceptions of Egypt in what Sally MacDonald and Michael Rice have recently termed the "conjunction" or "confrontation" of these different audiences.[19] The question of what the scholar's response should be to the public "invasion of his or her domain" is

[16] Why Murray did not discuss this in her autobiography is unclear. It is possible that she saw her travels and her other duties and work as more significant to the discipline and her career. The faculty at the Manchester Museum still bristle about this omission, as well.

[17] In previous years, Petrie would come to Manchester to give a public lecture at the museum about his annual excavation, the material findings, and the implications of the finds to Egyptian archaeology. His talks brought in 400-500 people each year. Furthermore, Petrie's findings never brought as much money or people at one time as Murray's work did.

[18] Sally MacDonald and Michael Rice, "Introduction – Tea with a Mummy: The Consumer's View of Egypt's Immemorial Appeal," in *Consuming Ancient Egypt*, ed. MacDonald and Rice, 2.

[19] Ibid., 1-2.

problematic. Is it an invasion? Most Egyptologists recognize, and some lament, the fact that "no other academic discipline is obliged to maintain such a degree of dialogue with the lay public."[20] Yet at the same time, it is argued that the recognition and the inclusion of the public is what allows for the "economic viability" of the study of ancient Egypt.[21] Furthermore, it is understood by historians of Egyptology that

> long before the development of scientific archaeology, Egypt was familiar to Europe. This in itself was unusual, [making] Ancient Egypt unique in one special sense. The 'wonderful things' that [Howard] Carter saw [in King Tutankhamun's tomb] are equally interesting to scholars and to the interested general reader. There are no inherent barriers between one level of knowledge and another.[22]

These educational, cultural and social barriers had never been created in the study of Egypt in the first place. Egyptologists have long contributed to the creation and management of the knowledge about Egypt's history, thus providing for the lack of intellectual barriers between scholars and the public. Furthermore, it was because of this desired familiarity that the British believed they could take control of Egypt's social, political, economic, cultural, and historical institutions.

In her investigation of the acquisition and display of Egyptian antiquities at the British Museum from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, Stephanie Moser argues that "the museum actively constructed a set of distinct identities for ancient Egypt" in a number of ways and that "the museological representations made an active

[20] Ibid., 2.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Andrew Wheatcroft, "'Wonderful Things': Publishing Egypt in Word and Image," in *Consuming Ancient Egypt*, ed. MacDonald and Rice, 161-162.

contribution toward defining it."[23] The mysterious and foreign sandy-colored, angular construction of Egyptian sculpture and art were displayed in contrast to the more well-known and better understood white marble, idealized and "essentially aesthetic" Greek and Roman works.[24] This organizational scheme thus "reduced the Egyptian sculptures to nothing other than inferior works of art…[and] the Egyptian displays were instantly relegated to secondary importance."[25] Furthermore, Moser argues, this arrangement created Egypt as a "source of amusement rather than of serious contemplation."[26] Egyptian antiquities were seen as "wondrous curiosities" and "colossal monstrosities" and "thus served to satisfy the desire within visitors to be entertained by the unusual or strange."[27] Most importantly, it served to set the study of Egypt in opposition to the study of Greece: "while classical art satisfied the tastes of the learned and enlightened, Egyptian art was designated to serve popular interest—it was the poor man's domain of antiquity."[28] Egyptian history and ancient culture could be more "easily digested or consumed by those who did not possess the prerequisite knowledge to appreciate the works of classical antiquity;" unlike Greece and Rome, Egypt became "an accessible alternative for those who felt intimidated or excluded by the intellectualism associated with classical art."[29] In particular, the British Museum's display of mummies and other funerary rituals "served to define ancient Egyptian culture as one that engaged in bizarre

[23] Stephanie Moser, *Wondrous Curiosities: Ancient Egypt at the British Museum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 217.

[24] Ibid., 217-221.

[25] Ibid., 221.

[26] Ibid., 225.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid., 230-1.

religious and mortuary practices, and thus ancient Egypt was cast as an aberrant civilization suitable for ghoulish relish rather than as an exemplary culture demanding serious contemplation."[30] Furthermore, Abdel-Hakim argues that the display of Egyptian objects as such played a significant role in "maintaining the ancients' position as a contained, distant, objectified Other that consolidates modernity."[31] From the start, Egypt's place in England was a pattern of entertainment and enjoyment by the masses and a small amount of serious consideration by scholars.

Accessibility, curiosity, and the perception of a bizarre, aberrant Egypt can be seen more concretely in the mummy fiction that became popular in the mid-nineteenth century and remains popular today. The growing numbers of the reading public in this period led to a proliferation of reading material. Semi-fictitious travel accounts from far off and exotic places and sensational novels about strange and mysterious happenings both at home and abroad packed the shelves of bookstores and private libraries. Egyptologists and leisurely travelers alike published fictional and nonfictional accounts of their journeys up and down the Nile. For example, Amelia Edwards' travelogue, *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile*, published in 1877, is a richly illustrated, thoroughly researched, delightfully entertaining nonfictional read.[32]

Novels about Egypt and Egyptian themes were slightly different in their approach. Beginning in the 1820s, "Mummymania" fiction painted the picture of those aspects of the popular imagination "dealing with living mummies and curses" and, some scholars argue, "might be seen as a curse itself, a potential threat to an appreciation of legitimate

[30] Ibid., 226-7.

[31] Abdel-Hakim, "Silent Travellers, Articulate Mummies," 124.

[32] Amelia Edwards, *A Thousand Miles up the Nile* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1891).

Egyptology by a broad public" since "much of the lay person's 'familiarity' with Egypt and its mummies derives from popular fiction and film, which are often at odds with standard Egyptological interpretations."[33] Widely recognized as the earliest literary work about mummies, Jane Webb Loudon's *The Mummy—A Tale of the 22nd Century*, was published in 1827.[34] It featured a reanimated Kheops, the Pharaoh from the Old Kingdom who is credited with building the Great Pyramid, whose purpose was to give his opinion on the state of the government in the England of 2127 and how to fix its problems by using his own past political experience. Many later works, such as Theophile Gautier's short story "Le Pied de momie," or "The Mummy's Foot," and, later, the longer *Romance of a Mummy*, were not political but instead featured romantic stories between mummified, reanimated Egyptians and contemporary Europeans.[35] Still more literature dealing with reanimation of the dead is Edgar Allan Poe's "Some Words with a Mummy," where the gentleman protagonists used electricity to bring a mummy back to life and proceeded to ask it all types of questions.[36] In Grant Allen's "My New Year's Eve Among the Mummies," the main character did the opposite of most Europeans in this genre and agreed to be mummified so that he might live forever with his beloved

[33] Carter Lupton, "'Mummymania' for the Masses – Is Egyptology Cursed by the Mummy's Curse?," in *Consuming Ancient Egypt*, ed. MacDonald and Rice, 23. Jasmine Day's more recent *The Mummy's Curse: Mummymania in the English-Speaking World* (London: Routledge, 2006) gives an account of some of the fiction, poetry, films and even toys that have been part of the popular imagination with mummy fiction since the early twentieth century. Her literary analysis discusses shifts in meaning and usage for over one hundred years. Her focus, however, is different from mine, so I do not use her as a foundational source here.

[34] Jane Webb Loudon, *The Mummy! A Tale of the Twenty-Second Century* (1827; abridged reprint edition, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).

[35] Theophile Gautier, "Le Pied de Momie," *Le Musée des families* (Sept. 1840); *Romance of a Mummy* (1856; reprint edition, London: Collins, 1908).

[36] Edgar Allan Poe, "Some Words with a Mummy," *American Review* (April, 1845): 363-370.

mummy princess.[37] One of the first stories in the Mummymania genre that actually featured "a physically active mummy as a tool of vengeance motivated by another's will" was Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's "Lot No. 249."[38] In this tale, an Oxford student named Bellingham buys a mummy at an auction and brings it back to life "through a combination of reading an ancient papyrus and burning certain leaves."[39] The reanimated mummy then ventures out to hurt and kill those Bellingham believed were his enemies.[40]

A final and important place that readers found a plethora of mummy fiction was in the short and serialized stories in popular magazines. Carter Lupton argues that "the early twentieth century saw the rise of pulp magazines, cheaply produced periodicals featuring genre fiction. Dozens, if not hundreds, of mummy stories were featured in many of these pulps, particularly those dedicated to fantasy, science fiction, mystery and the occult."[41] Whether or not readers could afford books, or indeed had the time to read them, they certainly had access to inexpensive, popular periodicals containing easily readable short stories and poems. Early-twentieth-century readers, then, were imbibing the idea that Egypt, Egyptian history and the artifacts associated with it were not only wondrous or curious, but also mysterious, unknowable, frightening, and even life-threatening. Early on, Murray recognized that these various types of fiction were problematic to the public's understanding of Egypt. In her book presenting and explaining ancient myths from Egypt, *Ancient Egyptian Legends*, she argued that the only

[37] Grant Allen, "My New Year's Eve Among the Mummies," in *Strange Stories* (London: Chatto and Windus, Piccadilly, 1884).

[38] Lupton, "Mummymania," 27; Arthur Conan Doyle, "Lot No. 249," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (Oct. 1892).

[39] Lupton, "Mummymania," 27.

[40] Nicholas Daly, "That Obscure Object of Desire: Victorian Commodity Culture and Fictions of the Mummy," *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction* 28:1 (1994): 43.

[41] Lupton, "Mummymania," 39.

means that the public had of "obtaining knowledge of [Egypt] is apparently through magazine stories in which a mummy is the principal character."[42] While Murray made note of the fact that this fiction thrived among the population, she did not see it as a "curse," but as an opportunity to engage the public in the truth through rigorous scientific investigation. Murray wished to change the means through which the public obtained knowledge about Egypt's history: she wished to throw open the doors to the lab and invite the public in.

The public had indeed been involved with mummy studies for centuries. In fact, historians today recognize that the Greeks studied mummification processes of the Egyptians, regarding their techniques of preserving bodies and their beliefs in the afterlife as "a source of profound if mysterious wisdom."[43] Throughout the centuries they were plundered for jewelry and amulets; ground up and used as medicines, known as *mumia*; used as a pigment base for paint, called "mummy brown;" celebrated as spoils of war; exploited as status symbols of the rich; and tapped as inspiration for fantastical literature and legend.[44]

By the middle of the nineteenth century, public mummy unrollings were extremely popular among the middle and upper classes. One of the most well-known practitioners of these events was Thomas Pettigrew, Professor of Anatomy at Charing Cross Hospital.[45] Pettigrew semi-publicly dissected mummies with a view to learning

---

[42] Margaret A. Murray, *Ancient Egyptian Legends* (London: John Murray, 1913; reprint edition, 1920), 7-8.

[43] John Tait, "The Wisdom of Egypt: Classical Views," in *The Wisdom of Egypt: Changing Visions Through the Ages*, ed. Peter Ucko and Timothy Champion (London: University College London Press, 2003), 23.

[44] Iain Gordon Brown, "The Affair of Lord Morton's Mummy," in *Egypt Through the Eyes of Travellers*, ed. Starkey and El Kholy, 95-120.

[45] Abdel-Hakim, "Silent Travellers, Articulate Mummies," 121-148.

not just about Egyptian mummification, but also more about disease and medicine. He sold tickets to his mummy dissections, which were, for the most part, performed in the Charing Cross Hospital surgical theatre and therefore attended by an audience that was a mixture of academics and the interested public audience who could afford tickets, and who had the proper social connections to obtain them.[46] These examinations of ancient remains were both semi-public displays of experimental studies as well as the *raison d'etre* of private parties in homes of the well-to-do. Many times these private unrollings were performed by hired doctors or antiquaries who professed an interest in studying mummies, such as Pettigrew, and exclusive to those of certain social standing who held a private invitation.[47]

It is almost certain that most unrollings would have had the potential to produce significant information about Egyptian history; however, Pettigrew was one of the few mummy investigators who published many of his findings. One of Pettigrew's main works to analyze the ancient remains was his *A History of Egyptian Mummies, and an Account of The Worship and Embalming of the Sacred Animals by The Egyptians*.[48] In it he argued that although human mummified remains were of great interest and curiosity to most people, there was indeed much scientific information available in them as well. He employed an interdisciplinary team to help him in his pursuits, and his publication demonstrated his desire fully to understand the remains and mummification in the context of Egyptian history and modern medicine. He wrote:

---

[46] Ibid., 130-131.

[47] Ibid., 139.

[48] Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, *A History of Egyptian Mummies, and an Account of The Worship and Embalming of the Sacred Animals by The Egyptians; with Remarks on the Funeral Ceremonies of Different Nations, and Observations on the Mummies of the Canary Islands, of the Ancient Peruvians, Burman Priests, &c* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1834).

> The practice of embalming the dead is deeply interesting, were it to rest upon its antiquity alone; but when it is considered in relation to the history of the human species, and to the condition of the arts and sciences of so remote a period, it rises in importance and it is remarkable that there should not exist in any language, as far as I have been able to ascertain, any work devoted expressly to the treating of this subject in all its branches.[49]

It is clear that by the 1850s the scientific value of mummies from Egypt was recognized by academic circles. However, the unrolling events themselves were still an activity aimed at engaging the interest of the wealthy and socially-connected who appreciated the entertainment value.

In the mid-nineteenth century it is difficult to place these unrollings outside of the context of a private salon or scientific conversazione.[50] Even then, the audience for these gatherings was so socio-economically exclusive that they cannot be called broadly public or popular.[51] As Lightman argues, the shift of science into the cultural marketplace and into the popular scientific imagination did not occur until scientific disciplines "began to cultivate the strategy of professionalization…[thus committing] them to privileging select spaces in which to practice legitimate science, such as the laboratory above all else."[52] The selectivity of sites in which professionalizing science could share knowledge allowed more space for public scientific lectures to become available to large crowds of all

[49] Ibid., xv.

[50] Samuel J. M. M. Alberti, "Conversaziones and the Experience of Science in Victorian England," *Journal of Victorian Culture* (2003): 208-230.

[51] "Popular" in this sense meaning the general population, not necessarily something that is well-liked.

[52] Bernard Lightman, "Lecturing in the Spatial Economy of Science," in *Science in the Marketplace*, ed. Fyfe and Lightman , 126.

classes.[53] Egyptology and other human sciences professionalized later than the natural sciences, thus making the nineteenth-century framework of the scientific marketplace useful even in the early twentieth century. As performances for the public within this context, it can also be argued that the "ancient embalmed mummies...were conveyed to England as texts that were read, given meaning and made intelligible to a wider public of discourse consumers."[54] Murray, therefore, was a scientific lecturer who used new sites of doing science in order to aim the conversation at both professionalizing scholars and the curious public with the intention of creating knowledge and displaying her scientific authority.

The Tomb of the Two Brothers

In 1908, Murray's main project at the Manchester Museum was the presentation, unwrapping and detailed study of the remains of two brothers that had come from a Middle Kingdom tomb group Petrie had excavated in 1907 at Deir Rifeh, in Upper Egypt.[55] Most of the tombs in the area where Petrie dug with his crew had "been plundered anciently," but "a few unopened tombs were found."[56] The "greatest prize of the season" that year was the tomb of "Nekhtankh son of Aa-khnumu," found by Ernest

[53] Ibid.

[54] Abdel-Hakim, "Silent Travellers, Articulate Mummies," 122.

[55] W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1907), 12; Margaret Drower, *Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology*, 2nd ed. (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 306.

[56] Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 12. In his autobiography, Petrie said only this of the episode: "At the end of the season, a tomb was reached with a very fine sarcophagus and a figure coffin inside it, richly painted, accompanied by statuettes and fine boats for sailing up and rowing down the Nile. The whole group is in Manchester" (W. M. F. Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology* [New York: Henry Holt, 1932; reprint edition, Greenwood Press, 1969], 223).

Mackay, one of Petrie's young recruits.[57] The burial had been untouched and contained many fine examples of Middle Kingdom funeral furniture and decorations.[58] Petrie recognized the importance of this find to Egyptology and wished for the whole group to remain together and go to England; Gaston Maspero, then head of the Egyptian Antiquities in Cairo, acquiesced.[59] Petrie, who had been giving annual lectures at the Manchester Museum regarding his excavations, wrote a letter saying that if the museum could "contribute the sum of £500 to the coming excavations at Memphis, his Committee would allot to it this group, and give it a first claim on the results of the excavation" from the next season.[60] They came up with the money in short order and received the group happily, according it "pride of place in the collection," which it still holds today.[61]

There was considerable public interest in the tomb, with numerous newspaper articles, advertisements and "cordial invitations" to attend the show. One such invitation in *The Evening Chronicle* informed readers: "The Chairman and Committee of the Manchester Museum request the pleasure of your company at the unrolling of the Mummy of Khnuma Nekht of the XIIth Dynasty on Wednesday, May 6th, beginning at 2-30 p.m."[62] Newspapers also widely advertised the Museum's exhibition of the tomb discovery, which opened in October of 1907 and highlighted the unwrapping which

---

[57] Drower, *Flinders Petrie*, 305-306; Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 12. In the publication of the unwrapping, Murray called the brothers Nekht-ankh and Khnumu-Nekht; Rosalie David more recently calls them, Nakht-Ankh and Khnum-Nakht, and calls their mother Khnum-Aa (*The Two Brothers*, 2007). There is relatively little convention when it comes to transliterating hieroglyphic writing into alphabetic letters, but for this chapter I will use the spelling that each author uses, respectively. When discussing the brothers myself, I will follow David's transliteration.

[58] Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 12.

[59] Drower, *Flinders Petrie*, 306.

[60] W. M. Hoyle, "Preface," in Murray, *Tomb of the Two Brothers*, 4.

[61] Drower, *Flinders Petrie*, 306.

[62] "4,500-Year-Old Mummy to be 'Unrolled' in Manchester," *Evening Chronicle*, 4 May 1908.

would take place eight months later. Upon the exhibition's opening, the *Manchester Guardian* reported: "One can gaze upon the very cerements that wrap the mummied bodies of these fabulously aristocratic brothers and even catch a glimpse of the earthly remains themselves."[63] About 500 people attended the "eerie ceremony of unrolling the mummy" and the audience consisted mostly of the public, who had to buy tickets, but many were members of the academy interested in the unwrapping of ancient human remains.[64] Countless more people from all classes and places toured the exhibits and other parts of the museum in the months leading up to the event.

Egyptologist and leader of the Manchester Mummy Project today, Rosalie David, laments the fact that "no detailed account…of the procedures involved in unwrapping the mummy survives."[65] What does survive are two archival photographs showing Murray and the team unwrapping Khnum-Nakht (see figures 1 and 2 below), a few brief accounts in *The Manchester Guardian*, *The Manchester Evening Chronicle*, and other periodicals, a small collection of correspondence at the Manchester Museum archives, and *The Tomb of the Two Brothers*. Even though the details about the Manchester unveiling are scanty, it is possible to shed light on the events of the day by looking to these sources as well as to Thomas Pettigrew's detailed work about unveiling Egyptian remains. Implicitly following Pettigrew's earlier example for the study of the bodies and in the publication of the results, Murray's team of scholars came from various disciplines such as textile studies, medicine, chemistry, and linguistics. The men and women who aided Murray

[63] "Ancient Egypt: Tomb-Findings Exhibition," *Manchester Guardian*, 21 October 1907.

[64] "4,500-Year-Old Mummy to be 'Unrolled' in Manchester," *Evening Chronicle*, 4 May 1908.

[65] David, *The Two Brothers*, 103.

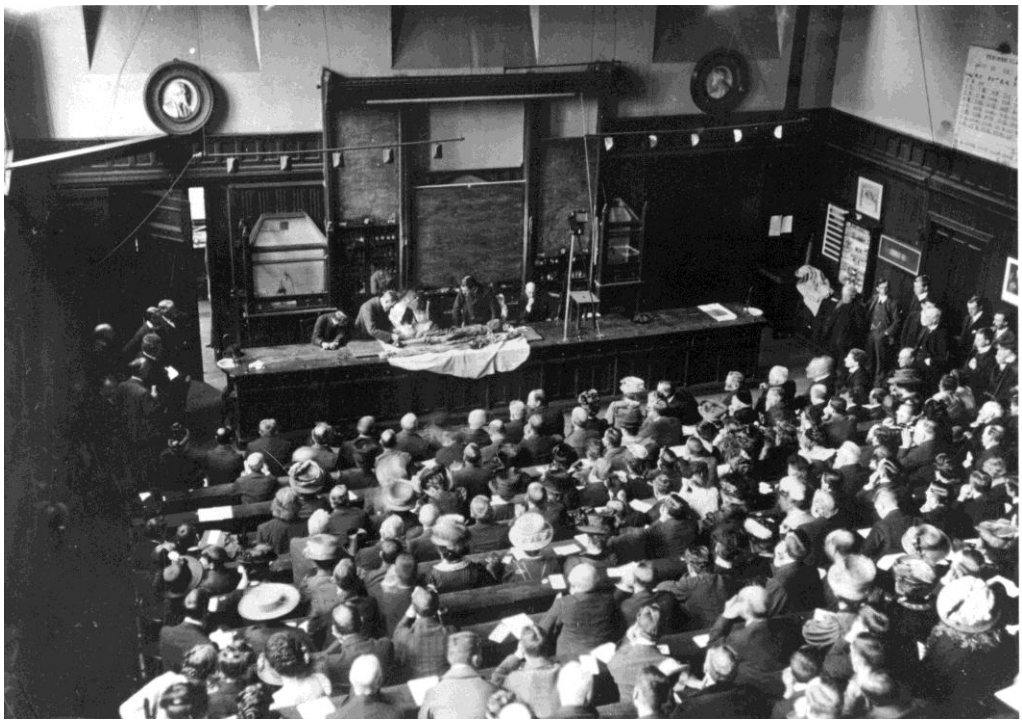

Figure 1. Margaret Murray and team unwrapping Khnum-Nakht in the Chemistry Auditorium
(Photograph courtesy Manchester Museum Archive)



Figure 2. Margaret Murray, third from left, and team after unwrapping Khnum-Nakht
(Photograph courtesy Manchester Museum Archive)

in the experiment were employees of the museum and colleagues of Murray's: Mr Standen, Mr Wilfred Jackson, Miss Wilkinson, and Miss Hart-Davis.[66] The purpose of this seemingly morbid spectacle was indeed for "the acquisition of knowledge" for archaeology in particular and for all sciences in general, as well as for the education of the "General Reader," although there were a few who disagreed with the practice.[67] There were letters of protest written to the editors of several papers asking Murray if she had considered "what the poor mummy thought about those who had so wantonly disturbed the slumber of the centuries in order that it might be dragged forth to be the butt and the jest of a crowd of students."[68] The poem "Khnumu Nekht" in the *Evening Chronicle* argued the same point in a more creative way:

> You went to sleep, poor lump of clay,
> Beneath old Egypt's silent skies;
> And now we wake you up to-day
> To gaze on you with morbid eyes;
> When science says 'Just take a peep,'
> I s'pose one cannot well object,
> And yet—they might have let you sleep,
> Khnumu Nekht![69]

In response to these protests from people against the violation of human remains in the name of science, Murray specifically informed both the general reader and the scholar that "every vestige of ancient remains must be carefully studied and recorded without sentimentality and without fear of the outcry of the ignorant."[70] She continued, pulling

---

[66] David, *The Two Brothers*, 103.

[67] Murray, *Tomb of the Two Brothers*, 7.

[68] "A Protest against Desecration of Graves," *Daily Dispatch*, 9 May 1908.

[69] "Khnumu Nekht," *Evening Chronicle*, 8 May 1908.

[70] See, for example, "A Protest against Desecration of Graves," *Manchester Daily Dispatch*, 9 May 1908; Murray, *Tomb of the Two Brothers*, 8.

directly from Petrie's writings, saying that "[t]o ensure the fullest knowledge…the most complete preservation of things should be the real aim."[71]

The public unwrapping only displayed the remains of the younger brother, Khnum-Nakht, because, as Murray explained, Nakht-Ankh's "body had fallen to pieces in a great measure before unrolling, but the bones were intact and in position. …The remains were quite moist, and many of the bandages were as wet as though they had been dipped in water..."[72] In spite of all of this, the remains were fairly well-preserved, as Murray continued to describe:

> The skin was perfectly preserved on the face, and the hair remained on the head and on the sides of the face. The hair was dark brown, turning grey, and the length of it on the head was three-quarters of an inch. The nails of the fingers and toes were wrapped with thread to keep them from coming off when the body was lifted out of the preserving bath. Great numbers of a small brown beetle, *Gibbium scotias*, were found in the inner bandages, especially about the head, and many of the bandages were perforated with their holes.[73]

The wetter, stickier remains may have been difficult to separate from the linens that wrapped them.[74] Pettigrew had a chance to work with a particularly difficult case about which he wrote: "It was a task of no little difficulty, and required considerable force to

---

[71] W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Methods and Aims in Archaeology* (New York: Macmillan, 1904), 180-2; quoted in Murray, *Tomb of the Two Brothers*, 8. Both Murray and Petrie believed that the only way to maximize preservation was to publish detailed reports on objects and material remains. They believed that the books and written words would live on, even when the objects themselves did not.

[72] Ibid., 31.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Samuel Alberti addresses the issue of wet anatomical specimens in museum collections and argues that "it was the fluids involved in the very process of preservation that generated the distinctive smell…but nevertheless the aroma was associated with death and decay" (Samuel J. M. M. Alberti, "The Museum Affect: Visiting Collections of Anatomy and Natural History," in *Science in the Marketplace,* ed. Fyfe and Lightman [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007], 385). There was also, most likely, an issue of public expectation as well as one of smell: a dry mummy would be expected, one that is still moist and looks as though it is still decaying would not be particularly suitable for a public audience.

separate the layers of bandage from the body. …levers were absolutely necessary to raise the bandages, and develope [sic] the body."[75] He continued, of course, that "[t]his, however, was most effectively and perfectly done."[76] On the other hand, Khnum-Nakht "was absolutely dry, and the tissues had resolved into a fine powder which rose in clouds when the mummy was handled."[77] One particular specimen Pettigrew studied was similar in condition to Khnum-Nakht, being "in a very sound and dry condition."[78] Of the dry body itself, Pettigrew wrote: "The bandages were very neatly applied, and were of a fine texture. The unrolling was a work of great ease."[79] Pettigrew described the linen wrappings of a second mummy, this time a female, that "they were indeed so pure, so dry, and had altogether such an air of freshness about them, that many were disposed to suspect the genuineness of the specimen…"[80] Indeed, dry specimens seemed to be the preferred variety with which to work in public. Although Khnum-Nakht was not as well preserved as his older brother—Murray wrote that it seemed that "no special care had been taken" with him—he was chosen for the experiment because his body was relatively intact and dry.[81] It may follow, then, that Murray also had relative ease with the dry Khnum-Nakht, since it was he and not his wetter brother who was chosen to be revealed in public.

Walking into the scene, as one reporter described, at the front of the room, "[l]aid on the lecturer's table, covered with a white sheet, was what at first glance might have

[75] Pettigrew, xvi.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Murray, *Tomb of the Two Brothers*, 32.

[78] Pettigrew, xvii.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Murray, *Tomb of the Two Brothers*, 32.

been taken for a 'subject' on which a professor of anatomy was to lecture to medical students. It was, however, what were the earthly remains of a priest of a princely family of Egypt."[82] There was, it seemed, some nervous energy coming from the audience, as a correspondent for the *Manchester Evening News* wrote that a "number of the undergraduates at the back of the chemistry theatre, in which the proceedings took place, were at first inclined to treat the whole affair as a joke," but after a "hint" from the chairman of the Museum Committee they "maintained a decorous silence."[83] Murray then began the experiment by giving a short lecture regarding the importance of exposing the ancient remains, the main reason being that it would aid in the study of a little-known time period in Egyptian history, the Middle Kingdom.[84] It would furthermore help archaeologists to understand more fully what the ancient Egyptians believed about their future lives after death and their immortality.[85] Over the next hour Murray and her team painstakingly removed 26 long pieces of preserved and delicate linen from the body. Each of Khnum-Nakht's linens was removed in order and numbered.[86] Later on, behind closed doors, Nakht-Ankh's were removed as well. Various reports claimed that, in the end Khnum-Nakht's bones turned to dust, but in fact his body remained intact. One reporter, manufacturing a drama, wrote: "…as the last wrap left his forehead his head turned slowly over, and his sightless eyeholes looked full on the silenced onlookers

[82] "Unrolling a Mummy, Scene in Manchester, 'In the days of Jacob'," *Manchester Courier*, 8 May 1908.

[83] "Unrolling a Mummy, Novel Ceremony in Manchester," *Manchester Evening News*, 7 May 1908.

[84] "Unrolling a Mummy, Scene in Manchester, 'In the days of Jacob'," *Manchester Courier*, 8 May 1908; "Unrolling a Mummy, Novel Ceremony in Manchester," *Manchester Evening News*, 7 May 1908.

[85] "Unrolling a Mummy, Scene in Manchester, 'In the days of Jacob'," *Manchester Courier*, 8 May 1908.

[86] Murray, *Tomb of the Two Brothers*, 54-58.

before him. Then he lay still again. The clang of a passing tram startled all but him."[87] After the body had been laid bare, it is unclear whether or not the audience was invited to ask questions. However, Murray made a few closing remarks about the state of preservation, concluding that it was not, in fact, a mummy, but a very well preserved body. Thus she, her team, and later archaeologists worked to ascertain what types of preservation were used in this period. The audience then filed to the front to record their names and addresses in order to receive a souvenir from the day: a free piece of linen from Khnum Nekht's body.

Not witnessed by the public but in addition to the public examination, Murray's further experiments and conclusions were written up in *The Tomb of the Two Brothers*, published two years later. Beginning with an in-depth discussion of the historical, cultural and spiritual context of the mummies, she spent over half of the book detailing the tomb, its contents, and the coffins as well as including a large section for the transliteration and translation of the funerary inscriptions. Dr. John Cameron wrote a chapter about the anatomy of the mummies; Dr. Paul Haas, Professor H. B. Dixon, and Dr. E. Linder wrote about the chemistry of the mummy remains; Thomas Fox delivered a detailed analysis of the linen wrappings of the mummies; and Professor Julius Hübner wrote a brief chapter about the pigments used in the coloring of the textiles.[88]

Cameron's chapter gave details about approximate age, height, weight, health and other vital statistics of the mummies. He also devoted a large section to their racial

[87] "The Mummy of Khnumu Nekht of the XII Dynasty (About 2500 B.C.)," *Manchester Guardian*, 7 May 1908.

[88] Murray, *Tomb of the Two Brothers*, 33-47; 48-50; 50-53; 65-71; 72-79; respectively.

origins, for the brothers' skeletal structures betrayed their different ethnicities.[89] Using skull measurements, and the science of the facial angles, it was determined that the two mummies were indeed of differing ethnic descent.[90] However, based on the inscriptions on both coffins, it was and still is believed that they were, in fact, brothers. The writings on one coffin state: "O worthy one, son of a hatia-prince, Nekht-Ankh, born of Khnum-Aa," and, on the other brother's coffin: "The great uab-priest, son of the son of the hatia-prince, Khnumu-Nekht, born of the lady of a house, Khnumu-aa," respectively.[91] These thus reveal the possibility that they were sons of the same mother, but of two different fathers: one father was a hatia-prince, the other father was the son of a hatia-prince.[92]

The chapter written by the three chemists revealed some of the elements used in the mummification rituals that took place in the Middle Kingdom. These consisted of quicklime, sodium and chloride salts in the case of Khnum-Nakht, and in the case of Nakht-Ankh, sulphates, soda and chlorides were present.[93] It became clear, then, that "the method of embalming adopted in the two cases was not the same."[94] Murray concluded that since "they were brothers and buried in the same tomb…there can only be a few years' difference in date (not long enough for any change to take place in the methods of embalming);" therefore, it must be true that the difference in their preservation states was because of the use of different preservatives: "impure common

[89] John Cameron, "The Anatomy of the Mummies," in Murray, *Tomb of the Two Brothers*, 33-47; see especially the discussion of the skulls and faces, 34-38. Petrie's interest in racial types through skull features was the topic of my master's thesis: Kathleen L. Sheppard, "'You Call this Archaeology?': Flinders Petrie and Eugenics," MA thesis, University of Oklahoma, 2006.

[90] Cameron, "The Anatomy of the Mummies," in Murray, *Tomb of the Two Brothers*, 34-38.

[91] Ibid., 19, 28.

[92] Ibid., 19, 26; David, *The Two Brothers*, 3.

[93] Paul Haas, "The Chemistry of the Remains, The Inorganic Constituents," in Margaret Murray, *Tomb of the Two Brothers*, 49.

[94] Ibid.

salt in one case, lime in the other."[95] David and others have since concluded that Khnum-Nakht died earlier, poorer, and unexpectedly and that the wealthier Nakht-Ankh gave his younger brother the best after-life preparation he could on such short notice.[96] Along with these chemical analyses, the book closed with details about the bandaging of each mummy, each bandage having a number and a line-item description, thus demonstrating, again, the minute details Murray thought were important for further study.

Spectacular Science

The scene here can be described partially as a scientific spectacle. Recently, Lightman and Iwan Morus both discuss how science was presented to the public in the Victorian era as entertaining visual performances.[97] In Lightman's *Victorian Popularizers of Science*, he exemplifies the work of two men—John George Wood and John Henry Pepper—who "demonstrated the potential of science to attract vast, new audiences by incorporating visual spectacle."[98] Wood did so through his enormous hand-drawn pastel illustrations of the natural world, and Pepper mostly through apparatus-aided lectures at the London Polytechnic.[99] Wood and Pepper invited the less educated "readers to participate in the making of science," using dazzling displays of scientific knowledge and expertise and taking advantage of the Victorian society's "craving for

[95] Murray, *Tomb of the Two Brothers*, 53, note.

[96] David, *The Two Brothers*, 4-5.

[97] Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science*, 167-218; Iwan Rhys Morus, "'More the Aspect of Magic than Anything Natural': The Philosophy of Demonstration," in *Science in the Marketplace*, ed. Fyfe and Lightman, 336-370.

[98] Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers*, 169.

[99] Through his ghost machine, he would project historical action onto a large screen and lecture to the public.

visual images."[100] In his discussion about lecturers Pepper and Frank Buckland, Lightman argues further that successful science lecturers were distinguished by their "distinctive blend of instruction and amusement" as well as their innovative use of visual aids.[101] While Morus focuses more on the Victorian electricity displays, he also argues that it was in the spectacle that scientists attempted to debunk certain myths by "exposing the 'real' nature of things," and displaying their "authority over the 'real'…"[102] They explained the natural world to their audiences by demonstrating what was really possible and in doing so established their scientific authority. Finally, both Lightman and Morus agree that authoritative lecturers always chose their venues wisely. Lecturers with considerable expertise were "selective about the sites in which they would communicate the results of their research" and they were sensitive "to the nature of the sites in which they delivered their lectures."[103] Murray's lecture, unwrapping, and subsequent book are crucial to an understanding of the ways in which both the academy and the public experienced Egyptology in the early-twentieth century.

I have shown that, in general, the public learned about Egypt through skewed museum displays, fictional stories, and fantastic traveler's accounts and that the academy, while somewhat benefitting from these sources, tried to fight against them, too. To place Murray's work at Manchester within the rich heritage of spectacular shows allows us to view her as a scientific authority as well as a public lecturer who, as part of the academic world, targeted the interested public and put on a display of scientific inquiry and

[100] Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers*, 183, 168.

[101] Bernard Lightman, "Lecturing in the Spatial Economy of Science," in *Science in the Marketplace*, ed. Fyfe and Lightman, 99, 102-103.

[102] Morus, "Philosophy of Demonstration," 364.

[103] Lightman, "Lecturing in the Spatial Economy of Science," 126, 102; Morus, "Philosophy of Demonstration," 365.

expertise for a large audience. As a lecturer, however, Murray's main purpose was not only to entertain, of which displaying the mummy was a major part, but also to instruct. Both benefitting from and railing against the genre of Mummymania fiction, Murray literally exposed mummies for what they really were: dead, preserved humans. Doing so in a domestic lecture hall instead of in a tomb at the exotic field site demanded the attention of more people than had ever been able to witness such a display. She was able to show that the nature of real mummified Egyptians was no longer fearful or mysterious and that the real character of Egypt was not strange or unknowable. Furthermore, it was in the Orientalist disclosing of the "real" and the "knowable" during the unwrapping that facilitated what Abdel-Hakim has termed the "process of re-inscribing identity" which, in turn, transformed the mummy into "a site where the west could record its achievement."[104] The unwrapping tradition helped to situate the ancient Egyptians as imperial, ownable, knowable Others. Murray did not, I think, actively choose this particular site in which to communicate her findings or the imperial heritage to the public, but she took advantage of the size of the venue and its location in the city of Manchester in order to accomplish her task.

Unwrapping a mummy in itself was a wonderful sight, but to allow a large mixed crowd of people to witness it empowered the public and scholars alike to participate and respond in a variety of ways. Largely, it was passive participation. While people listened and took part in the "multimedia experience" of "hearing, smelling, and touching…scientific specimens," there is little evidence, thus far, that shows that the audience was able to ask questions or react in an active way—with the notable exception

[104] Abdel-Hakim, "Silent Travellers, Articulate Mummies," 138.

of financial donations.[105] The two brothers were instant celebrities and the Manchester Museum was the focus of nationwide attention. Pictures and likenesses of Khnum-Nekht and Nehkt-Ankh appeared in numerous newspapers, magazines and political cartoons. The Museum itself was highlighted as needing more money—which it always had required—and more space to store and properly conserve and display the two brothers and the other Egyptian antiquities they owned. In March of 1911, the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* reported that Jesse Haworth had given over £5000 to the museum for the purpose of expanding the exhibition and study space.[106] The *Chronicle* reporter wrote: "One can only hope that the work will be early completed."[107] The expansion was finished by the following year, and officially opened to the public on 30 October 1912. The brothers were displayed prominently then as they are now: "in a large glass case in the centre of the fine room, and can be seen from all sides."[108] Murray herself became somewhat of a minor celebrity, as shown in a few newspaper prints, hailing her as "Lady Egyptologist Unwraps a Mummy 4,400 Years Old!"[109]

Egyptologists also had more opportunity, and a more public stage, to respond to Murray's work. Murray acknowledged the fact that scholars had little knowledge of the mummification rituals and of the history of the Middle Kingdom in general at the time she wrote. Most notable Egyptologists also argued that, in terms of the history of Egypt, the tomb of the brothers in itself, the man-made contents of the tomb and the mummies

---

[105] Lightman, "Lecturing in the Spatial Economy of Science," 12.

[106] "Manchester Museum Extension, Treasures of the Tombs, A Wonderful Collection," *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, 28 March 1911.

[107] Ibid.

[108] "At the Back of Time, Civilisation before History, Egypt in Manchester," *Manchester Courier*, 9 October 1912.

[109] "Lady Egyptologist Unwraps a Mummy 4,400 Years Old!," *Daily Mirror*, 8 May 1908.

inside, were "as fine as anything known of this period," and were thus exemplary and useful for comprehensive study of the Middle Kingdom.[110] Mummy scholars today recognize the importance of the project led by Murray and its immediate outcomes, for, "a remarkable amount of information was generated by the study."[111] While the information gleaned by Murray and her team was no doubt crucial to the understanding of Egyptian civilization and to the future of the Manchester Museum, the impact of her experiment is also apparent in the "new attitude towards the investigation of mummies which had begun to emerge at the beginning of the 20th century."[112] In part because of Murray's work at Manchester, the scientific study of mummified remains began to reveal new knowledge about palaeopathology, ancient diseases, and ancient medicinal practices. Some historians argue that "[t]he next significant step" in this research program was the Manchester Mummy Project, which began in earnest in the 1970s.[113] Essentially first begun when Murray fully exposed the mummies in 1908, the Project has continued (with a sixty-year hiatus) to produce more results on the two brothers, as well as other mummies that come from all over the world to Manchester for further study.[114]

The most recent study done on the brothers is Rosalie David's *The Two Brothers: Death and the Afterlife in Middle Kingdom Egypt*.[115] In it, David confirms—through more technologically advanced means—much of what Murray's team had concluded 100 years ago. David's study implemented CAT scans, MRIs, microscopic and chemical

---

[110] Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 12; David, *The Two Brothers*, 9.

[111] Arthur C. Aufderheide, *The Scientific Study of Mummies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 15.

[112] David, *The Two Brothers*, 100.

[113] Aufderheide, *Scientific Study of Mummies*, 15.

[114] David, ed. *The Manchester Museum Mummy Project* (1979).

[115] David, *The Two Brothers*.

analyses of fibers and human tissue. Murray's team had only "the use of morbid anatomy" which we have seen consisted of "a naked-eye study of mummies by autopsy and an anatomical study of parts of the mummies."[116] Murray's original influence can also be seen clearly in the structure of other published examinations of mummies, such as John H. Taylor's *Unwrapping a Mummy: The Life, Death and Embalming of Horemkenesi*.[117] Much like Murray's team, the team Taylor employed to unwrap a mummy at the Bristol Museum consisted of scholars with specializations in linguistics, anatomy, archaeology, textiles, chemistry and more. The goal was "to recover as much data as possible" from a mummy who had "a number of interesting features which it was thought might repay investigation," and to publish a record of it.[118] A final similarity is the organization of the publication, which, like *The Tomb of the Two Brothers*, introduces the mummy's life and context, the funerary practices of the period, the tomb in which it was found, as well as detailing the unwrapping of the mummy and the important conclusions from the procedure.

Mummymania fiction continued to flourish in the early twentieth century with stories of reanimated mummies, curses of revenge, and death. It was especially after the discovery of King Tutankhamen's tomb in 1922 by Howard Carter and the subsequent mysterious death of Lord Carnarvon, who had attended the opening of the tomb, that the stories of curses and death associated with Egyptian mummies proliferated.[119] The cinema was quick to absorb and portray the fictional literature, the most famous of which

---

[116] Ibid., 103-104.

[117] John H. Taylor, *Unwrapping a Mummy: The Life, Death and Embalming of Horemkenesi* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996).

[118] Ibid., 71.

[119] Lupton, "Mummymania," 31.

may be the 1932 film, *The Mummy*, starring Boris Karloff as an ancient Egyptian looking for his former love.[120] The film rode on the tails of the discovery of the tomb; many more films and books have since done the same.[121] Six months after the discovery of Tut's tomb, Murray wrote to Winifred Crompton, the newly-appointed assistant curator of Egyptology at the Manchester Museum, about it: "I have been very busy with lecturing & writing since I came back. Tut has certainly increased the interest in Egyptology to an extraordinary extent, & the number of lectures that are being wanted is also extraordinary."[122] Murray relished this increased interest and continued to experiment and to instruct in such a way that the public demanded it and the academy could profit from it.

Writing for the General Audience

Murray's writing for the public interest did not fade in the face of war, teaching, activist involvement and running the department. Throughout the Great War and after, Murray maintained a high level of activity: excavating in England and internationally and attending meetings. She often spent long hours in the Edwards Library, taking care of departmental tasks, managing to teach the few students at UCL, and, most assuredly, writing. In the centennial history of the department at UCL Janssen remarked: "It is indeed remarkable that, in between all her duties, Margaret Murray still managed to

[120] *The Mummy*, directed by Karl Freund (Hollywood, Calif.: Universal Pictures, 1932).

[121] The most recent versions include *The Mummy*, directed by Stephen Sommers (Hollywood, Calif.: Universal Pictures, 1999) and *The Mummy Returns*, directed by Stephen Sommers (Hollywood, Calif.: Universal Pictures, 2001).

[122] Margaret Murray to Winifred Crompton, 25 April 1923, Manchester Museum Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom.

produce such an enormous output of high quality studies."[123] The studies to which Janssen surely refers, and on which I will focus in this section, are four that were aimed specifically at the general reader: *Ancient Egyptian Legends*, *Egyptian Sculpture*, *Egyptian Temples*, and *Ancient Egyptian Religious Poetry*. Murray believed it manifestly important to aim serious scholarly books at the non-specialist public who wished to know more about mysterious Egypt.[124] Indeed, as with her work at Manchester, many of the books that Murray wrote leaned slightly toward the public interest even while they were directed at scholars, while Petrie's and other scholars' writings for each group tended to be mutually exclusive. Peter Bowler's recent work *Science for All* discusses the popularization of science by scientists in early-twentieth-century Britain.[125] Bowler explicitly focuses on the expert authors who wrote for the general audience with an interest in self-education. Although his analysis focuses on male expert scientists in the natural sciences, to the complete exclusion of female authors and sciences such as archaeology, Bowler's framework can be more broadly applied.

Between the spectacle of the Manchester lecture hall and the publication of the books that followed, it is clear that Murray's work in the human sciences in this period places her within the cohort of the "first generation of truly professional scientists [who were] still willing to engage with the public."[126] Throughout the last years of the nineteenth, and in the early decades of the twentieth century, there were significant

[123] Janssen, *First Hundred Years*, 31. Interestingly, the sentiment of surprise is lacking when she discusses Petrie's ability to produce his work.

[124] This is not to say that Petrie did not believe in or spend his time writing books for the public—I will in fact, for purposes of comparison, be using his *Tales from Egyptian Papyri* (1894) which he directed at non-scholars.

[125] Peter Bowler, *Science for All: The Popularization of Science in Early Twentieth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

[126] Ibid., 2.

changes in British science, especially in Egyptology. While Bowler argues that there "is a sense that the very act of becoming professionalized encouraged the scientific community to retreat into its well-funded ivory tower," he also recognizes that this assumption could be false. Indeed this assumption is false for Egyptology, if only for the reason that it was not as well-funded a science as the natural sciences began to be at this time.[127] Another explanation, discussed above, is the fact that Egypt and archaeology were exceedingly prominent in the public eye, and knowledge of both was in great demand. Third, the humanities and social sciences were only beginning the process of professionalization at the turn of the century, with the number of paid university positions increasing slowly in comparison with positions in the natural and mathematical sciences. Therefore, to keep up with the demand for knowledge and to aid in the expansion of Egyptology, Murray's goals were three-fold. To begin with, Murray understood that an audience interested in self-education was growing rapidly due to the number of people who had completed secondary education, but who had no hope of continuing their learning in a university or college.[128] She wrote self-teachable Egyptian grammars and history books to satisfy the growing demand from this particular group. Next, Murray wished to keep the public "informed about science by people who knew what was really going on."[129] The ability of science to change society's worldview became especially obvious after King Tut's tomb was found. Murray made sure then that the correct information and interpretations—that is to say, *hers*—would be presented to the public in their quest for understanding. Finally, since Murray had already ventured outside the lab,

[127] See, for example, Peter Alter, *The Reluctant Patron: Science and the State in Britain, 1850-1920* (Oxford: Berg, 1987).

[128] Bowler, *Science for All*, 78

[129] Ibid., 17.

away from the field and into the domestic lecture circuit, she knew that the readers needed the right balance of education and entertainment.[130] Each of the works discussed below were aimed at the "overlapping readerships" of both the general, non-specialist reader as well as the more advanced, serious scholar.[131] The general reader could appreciate the amount of information synthesized into an easily accessible and comprehensible format, each complete with a brief introduction to basic concepts in Egyptian history. Moreover, the scholar could recognize the value of the idea that the basic information needed about certain places, people, or sites was available in compact, easy-to-read volumes.

One final, and important, point is that Murray indeed wrote popular science. However, as Bowler argues, the "dominant view" of popular science writing "does not work for a period when the distinction between professional and amateur was meaningless, and when those practicing science had to respond to the interest of an audience extending far beyond a handful of specialists."[132] Murray's work thus represents a break from the traditional "top-down" view of popularization. Her work demonstrates that writing science for a variety of readerships—including the general public—was "a complex process of interaction between the scientific community, the publishing industry, and the public."[133] In these pursuits, experts like Murray who had the skills to "communicate at the appropriate level" for a large readership had quite a few detractors in academia, and she addressed such issues in one of her self-education books,

[130] Ibid., 85.

[131] Ibid., 86.

[132] Ibid., 11.

[133] Ibid., 77.

Elementary Egyptian Grammar.[134] She wrote: "I am told that by [writing for a general audience] I shall lower the standard of scholarship in Egyptian, but I confess that I fail to see the force of the argument."[135] She responded to her critics that writing more approachable and understandable works for uneducated and generally educated people

> will increase the interest in the Egyptian language and literature [and history] by increasing that small section of the public who have felt the charm and fascination of that most ancient civilization, by showing them the firm foundation on which our knowledge of the language is built, and by letting them see the difficulties which have to be overcome, and the ease with which the great masters of the language surmount the obstacles.[136]

These sentiments extended to all of her works meant for a wider, non-scholarly, readership. Although Murray's four works span 36 years, from 1913 to 1949, I group them together here for contextual and analytical purposes; each of the books in this section shares Murray's goal of educating a number of students in Egyptology.

The books whose publications are furthest apart, *Ancient Egyptian Legends* and *Ancient Egyptian Religious Poetry*, both belonged to a book series titled "The Wisdom of the East" and were published by John Murray; *Egyptian Sculptures* and *Egyptian Temples*, on the other hand, were not part of a series but were meant to be something "between a guide book and the enormous volumes of specialists."[137] Each of them separately and all four as a group demonstrate Murray's wide range of expertise in a rapidly specializing field. Murray furthermore had an ability that few authors had but

---

[134] Ibid., 115; Margaret A. Murray, *Elementary Egyptian Grammar* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1914).

[135] Ibid., vii.

[136] Ibid., vii-viii.

[137] Margaret Murray, *Egyptian Sculpture* (London: Duckworth, 1930); Margaret Murray, *Egyptian Temples* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1931), v.

that all publishers of popular science books wanted: the skill to write at a level that was suitable for a wide variety of audiences. Bowler argues that these authors usually "cut their teeth on extramural lecturing," such as by lecturing to a paying audience or through university extension courses, both of which Murray did.[138] Finally, the books establish Murray not only as a science writer, but also as a popular educator, that is as a mediator of specialized information to a broad audience with wide-ranging interests and levels of education.

The publishing house of John Murray had published educational books from its earliest days in the late-eighteenth century.[139] The numerous series of books published by the firm, which were aimed at the family library as opposed to the scholarly one, remained popular for decades because of their cheap cost and their interesting but informative content.[140] These series were also presented to the reader as being connected to one another as part of a "rounded education, or at least a comprehensive overview" of a specific area of subject matter.[141] The editors of "The Wisdom of the East Series" had a clear pedagogical objective, made explicit at the start of each book:

> They desire above all things that, in their humble way, these books shall be the ambassadors of good-will and understanding between East and West, the old world of Thought and the new of Action. In this endeavour, and in their own sphere, they are but followers of the highest example in

[138] Bowler, *Science for All*, 115.

[139] Barbara Quinn Schmidt, "John Murray (London: 1768-)," in *The British Literary Book Trade, 1700—1820*, ed. James K. Bracken and Joel Silver (Washington, D.C.: Gale Research, 1995), 206.

[140] For a fuller history of this publishing house, see William Zachs, *The First John Murray and the Late Eighteenth-Century London Book Trade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); John Murray IV, *John Murray III, 1808-1892, A Brief Memoir* (London: John Murray, 1919). John Murray published numerous authors well-known to the public, such as Mary Somerville, Charles Darwin, Lord Byron, and Washington Irving.

[141] Bowler, *Science for All*, 115.

> the land. They are confident that a deeper knowledge of the great ideals and lofty philosophy of Oriental thought may help to a revival of that true spirit of Charity which neither despises nor fears the nations of another creed and colour.[142]

Many of the books were translations from Eastern languages such as Arabic, Japanese, Chinese and Aramaic. There were also original works in English by scholars such as Battiscombe Gunn (one of Murray's former students) and L. Cranmer-Byng, with titles like *The Teachings of Zoroaster*, *The Awakening of the Soul*, and *The Classics of Confucius* introducing readers to Eastern philosophy. The series as a whole was considered by critics and scholars to be of "very practical use, which offer to the general public excellent translations of the works of experienced specialists."[143] And press opinions were favorable. The *Glasgow Herald* stated: "This new Series has a definite and lofty aim, and is deserving of support. The books are small, cheap, and well adapted for the pocket."[144] The books in the series were thus suited for the non-specialist public practically and economically. Furthermore, to the serious historian the series was considered useful because it concerned "the variety of areas of human thought" like metaphysics, religion and morality.[145] As books for this focused readership of interested students and more serious historians, the series into which Murray contributed her work was a perfect fit.

Murray dedicated the small book *Ancient Egyptian Legends* to her students, "past and present," and wrote it "entirely for the general public" although she "made some

---

[142] Murray, *Ancient Egyptian Legends*, 121.

[143] P. Masson-Oursel, "Review: The Wisdom of the East Series," *Isis* 1:3 (1913): 513-514.

[144] http://chestofbooks.com/new-age/spirituality/Soul-Awakening/The-Orient-Library-The-Wisdom-Of-The-East-Series.html, accessed 06/25/2009. This was the only source I could find about this particular series from John Murray.

[145] Masson-Oursel, "The Wisdom of the East Series," 514.

provision for the more serious student, in the Notes at the end."[146] It contained translations of a number of legends about the gods of ancient Egypt, along with notes and contextual explanations. As part of a series published for the non-specialist, Murray made it clear that she wished to inform the "unscientific reader[s]" in the public audience "who are increasingly interested in the religion and civilisation of ancient Egypt, but whose only means of obtaining knowledge of that country is apparently through magazine stories in which a mummy is the principal character."[147] Like her work with the Manchester Museum, not only did Murray want to inform her audience, but she also wanted to correct their perceptions of ancient Egypt. She offered here what Bowler terms a "cut-down version of what might be found in a text book, presented in a manner that was easy and entertaining for the amateur student to read."[148] Thus, both the self-educating public and the serious scholar would learn something from this book.

The titles of each of the narratives revealed the Egyptian gods whose legends were told; these consisted mainly of the three principal deities Osiris, Isis and Ra. They related the stories of the lives of the gods, such as the legendary death of Osiris and then of the adventures of his wife Isis as she looked for his dismembered body parts; or, they recounted wars and battles between the gods before time began as in, "The Black Pig" and "The Battles of Horus."[149] The translations were short—ranging anywhere from four to twenty pages in length—easily readable, and did not contain any images. The longest of the legends presented was "The Regions of Night and Thick Darkness," a journey

[146] Murray, *Ancient Egyptian Legends*, 7-8.

[147] Ibid.

[148] Bowler, *Science for All*, 81.

[149] Murray, *Ancient Egyptian Legends*, 41-51; 56-58; and 59-73.

described in the Book of Am Duat.[150] It detailed the passing of the Boat of Millions of Years which carried the lifeless body of Ra, or the sun, through the twelve regions of the Duat, or the hours of the night. Ra's trip through each of these regions, called countries, lasted for one hour. The countries sometimes contained shadowy but good and happy people, pits of flame, or Osiris, the god of the dead, judging the evildoers in their acts. The final country, called "Darkness has fallen, and births shine forth," was the place in which Ra's lifeless body was "transformed into [the great scarab] Khepera and is alive again."[151] He left this last country to "swing wide the portals, and usher in the day."[152] The story ended with a song rejoicing that Ra had once again emerged from the night to bring the new day: "Hail to thee, Ra, at thy rising; at thy rising in beauty, O Ra."[153] In the "Notes" section of the book, Murray explained to the reader where the original version of this tale could be found—on the walls of the tomb of Seti I, discovered in 1817 by Giovanni Belzoni—and where other modern translations were available for comparison.[154] She also elaborated on the background and history of the legend, so that the reader might understand not only the story, but also Egyptian history and religious beliefs better. She argued that this legend was "a compilation by the theologians of that period; an attempt to combine into one homogeneous whole several distinct ideas of the next world and the life hereafter."[155] The reader then would be able to walk away from

[150] Ibid., 86-105; 114.

[151] Ibid., 103.

[152] Ibid., 104.

[153] Ibid., 105.

[154] Ibid., 114-116.

[155] Ibid., 115.

this book both entertained, as he or she was by the magazine stories, and informed about more in-depth Egyptian histories and literature.

Egyptian Religious Poetry is not much different from *Legends*. The goal was the same: to instruct the reader on Egyptian history, religion and literature, and to make clear the latest historical theories and scholarly interpretations about Egyptian culture. It differed in one important way, and that was in its structure. *Poetry* was written more like a textbook. It contained a much longer introduction than *Legends*—about fifty pages—had an extensive glossary, and gave a chronology and basic history of the civilisation of Egypt, following Flinders Petrie's *Making of Egypt* and her own lectures.[156] The poetry, of which she presented examples, were mainly worshipful religious hymns and poems to the sun, the pharaoh, and various gods and goddesses. There were a few having to do with death, and a few more with morality. Many of the hymns to Ra, the sun god, echoed the joyous narrative at the end of the legend above: "Glory to Re as he crosses the sky, / Passing above to the Hill of the West! / Bright is the earth at the time of his birth, / Born in the morning to bless every land."[157]

In the introduction to this small volume, Murray detailed a few of the poems and their subject matter, explaining to the reader why these poems should be studied. First, she argued that the study of religious hymns was crucial to the comparative study of religions among the Egyptians and the "jealous and barbaric Hebrews," who based their hymns on Egyptian structure and ideals, and whose influence could also be found in later

[156] W. M. Flinders Petrie, *The Making of Egypt*, (London: The Sheldon Press, 1939). While Murray did not explicitly cite Petrie here, the chronology and means of change in population, culture and belief systems are strikingly similar, I can confidently speculate that it is from *Making of Egypt* that she got her information.

[157] Margaret Murray, *Egyptian Religious Poetry* (London: John Murray, 1949), 63.

Christianity and Islam.[158] She argued further that the poetry and the context in which it was created offered some detail about the quality of life at the time it was written. As Murray explained: "As the arts cannot flourish when the struggle for life is too keen, there is very little poetry to be found" in times of great political and cultural strife in Egypt.[159] Finally, she claimed that the fact that Egypt was one of the earliest civilizations to develop arts such as poetry and music might have given even more weight to the idea that Egypt was the first ancestor of the Greeks, and therefore the ancestor of Europe.

Although reviews of Murray's books in themselves are difficult to locate, the critical responses to the series as a whole are revealing as the motivation behind the series as a whole was the same.[160] It was crucial to the publisher's success that the series was thought to be useful and practical for the public, and thus it boded well for John Murray that reviewers were almost unanimous in the sentiment that the "little books…are exceedingly welcome."[161] Although referring to a group of books about Hindu holy texts, L. D. Barnett's opinion could be applied to Murray's work. He stated that "[n]o better means could be found to interest the general reader…than these little volumes of selections; tasteful and lucid in style, they have all the advantages of sound scholarship without any of the literary deficiencies that are usually attached to it."[162] P. Masson-

---

[158] Ibid., 23.

[159] Ibid., 32. This, I think, was also influenced by Petrie's work, especially in *Revolutions of Civilisation* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1922), where Petrie uses art and sculpture to compare and contrast among nations to see the "repeated growth, glory, and decay of art … indicating the revolutions of civilisation" (47).

[160] As far as I could find, there were no reviews of Murray's books for the series. There were no reviews of works in the series that had to do with Egypt at all, although there were a few reviews of others of the books.

[161] Bowler, *Science for All*, 77-78. L. D. Barnett, "Review," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain*, No. 2 (1924): 291.

[162] Ibid.

Oursel reviewed a few of the "Wisdom of the East" books for *Isis* some years earlier, and, while his positive feedback was echoed in Barnett's review, Masson-Oursel was not completely sure what the books added to science. He argued that he would not necessarily call them "scientific," but maintained the view that what was important was the epistemological interest of the "booklets" (*opuscules*) which meant the access and spread of precise knowledge of difficult works to a wide audience.[163] This was, in fact, all the author and publisher desired.

One crucial component of Murray's two works was the employment of literature by scholars and the ability to familiarize and inform the public about a civilization usually thought to be exotic and mysterious. In this endeavor Murray was not alone. Petrie had written a book with a similar subject and purpose in 1895, *Egyptian Tales: Translated from the Papyri*. The work came in two parts: the "First Series" contained literature from the fourth to the twelfth dynasties, and the "Second Series" included writings in the periods from the eighteenth to the nineteenth dynasties.[164] The stories, like Murray's *Legends* and *Poetry*, were translated directly from the Egyptian and were followed by a section of "remarks" by Petrie in order to explain the historical context of each story. The clearest parallel between the two authors' scholarship is that Petrie's book also opened with a thorough introduction to the subject matter and its purpose for the reader. He addressed the scholar who would read the books, stating that by giving historical material to the reader he wished to "provide such material for the [non-scholarly] reader's imagination in following the stories; it may give them more life and

[163] Masson-Oursel, "Review of 'The Wisdom of the East Series,'" 514.

[164] W. M. F. Petrie, *Egyptian Tales: Translated from the Papyri*, First Series (London: Methuen & Co., 1895); W. M. F. Petrie, *Egyptian Tales: Translated from the Papyri*, Second Series (London: Methuen & Co., 1895).

reality, and may emphasise the differences which existed between the different periods to which these tales refer."[165] In turn, he addressed his main audience, the general reader:

> To the reader who starts with the idea that all Egyptians were alike, this continual change from one period to another may seem almost fanciful. But it rests on such certain authority that we may hope that this little volume may have its use as an object-lesson in practical archaeology.[166]

For the audience who had only had experience with fictional stories in popular magazines, Murray and Petrie worked "to make alive to him a society of a different land or age."[167] Using fiction, religious legends and poems, these scholars wished to change the ideas that the population at-large had consumed about ancient Egypt: "In the place of regarding Egyptians only as the builders of pyramids and the makers of mummies, we here see the men and women as they lived, their passions, their foibles, their beliefs and their follies."[168] By doing so, Egyptians became real people to whom the reader could relate, thus making them less exotic, mysterious, or chaotic, and more familiar, domestic, or manageable, and, possibly, more imaginable as European ancestors than the ancient Greeks.

Shifting from the study of literature, *Egyptian Sculpture* and *Egyptian Temples* were similar to *Legends* and *Poetry* in that they were meant to introduce the audience to aspects of Egypt they might not normally encounter in the more public literature, but the subject matter was different. They therefore fall into a different genre from the other two books. While their purpose was not necessarily to provide new or groundbreaking

---

[165] Petrie, *Egyptian Tales,* First Series, 3.

[166] Ibid., 6.

[167] Petrie, *Egyptian Tales,* Second Series, vii.

[168] Ibid., vii.

information or theories—although there is much original research in them—Murray instead wished to provide a more complete account of most of the then-known ancient sites and art in Egypt.

Ernest Gardiner wrote in the preface to *Egyptian Sculpture* that with the massive increase in interest in everything Egyptian in this period (about eight years after King Tutankhamun's tomb had been found by Howard Carter), he and other archaeologists believed it was crucial for the intense curiosity in Egyptian history to be "accompanied by an adequate knowledge of its history and an intelligent appreciation of its finer qualities."[169] In order to do this, he argued, the public should be provided with correct and useful information. He proposed that "…the chief need of the student is a clear and concise account of the various styles and periods, illustrated by typical examples and accurate descriptions."[170] *Sculpture* was an attempt at a detailed and descriptive catalog of many of the typical types and examples of Egyptian sculpture. It also contained an extensive comparative-historical introduction in which Murray explained to the reader that having a historical and environmental background was central to the understanding of the architecture, art and sculpture in Egypt. She stated: "…the architecture which developed in Egypt was in harmony with the landscape in which it was set: the level lines of the roofs and vertical colonnades repeated the horizontal and vertical lines of the cliffs which formed the background."[171] She continued, later, arguing that Egyptian architecture "arising as it did from the lines of the landscape, impressed itself upon the

[169] Ernest Gardiner, "Preface," in *Egyptian Sculpture*, ed. Margaret A. Murray (London: Duckworth, 1930; reprint edition, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970), vii.

[170] Ibid., viii.

[171] Murray, *Egyptian Sculpture*, xvii.

sculpture, and the impress never faded throughout the ages."[172] Murray was giving a short lesson here to the reader who would never enter her classroom at UCL, but to whom she desired to convey the context in which this specific architecture developed.

Throughout *Sculpture*, drawing on the work of a variety of other well-known archaeologists such as Maspero and, not surprisingly, Petrie, Murray explained the chronology of the Egyptian kingdoms and how the changing styles of sculpture related to the changing styles of rule, societal make-up and more. Before doing this, however, she detailed the methods of Egyptian artists and scribes, how the art changed over time and through different periods, and the different materials they might have used.[173] Significantly, she outlined in detail what is known to Egyptologists and art historians as the Egyptian canon, that is, the artists' use of grids when sculpting, painting and chiseling out reliefs.[174] The casual reader who appreciated the lore of Egyptian history and legends and who marveled at the beautiful, sometimes bizarre, art would not normally read about the methodology of the artist. Murray's readers, however, found out that:

> When setting out his first sketch, the artist ruled out his papyrus or wall in squares, and in this way drew his figure to scale. Each square counts as half a unit, and the head seems to be the standard of measurement. In working out the canon for each period, it is necessary to remember that it is the upright male figure, either standing or walking that is taken.[175]

She also included drawings of the grids and canon from each period, complete with proportions and the number of grid squares for certain parts of the body. She was then

---

[172] Ibid., xix.

[173] Ibid., 3-28.

[174] Ibid., 20-28. A more recent and thoroughly illustrated discussion of this is in Gay Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), 12-29, 76-78.

[175] Ibid., 20-21.

able to demonstrate how the grids and proportions changed over time and throughout different periods.

Her methods were thorough and she educated the public about important points of Egyptian art history which they had not had access to in other books or at museums, and she corrected points that they may have misunderstood. For example, in her discussion of the New Kingdom, Murray dedicated a whole chapter to the reign of Akhenaten, "the Heretic King," when religion and culture changed dramatically.[176] Although this particular period "lasted for little more than a generation," the representational canon was adjusted so much that it has attracted the attention of scholars and historians since its discovery.[177] The styles of sculpture and art ranged widely and had a more natural feel to them than the rigid canon had allowed before. However, it was not a powerful enough system to outlast the death of the king.[178] Murray argued that when "the novelty [of the style] had passed...the Egyptian artist returned to his old conventional style."[179] Depicting the art and artists as alive and active agents made it easier for the reader to see Egyptians as not simply an ancient culture of death or of mysterious mighty kings, but instead as a living people whose stories were being told.

One important aspect of *Sculpture* was the comparative method Murray used to analyze Egyptian pieces of art. Following Petrie and other scholars, and much like her later claims in *Poetry*, she argued that "the rise of a strong centralised power introduced a recrudescence in art. …invasions and internal strife of the First Intermediate Period

[176] Murray, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 133-151. For a short introduction and explanation to this period, see Angela P. Thomas, *Akhenaten's Egypt* (Buckinghamshire, UK: Shire Publications, 1988). For the art of the period, see Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, 149-165.

[177] Murray, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 133.

[178] Ibid.

[179] Ibid., 134.

resulted in an almost complete extinction of art."[180] Sometimes centralization, and therefore freedom from strife, came from the external influences of invading countries such as Greece, Rome, and Persia. These invasions could also cause drastic changes in art, but not necessarily for the better. As Petrie had in *Revolutions of Civilisation*, Murray compared the sculpture and artwork to that of Greece and Europe.[181] Murray, however, contrasted Greek and Egyptian art more than she drew similarities. According to Murray, the Egyptian artist "was the teacher of the Greek artist," but Egyptian art was never really destined to "blossom" like its Greek counterpart because of religious constraints placed on the Egyptian canon scale.[182] Furthermore, in contrasting the styles of the two types of art, Murray surprisingly argued that in depicting dress, the Egyptians "preferred a robe of plain straight lines" because they were more simple-minded, but "the more complex mind of the Greek rejoiced in a complexity of folds and pleats."[183] Murray further argued that at the end of the Late Period, around the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth dynasties, "[w]hen the country revived under the Hellenised Psammetichus, the artist was no longer able to create, but the remembrance of the recent impulse was still an influence, and it resulted in the copying of the old work…"[184] The teacher apparently became the pupil as Egypt came under the control of the Greeks and, although at this point much of the Old Kingdom style was revived, it was possible to see Greek influence in many of the later sculptures and temple wall inscriptions.[185] Murray pointed

[180] Ibid., 77.

[181] Petrie, *Revolutions of Civilisation*.

[182] Murray, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 9, 53.

[183] Ibid., 53, 70.

[184] Ibid., 153.

[185] Ibid., 152-175.

out that a man's wooden coffin, in fact bearing the image of a woman, had "Greek feeling in the long, narrow face, with thick waved hair across the forehead; the style is as essentially un-Egyptian as the garment [painted on the coffin]."[186] Murray drew no conclusions from her comparison of Egyptian with Greek art, except to say that at different times they influenced each other.

Her declarations about Greek and Egyptian art are surprising for two main reasons. First, she had mentioned in the introduction that Egyptian sculpture had been influenced, in fact it came straight from, the architecture, which in turn had come directly from the straight lines of the landscape. Secondly, as we saw in Murray's lectures and writings about Egypt and its inhabitants, she thought very highly of the civilization as the most advanced in the ancient world. To say that, in art, the Egyptian was simple-minded, would be an affront to her own claims of Egyptian superiority. We have seen that, in European museums, and especially the British Museum, Egyptian and Greek art were distinguished from one another to a fault. A similar treatment of the art of these two cultures may shed some light on her ideas. In *Art in Ancient Times*, Joseph Pijoan, an art scholar from the University of Chicago, argued that Greek influence on Egyptian art—which happened "in spite of the Egyptian resistance to intermingling"—added modern, more sophisticated elements than the simpler, straight lines and rigidity that had come before.[187] Although he claimed that these new designs gave sculpture a "softly

[186] Ibid., 165.

[187] Joseph Pijoan, *Art in Ancient Times: Prehistoric – Egypt – Near East – Greece and Rome*, The University of Knowledge Wonder Books (Chicago: University of Knowledge, Inc., 1940), 99-104.

charming" attitude to the ancient gods of Egypt, Pijoan believed as Murray did, that the Greek influence lent a higher degree of complexity and superiority to the sculpture.[188]

Egyptian Temples was published just one year after *Sculpture*, and her objective was similar: to provide a complete but concise account of most of the then-known ancient temples in Egypt. She stated:

> There is no book which gives a short *résumé* of the temples of Egypt, for there is nothing between a guide book and the enormous volumes of specialists. I have, therefore, tried in this small book to collect together the chief points of interest of many of the temples now remaining. This does not pretend to be an exhaustive account of any temple, or even to give a complete list of all the temples; it merely gives a rapid survey of the architecture, some of the history, and a few details not usually found in books such as those I have mentioned above.[189]

The book contained introductions and discussions of about fifty temples, their location and their religious or royal significance. Before she did this, however, she gave the reader a brief introduction to understanding the general purposes and structures of Egyptian temples. Drawing from her research and that of Egyptologists such as Belzoni, Edwards, Maspero, Petrie, and John G. Wilkinson, the work was a synthesis of the writings of specialists, presented in an easy-to-read format with over seventy pages of illustrations. These illustrations appealed not only to the delight and curiosity of the lay reader, thus adding to their sense of wonder in an ancient civilization, but they also added a useful research tool for the student and scholar who were able to see in print what they might not be able to experience in person.[190] In short, this was a general book from

[188] Ibid., 99.

[189] Murray, *Egyptian Temples*, v.

[190] Bowler, *Science for All*, 55-56.

which anyone interested could learn about the architecture and archaeology of ancient Egypt, without having to sort through "enormous volumes of specialists."

Murray organized the description of the temples as if one were travelling up the Nile, from Lower Egypt to Upper Egypt, North to South.[191] Each temple description had a brief history of its discovery and then an in-depth introduction to its layout, plan and purpose throughout Egyptian history, from the predynastic periods up to the Coptic and Muslim periods. Even though it had been almost thirty years, her depiction of the temples at Abydos adhered to her original report on the site, for the most part, as it was a complete and thorough report.[192] She went into great detail about each of the separate chapels as well as the rituals and religious plays that probably took place in them.[193] She concentrated on the ceremonies dedicated to the mysteries of Osiris, but mentioned the Osireion only briefly.[194] As her earlier work on the Osireion was thorough and thought to be the most complete book to date on that building, she may have seen no need to go into detail in *Temples*.[195]

Another temple, further south on the Nile at Deir el-Bahari, belonged to Queen Hatshepsut. The temple, "with its ramps, its terraces, and its colonnades, was built in imitation of the earlier temple of the XIth dynasty," which had stood very near the spot where Hatshepsut had her own temple built.[196] According to Murray, it was not only the architecture of the building itself, but also the "magnificent situation of the temple, set

[191] For example, Edwards, *A Thousand Miles up the Nile*.

[192] Murray, *Osirieon at Abydos* (1904); see chapter two.

[193] Murray, *Egyptian Temples*, 36-44.

[194] She only mentioned this important temple twice in passing, see Murray, *Egyptian Temples*, 36, 43.

[195] See chapter two for more on the Osireion.

[196] Murray, *Egyptian Temples*, 121.

against the cliffs, [that] makes it one of the more remarkable in the whole of Egypt."[197] Her further description would make the reader feel as if he or she were in Egypt standing in front of it. Much of the chapter was a virtual tour for the readers, guiding them through each room; Murray illustrated with words what they could not see with their eyes. She painted the forecourt as follows:

> The entrance was through an avenue of sphinxes across the plain, and the gateway was shaded with persea trees. Through the gateway the worshipper entered a great forecourt... Here also trees were planted, and there were beds of flowers and pools of growing papyrus reeds; this is perhaps the place to which the queen alludes in her inscriptions when she speaks of the 'garden of my father Amon'.[198]

While all of the chapters were peppered with descriptions such as this, Murray also devoted time to the historical context of the temples. In the case of Deir al-Bahari, it was the history of Hatshepsut's rule, speculating as to how this "great Queen" might have had the authority to rule all of Egypt and then, later, be almost erased from the inscriptions on the temple's walls. She argued that the "Heretic King," Akhenaten, had Hatshepsut's personal title of "Consort of Amon" erased, along with all references to this and any other god but Aten.[199] After Akhenaten's death, when the temples and pantheistic worship was restored by Seti I, the names of "any one of the three Tehutmes [Tuthmosis] indiscriminately was cut over the erasure by the ignorant stone-masons, who did not realise that so magnificent a building could belong to a queen and not to a king."[200] This type of detailed examination ran throughout *Temples*, making the reader accustomed to

[197] Ibid.

[198] Ibid., 123.

[199] Ibid., 122.

[200] Ibid.

receiving information as well as understanding some of the scientific analysis. Furthermore, Murray was introducing new ideas to readers and allowing room for her interpretation to be spread to the public.

Most reviewers of *Egyptian Sculpture* and *Egyptian Temples* remarked that the books provided fulfillment of "a long-felt want" and were welcomed by beginners to Egyptology and seasoned travelers alike.[201] They were called such things as a "handbook," "an adequate manual of Egyptian sculpture," "a mine of information," "a sober and conservative, well-informed volume," and "an admirable book of reference."[202] Critics were clearly appreciative of the fact that Murray attempted to interest and inform the reader, as well as aid visitors to Egypt in their knowledge of certain sites. A. Philip McMahon favorably reviewed *Sculpture* and the fact that the book achieved "for students the service promised by its title, and in this respect it really deserves the attention so querulously demanded by Meier-Graefe's most disappointing new volume."[203] Another, not so favorable, review of *Sculpture* lamented the fact that although Murray provided well-written descriptions, the lack of illustrations left something to be desired: "one feels as if at a lecture on art where some of the lantern-slides had failed to arrive."[204] Furthermore, critics recognized that she had made "no claim to completeness," but it was

---

[201] Egerton Beck, "Egyptology without Tears. Review of *Egyptian Temples*," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 61: 354 (1932): 137.

[202] E. B., "Review of *Egyptian Sculpture* by M. A. Murray," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 57: 332 (1930): 251; G. D. H., "Review of *Egyptian Sculpture* by Margaret Alice Murray," *Man* 30 (1930): 146-147; A. Philip McMahon, "Review of *Egyptian Sculpture* by Margaret Alice Murray," *Parnassus* 2:8 (1930): 42-43; Beck, "Egyptology without Tears," 137-138.

[203] McMahon, "Review of *Egyptian Sculpture*," 43. He refers to Julius Meier-Graefe, *The Pyramid and Temple* (New York: Macaulay Co., 1930). According to McMahon, *Pyramid and Temple* was a work much anticipated from "an innovator and pioneer" in the study of art. However, instead of offering "genuine benefits to students of fine arts," it was full of "errors of historical fact" stemming from Meier-Graefe's "incapacitated leader" wandering throughout the monuments of Egypt (McMahon, "Review, *Pyramid and Temple*," 44).

[204] G. D. H., "Review of *Egyptian Sculpture*," 146.

her attention to detail and her "wide and accurate knowledge" that made these books so useful.[205]

There were and are countless examples of guidebooks, especially for the European traveler to Egypt. Murray's *Temples* was regarded as a useful tool for "the many visitors to Egypt as take an intelligent interest in the archaeology of that fascinating country."[206] Hers differed from the other travel guides in that it was full of easy-to-understand, non-fanciful and useful information. She also included original research, such as the Osiris rituals at Abydos, that other guidebooks did not. Finally, she fixed the problem of the lack of illustrations that *Sculpture* had. In this ambition she partly followed in the path of other Egyptologists who attempted to guide visitors with "intelligent interest" throughout Egypt. Gaston Maspero's *Manual of Egyptian Archaeology* had as its subtitle: *Guide to the Study of Antiquities in Egypt. For the Use of Students and Travellers*.[207] It is true that he wrote forty years before Murray and many of his conclusions were outdated by her time, but his work is still a useful comparison to hers in terms of the type of information presented and its organization.

The *Manual* was first translated into English by Amelia Edwards in 1887. Of the importance of works such as these, Edwards remarked,

> It is not enough to say that a handbook of Egyptian Archaeology was much needed, and that Professor Maspero has given us exactly what we require. He has done much more than this. He has given us a picturesque,

[205] Beck, "Egyptology without Tears," 137; E. B., "Review of *Egyptian Sculpture*," 251.

[206] Beck, "Egyptology without Tears," 137.

[207] Gaston Maspero, *Manual of Egyptian Archaeology: Guide to the Study of Antiquities in Egypt. For the Use of Students and Travellers*, Sixth English Edition (New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1926).

> vivacious, and highly original volume, as delightful as if it were not learned, and as instructive as if it were dull.[208]

The importance of this being that

> [f]or the skilled archaeologist, its pages contain not only new facts, but new views and new interpretations; while to those who know little, or perhaps nothing, of the subjects under discussion, it will open a fresh and fascinating field of study.[209]

Maspero's work detailed towns and their organization, tombs and their purpose, art, painting and sculpture, the reigns of kings and queens, industry and more. However, the wide range of subjects contained in what was a short, 370-page, meticulously illustrated, small volume could overwhelm the new student of Egyptology: he simply included too much. For example, in three successive sentences, the text jumped from a brief discussion of how temple columns were physically constructed, to the meaning of the art and hieroglyphs as part of the column decoration, then back to the shape of the different types of columns.[210] In spite of this, Maspero included numerous drawings to help explain the text. While his critics argued that the book was an "indispensible companion of the tourist of Egypt, or of the Egyptian enthusiast anywhere…" its disorganization and "strikingly unsystematic treatment" of some of the aspects of Egypt might have made it more difficult to read than Murray's.[211] Furthermore, Maspero's work did not go into the depth that Murray's did over most topics, and if it did, the analysis was split among as many as twenty-five noncontiguous pages. Thus, while Murray's readers could learn about what Egyptologists thought about Abydos temples or Egypt's influence on Greek

[208] Ibid., v.

[209] Ibid.

[210] Ibid., 63.

[211] James Henry Breasted, Review "*Manual of Egyptian Archaeology and Guide to the Study of Antiquities in Egypt by G. Maspero*," *The Biblical World* 7:2 (1896): 152.

art, Maspero's would only learn that such things existed.[212] Murray's breadth of content mirrors that of Maspero, but her further research and insight thus confirm her as a scientific educator.

Both *Sculpture* and *Temples* are examples of one of the main roles that Murray played in Egyptology in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries as a popular writer and a mediator of scientific information. She took in large volumes of information, processed the information and synthesized it into an easily accessed and easily understood format for the general reader. She did not simplify it, necessarily, but made it easier for both the serious student and the non-specialist reader to digest. In doing this kind of work she was also drawing on a long tradition of Egyptologists writing books to satiate the public interest while providing them with accurate information. Murray was able to direct the development of Egyptology as a part of the public imagination as well as to bypass the sensational journalism about mummies and tombs that overflowed the pages of newspapers and magazines. Furthermore, as such, Murray helped to create "a space for interaction between the professional scientist and the amateur observer."[213] Although Bowler argues that it was usually in their retirement and "relaxation in their declining years" that scientists began the pursuit of writing for the general audience, Murray in fact did so as a *main* component of her career throughout.[214] Although with works such as *Splendour* and others, some of the works I have analyzed here may fall after her official retirement from UCL, however, a brief look at her activity in the years after 1935 will show that she never really retired. It is clear that Murray

[212] Maspero, *Manual of Egyptian Archaeology*, 102-104, 278, 356.

[213] Bowler, *Science for All*, 54.

[214] Ibid., 247.

belongs historically within the particular context of a popular science writer and her main interest was in making knowledge about Egypt available to *all* who wished to do some reading.

Conclusions

It is clear that as both a respected lecturer and a scientific writer, Murray's position as an educator took an interesting, if unexpected, direction. While she sustained her passion for teaching, in addition to maintaining the department at UCL as the main administrator, her focus in the Interwar period demonstrated that she was becoming a successful mediator of ideas between the scientific world and the public. In both the mummy spectacle at Manchester and later on in the books she wrote for a mixed audience, she undoubtedly wished to guide students and the public into a deeper knowledge of Egypt, thus combating the exotic view of it while taking advantage of the curiosity surrounding it. In doing so, she was able to bring the traditionally women's role of teaching in the classroom together with the implicitly imperial and male tradition of Egyptology and all Orientalist studies. Although Murray never explicitly claimed this as her purpose, the underlying truth was that her work aided in revealing knowledge about the sometimes fearful, always exciting, riddle that was the history of the ancient Egyptians. As Said and others have argued, knowledge of a mysterious culture, such as ancient Egypt, encouraged and enabled ideological and actual physical control over the study of its history and its contemporary descendants.

Furthermore, as an author and lecturer, Murray indulged in her life-long passion of reaching her students, who she believed not only occupied her classroom at the

university, but also bought her books and listened to her public addresses. Drower argues that "it is as a teacher of Egyptology that she will be chiefly remembered."[215] Here, Drower focuses on her own memories as one of Murray's last surviving students, as well as the memories of other UCL Egyptology department students; it is evident that Murray's teaching led to dozens of her students making successful careers in Egyptology.[216] However, I would argue further that her legacy is not only seen in her UCL students, but it is also seen in her educational outreach through public lectures and most importantly, through publishing books that were written specifically for a range of levels of public consumption. They were not written in order to call people to careers in Egyptology, but they were written to foster interest in the subject as well as to create a path down which readers might begin further pursuits. Murray's career began almost serendipitously; she knew what it was to have an interest in a topic and to find someone who would teach her. She wrote for her possible future students in the department, but mainly for the students who would never enter a physical classroom but enjoyed the one which she created in her books.

As a professional woman in this period, she was no longer working from the periphery of the field, but instead she had found her place firmly in the center of the discipline. It was her public lecturing and scholarly writing that gave her the predominant position in the context of the marketplace of science. Her work was authoritative and useful, demonstrating the obvious level of expertise in her scholarship. She no longer needed to be linked to Petrie in order for her work to be regarded highly.

---

[215] Margaret Drower, "Margaret Alice Murray (1863-1963)," in *Breaking Ground: Pioneering Women Archaeologists*, ed. Getzel M. Cohen and Martha Sharp Joukowsky (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan Press, 2004), 125.

[216] Janssen, *The First Hundred Years*.

Conclusion

This scientific biography has focused on the little-known life of a scientific woman, a woman who, until now, largely has been missing from the archaeology narrative but who is clearly a crucial link between the nineteenth- and twentieth-century practices of Egyptology, between the world of the amateur and the professional, and between the world of women and men. In writing the scientific life of Margaret Murray, I have attempted to use the example of her life and work in order to shed light on various issues in the discipline of Egyptian archaeology over the course of her forty-year career. By taking into account theories, ideas, and approaches from a feminist standpoint and applying them to women's social and cultural history, I have done a feminist women's history of science. In doing so, I have analyzed and explored gendered roles in Murray's life and career that would not appear in a non-feminist history of science, thus enlarging Murray to life-sized for the first time, while at the same time reducing Petrie to a more life-sized version as well. By choosing to investigate the life of a woman, I am able to concentrate on aspects of her life that would not surface in the biography of a man, such as gendered roles in childhood, different spaces for men and women in education and the professions, struggles of young women with finding a voice with which to be heard, and breaking free of the perceived and actual shadow of a larger-than-life mentor in order to establish one's own scientific career. It is within each of these aspects that historians will find a picture of a woman of contrasts. She was a Victorian daughter on her way to becoming a New Woman; she was both a professional scientist and a popular educator; and she navigated her career in a man's world while standing up strongly for the rights of women.

The earliest ideological framework that Murray was exposed to, and that which she carried with her for the rest of her life, was that of the British imperial, colonial context. Her early life in India lent itself to the idea that Britain was settled in a position of power over inferior, childlike peoples. As a British girl, although her father discouraged Murray's own ambitions, she noticed in her mother's charity work that women could have an impact outside the home. Murray's mother had an almost life-long interaction with native Indian women which led to teaching them Western knowledge, guiding them, Murray believed, to their enlightenment and "awakening." However, it was Murray herself who was freed through her mother's example. With her mother and sister as her champions, Murray found the courage to move past her father's wishes, to lift the veil of the demure Victorian girl, and to become a professional woman and a feminist activist.

As a woman in the university and a woman entering a professionalizing science, the changes that took place over the course of Murray's career reveal significant transformations in the status of women in academia. Before Murray could even think about beginning her career, she had to wait until after the death of her father. He had believed that women should not leave the house to earn money; he thought that if they were going out to work, it should be for charity purposes only. However, Murray had long felt called to occupy herself with a job that would not only help others, but that would also challenge herself. After her father's death, she was freed from his authority and found her calling in archaeology. Her own abilities were put to the test—her linguistic skills, her skills as a copyist and illustrator, her proficiency in quickly producing publishable work—and she succeeded. In all of this work, she was first

supported by another authoritative man, her mentor Flinders Petrie. Without his support at the start of her career, it is doubtful that she would have been able to move so adeptly through the field. This is simply to say that, at the time Murray entered the university, women were not commonly given the opportunities she was afforded. Without her own financial means with which to establish herself, as Gertrude Bell and Amelia Edwards had, for example, at this point in time as a woman, Murray needed the support of a male scientist. With Petrie as her advocate, she therefore had chances other women probably did not have. She realized the importance of her collaboration with Petrie to her own career, which made it hard for her to break from him when she needed to establish herself as a scholar. Even after Petrie's death in 1942, Murray was unable completely to separate herself from the man whose career made hers all the more possible. As a creative couple in Egyptian archaeology, the two will be forever linked in the historiography.

As Murray moved forward, however, and began to publish and teach on her own, she established herself as a formidable force in the discipline of archaeology. Her involvement with the feminist movement helped to cement her status as a professional scientist. As women scientists shaped the feminist movement with their understanding of the struggles of women in the professions, they were, in turn, shaped by the movement itself. In Murray's case, it made her more aware of the fact that women's needs within the university were underestimated, if not ignored altogether. This led to her establishing a women's common room at UCL and fighting for the inclusion of women in the resolution passed by Section H of the British Association. Furthermore, Murray was a strong advocate for a number of her women students entering the field of archaeology.

While many of her students of both sexes have appreciated the fact that she trained them as well as the fact that she was involved in their careers and supported their drives for success, the examples of Winifred Crompton of the Manchester Museum, Gertrude-Caton Thompson and Margaret Drower at UCL are only a few of the female students we know about. In time, I hope historians can shed more light on these issues. It is unclear whether or not she had the support of Petrie or the other male faculty in the Egyptology department in many of these endeavors. However, Murray's increasing levels of success as a woman in a predominantly male field point to her growing influence within the university and in the larger scholarly sphere; it also demonstrates the growing recognition of women students by universities.

In addition, as a child and throughout her adulthood, Murray witnessed implicitly that knowledge about native peoples would aid in the control of them. In all of her work, whether it was her research, writing, teaching or administrating the department, as a professional and a popularizer, Murray was furthering the imperial heritage of knowledge and power over another, Eastern, civilization. In her two real excavation seasons in Egypt, Murray crossed the perceived gender lines and was entrusted with the dirty, usually male, work. After weeks of debris clearing and sand shifting, she literally uncovered and revealed new structures. In her first two site reports, she continued, figuratively, the revelation and creation of information about the discoveries, contributing to the Orientalist knowledge base essential to the continued ideological control of the Egyptian geographic and cultural region. Later on, after she returned to the usually feminized classroom, Murray focused her energies on spreading the data and interpretation of this knowledge to future professionals in the field. In doing so, she

furthered the imperial and Orientalist tradition. Outside of the classroom, but continuing the educational legacy in public lectures and displays, she continued in the creation of knowledge about ancient Egypt while unwrapping Khnum-Nahkt in front of hundreds of people. To expose him to a crowd of peering and curious Westerners was blatantly to uncover and create him within an Orientalist viewpoint. Finally, in her writings about the splendor of Egypt and the wonders of its architecture, art, literature, and religion, Murray explained away the mysterious ancients, thus revealing a controllable and comfortable setting containing familiar people and ideas. While her stated purpose was to bring the public into the scientific fold, and she accomplished this in her lectures and books meant for a general audience, inherent in all of her work as an Egyptian archaeologist was the idea that the ancient world could and should be understood for the purpose of controlling the information and interpretation of a subject civilization.

It is through her work in the classroom at UCL that the professionalization of the discipline can be seen most clearly. While it has been noted that female work in the classroom has been overlooked in the historiography in favor of the male, heroic, dirty work at the excavation site, this investigation of Murray's career shifts the emphasis back to education. While Petrie had originally wanted "diggers" whom he could train on site, it was Murray who trained would-be diggers as historians, linguists and anthropologists first. It is probable that she acknowledged the need for this kind of training program because she herself had completed almost ten years of research before her first season in the field. Through her experiences as a woman on Petrie's excavation site, she was aware that, on the first day of an excavation, knowing what you were digging for was more important than digging it up. The two-year preparation course that Murray

prepared provides clear evidence that the classroom was becoming a valuable, and visible, training ground for field archaeologists, even though many historians do not recognize it as such yet. UCL students, both male and female, were beginning to make names for themselves within archaeology because of the fact that Murray stressed the importance of expertise in the history, culture, and religion of ancient Egypt before they were allowed into the field. A strong theoretical grounding would better prepare them to interpret more critically and creatively what they found than those without similar training. A further study of the classroom teaching of archaeology as well as in the broader history of science is needed before many of these conclusions can be corroborated. However, the brief analysis of the course is a beginning.

By investigating these gendered issues in archaeology throughout Murray's career, I am able to shed light on the status of women in the predominantly male world of archaeology: as scientific partners, as teachers, as public lecturers, as popular writers, as professionals. Women's work within the discipline has been severely underestimated. They were not simply students or partners, but instead they were teachers and writers, researchers and excavators. Many recent works ask whether or not women in archaeology should be studied as separate; still others wonder if there are any real women archaeologists of whom to speak. Both questions are usually answered in the affirmative, and a few women are therefore introduced and all too briefly discussed. Murray has appeared in a couple of these volumes; incidentally, aside from the online document by Drower about Hilda Petrie through the "Breaking Ground" project, she has yet to win her own chapter.[1] In this scientific biography of Murray I have presented the life of a female

[1] http://www.brown.edu/Research/Breaking_Ground/results.php?d=1&first=Hilda&last=Petrie (accessed 02/01/2009). The pdf document can be downloaded from this site and echoes the information about Hilda

archaeologist whose career and scientific work has had an impact on the discipline itself and the work of others. I have examined many of her published works, her lectures and her correspondence within the scientific context and have placed Murray as part of certain groups in which she has not yet been seen in order to achieve a more complete picture of an Egyptian archaeologist. Murray was more than Petrie's right hand in the department, allowing for him to be a productive archaeologist. She was her own woman and a professional scientist.

My analysis of Murray's scientific life is necessarily interpretive, not definitive, and while I am able to draw some well-supported conclusions, others that I advance are tentative pending further work on the overall story of women in the history of archaeology, such as their entrance into education and the professional ranks of archaeology, their work in the classroom and in the field, and where their scholarship fits within the scientific community. Moreover, more light must be shed on the Egyptology department at UCL and the history of the institutionalization of archaeology and Egyptology in order to understand the context into which new students, both men and women, became introduced to the discipline. Finally, the history of the discipline must move away from "Great Men" for us to paint a clearer picture of history. This dissertation is a step in that direction.

---

in Drower's biography of Flinders Petrie, *Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology*, 2nd ed. (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 231-248, and in Drower's edited volume of the Petries' correspondence, Margaret Drower, ed. *Letters from the Desert: The Correspondence of Flinders and Hilda Petrie* (Oxford: Aris and Phillips, 2004).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscripts and Papers

"Professorial Board Resolution," 11 June 1963. UCL Special Collections, University College London, London.

"University of London, University College, Session 1934-35. Department of Egyptology," Course Listing. UCL Records Office, University College London, London, England.

Aitken, G. B. Notebook "Egyptian History, Vol. I." Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology Archives, AITKEN/01, University College London, London.

Drower, Margaret. "Egyptian Exercises, c. 1931." Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology Archives, 12/1, University College London, London.

Gange, David. "*Between geology and theology: constructing ancient Egyptian chronology in the nineteenth century." Colloquium at* CHSTM at Manchester, 6 *October 2009.*

Murray, M. A. "A Course of Six Lectures on The Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt," Syllabus, British Museum, London, n.d. MS ADD 387, A-561, Special Collections, University College London, London.

Murray, Margaret. "Lecture I: Egypt & Europe—Introductory & Prehistory," n.d. MS ADD 387, A-561, Series 1, Special Collections, University College London, London.

Murray, M. A. "Lecture II, Dyn. XVIIIth (contd)," n.d. MS ADD 387, A-561, Series 2, Special Collections, University College London, London, England.

Murray, M. A. to W. Crompton, 29 June 1909. Manchester Museum Archive, Manchester, England.

Murray, M. A. to W. Crompton, 20 February 1919. Manchester Museum Archive, Manchester, England.

Murray, M. A. to W. Crompton, 5 February 1920. Manchester Museum Archive, Manchester, England.

Murray, M. A. to W. Crompton, 9 February 1920. Manchester Museum Archive, Manchester, England.

Murray, Margaret to Winifred Crompton, 25 April 1923. Manchester Museum Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom.

Murray, M. A. “A Course of Six Lectures on Archaic Egypt” Syllabus, British Museum, London, 1911. MS ADD 387, A-561, Series 1, Special Collections, University College London, London.

Murray, M. A. “Lecture I, Predynastic Period,” 1911. MS ADD 387, A-561, Series 1, Special Collections, University College London, London.

Murray, Margaret. “Lecture XII, Christian Period,” 1911. MS ADD 387, A-561, Series 2, Special Collections, University College London, London.

Murray, M. A. “A Course of Six Lectures on Egyptology” Syllabus, British Museum, London, c.1915. MS ADD 387, A-561, Series 1, Special Collections, University College London, London.

Murray, M. A. “A Syllabus of a Course of Six Lectures on Egypt and the Bible,” *Oxford University Delegacy for Extra-mural Studies, University Extension Lectures Committee*, 1938. UCL Special Collections, University College London, London, England.

Petrie, Hilda to W. Crompton, 30 November 1922. Manchester Museum Archive, Manchester, England.

Published Sources

“4,500-Year-Old Mummy to be ‘Unrolled’ in Manchester.” *Evening Chronicle*, 4 May 1908.

“A Protest against Desecration of Graves.” *Daily Dispatch,* 9 May 1908.

“Ancient Egypt: Tomb-Findings Exhibition.” *Manchester Guardian*, 21 October 1907.

“At the Back of Time, Civilisation before History, Egypt in Manchester.” *Manchester Courier*, 9 October 1912.

“Dr. Margaret Murray, Egyptologist of Distinction.” *The Times* (London), 15 November 1963, p. 21

“Introduction.” In *The Challenge of Feminist Biography: Writing the Lives of Modern American Women*, edited by Sara Alpern, Joyce Antler, Elisabeth Israels Perry, and Ingrid Winther Scobie, 5-7. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1992.

“Khnumu Nekht.” *Evening Chronicle*, 8 May 1908.

“Lady Egyptologist Unwraps a Mummy 4,400 Years Old!” *Daily Mirror*, 8 May 1908.

"Manchester Museum Extension, Treasures of the Tombs, A Wonderful Collection." *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, 28 March 1911.

"Prof. Sir Flinders Petrie, F.R.S." *The Times*, 30 July 1942.

"Professor Flinders Petrie on Egyptology." *The Times*, 16 January 1893, p. 8.

"The Mummy of Khnumu Nekht of the XII Dynasty (About 2500 B.C.)." *The Manchester Guardian*, 7 May 1908.

"Unrolling a Mummy, Novel Ceremony in Manchester." *Manchester Evening News*, 7 May 1908.

"Unrolling a Mummy, Scene in Manchester, 'In the days of Jacob'." *Manchester Courier*, 8 May 1908.

Abdel-Hakim, Sahar Sobhi. "Silent Travellers, Articulate Mummies. 'Mummy Pettigrew' and the Discourse of the Dead." In *Egypt Through the Eyes of Travellers*, edited by Paul Starkey and Nadia El Kholy, 121-148. Oxford: ASTENE, 2002.

Abir-Am, Pnina G. and Dorinda Outram, eds. *Uneasy Careers and Intimate Lives: Women in Science, 1789-1979*. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1987.

Adas, Michael. *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance*. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989.

Adler, Margot. *Drawing Down the Moon: Witches, Druids, Goddess-Worshippers, and Other Pagans in America Today*. Revised and Expanded edition. Boston: Beacon Press, 1986 [1979].

Alberti, Samuel J. M. M. "Conversaziones and the Experience of Science in Victorian England." *Journal of Victorian Culture* (2003): 208-230.

Alberti, Samuel J. M. M. "The Museum Affect: Visiting Collections of Anatomy and Natural History." In *Science in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century Sites and Experiences*, edited by Aileen Fyfe and Bernard Lightman, 371-403. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Aldred, Cyril. *Akhenaten: King of Egypt*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1988.

Allen, Grant. "My New Year's Eve Among the Mummies." In *Strange Stories*. London: Chatto and Windus, Piccadilly, 1884.

Allsebrook, Mary. *Born to Rebel: The Life of Harriet Boyd Hawes*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1992.

Alpern, Sara, Joyce Antler, Elisabeth Israels Perry, and Ingrid Winther Scobie, eds. *The Challenge of Feminist Biography: Writing the Lives of Modern American Women*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1992.

Alter, Peter. *The Reluctant Patron: Science and the State in Britain, 1850-1920*. Oxford: Berg, 1987.

Altick, Richard. *The Shows of London: A Panorama History of Exhibitions, 1600-1862*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978.

Ambrosius, Lloyd E. "Introduction." In *Writing Biography: Historians and Their Craft*, edited by Lloyd E. Ambrosius, vii-xiii. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.

Anderson, Elizabeth Garrett. "Sex in Mind and Education: A Reply." *Fortnightly Review* n.s. 15 (1874): 582-594.

Ardis, Ann L. *New Women, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism*. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1990.

Asher-Greve, Julia M. "Gertrude L. Bell (1868-1926)." In *Breaking Ground: Pioneering Women Archaeologists*, edited by Getzel M. Cohen and Martha Sharp Joukowsky, 142-197. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Aufderheide, Arthur C. *The Scientific Study of Mummies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Ayrton, E. R., C.T. Currelly, and A. E. P. Weigall. *Abydos, Part III. 1904*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1904.

B., E. "Review of *Egyptian Sculpture* by M. A. Murray." *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 57: 332 (1930): 251.

Baines, John. "The Aims and Methods of *Black Athena*." In *Black Athena Revisited*, edited by M. R. Lefkowitz and G. MacLean Rogers, 27-48. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Barnett, L. D. "Review." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain*, No. 2 (1924): 290-293.

Barr, Pat. *The Memsahibs: The Women of Victorian India*. London: Martin Secker & Warburg Ltd., 1976.

Beck, Egerton. “Egyptology without Tears. Review of *Egyptian Temples*.” *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 61: 354 (1932): 137-138.

Bednarski, Andrew. *Holding Egypt: Tracing the Reception of the* Description de l’Egypte *in Nineteenth-Century Great Britain*. London: Golden House Publications, 2005.

Bell, Gertrude. *Palace and Mosque at Ukhaidir: A Study in Early Mohammadan Architecture*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914.

Bell, Gertrude. *Safar Nameh. Persian Pictures. A Book of Travel*. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1928; originally published anonymously in 1894.

Bellot, Hugh Hale. *University College London, 1826-1926*. London: University of London Press, 1929.

Benn, Elizabeth. “From Witches to Sputniks.” *Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*, 12 July 1963, p. 13.

Bernal, Martin. *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*. Volume I: The Fabrication of Ancient Greece, 1785-1985, Volume II: The Archaeological and Documentary Evidence, Volume III: The Linguistic Evidence. New Brunswick, N. J.: 1987.

Bernal, Martin. *Black Athena Writes Back: Martin Bernal Responds to His Critics*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001.

Bernasek, Lisa. “Unveiling the Orient, Unmasking Orientalism: Sophia Poole’s *The Englishwoman in Egypt*.” In *Egyptian Encounters*, Cairo Papers in Social Science, Vol. 23, no. 2, Fall 2000, edited by Jason Thompson, 50-79. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2000.

Bierbrier, Morris L. “Art and Antiquities for Government’s Sake.” In *Views of Ancient Egypt since Napoleon Bonaparte: Imperialism, Colonialism and Modern Appropriations*, edited by David Jeffreys, 69-75. London: University College London Press, 2003.

Blodgett, Harriet. *Centuries of Female Days: Englishwomen’s Private Diaries*. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1988.

Bock, Gisela. *Women in European History*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.

Bonser, Wilfred. “A Bibliography of the Writings of Dr Murray.” *Folklore* 72:3 (1961): 560-566.

Bowler, Peter. *Science for All: The Popularization of Science in Early Twentieth-Century Britain*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

Boxer, Marilyn J. and Jean H. Quataert, eds. *Connecting Spheres: European Women in a Globalizing World, 1500 to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Boxer, Marilyn J. and Jean H. Quataert. "Women in Industrializing, Liberalizing, and Imperializing Europe: Overview, 1750—1890." In *Connecting Spheres: European Women in a Globalizing World, 1500 to the Present*, edited by Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert, 113-163. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Brady, Thomas A. "Review: *The Splendour that was Egypt: A General Survey of Egyptian Culture and Civilisation* by Margaret A. Murray." *The American Historical Review* 55:4 (July 1950): 878-9.

Breasted, James Henry. Review, "*Manual of Egyptian Archaeology and Guide to the Study of Antiquities in Egypt by G. Maspero*." *The Biblical World* 7:2 (1896): 152-153.

Brendon, Piers. *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007.

Brodzki, Bella and Celeste Schenck. "Introduction." In *Life/Lines: Theorizing Women's Autobiography*, edited by Bella Brodzki and Celeste Schenck, 1-15. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988.

Broome, Myrtle F., Amice Mary Calverly, and Alan Henderson Gardiner. *The Chapels of Osiris, Isis and Horus*. London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1933.

Browman, David L. and Douglas R. Givens. "Stratigraphic Excavation: The First 'New Archaeology'." *American Anthropologist* New Series 98:1 (1996): 80-95.

Brown, Iain Gordon. "The Affair of Lord Morton's Mummy." In *Egypt Through the Eyes of Travellers*, eds. Paul Starkey and Nadia El Kholy, 95-120. Durham, UK: ASTENE, 2002.

Brunton, Guy and Reginald Engelbach. *Gurob*. British School of Archaeology in Egypt, Twenty-Fourth Year, 1918. London: BSEA, 1927.

Brunton, Guy. "Reginald Engelbach." *Annales du Service des Antiquitiés de L'Egypte*, Vol. XLVIII. Cairo: Imprimerie de L'Institut Français d'Archaeologie Orientale, 1948.

Bryant, Alfred C., B.A., and F. W. Read. "Akhuenaten and Queen Tii." In *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 17 (1895): 246-250.

Burns, James Henderson. *Jeremy Bentham and University College*. London: UCL, Athlone Press, 1962.

Burstyn, Joan N. "Education and Sex: The Medical Case Against Higher Education for Women in England, 1870-1900." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 117 (1973): 79—89.

Burton, Antionette. *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915*. Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Burton, Antionette. "Women and 'Domestic' Imperial Culture: The Case of Victorian Britain." In *Connecting Spheres: European Women in a Globalizing World, 1500 to the Present*, edited by Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert, 174-184. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Bush, Julia. *Edwardian Women and Imperial Power*. Leicester, UK: Leicester University Press, 2000.

C., B. M. "The Dress of Ancient Egyptians: I. In the Old and Middle Kingdoms." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 11:8 (1916): 166-171.

Caine, Barbara. *English Feminism, 1780—1980*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Cameron, John. "The Anatomy of the Mummies." In *Tomb of the Two Brothers*, edited by Margaret Murray, 33-47. Manchester, UK: Sherratt & Hughes, 1910.

Caton-Thompson, Gertrude and Guy Brunton. *The Badarian Civilisation*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1928.

Caton-Thompson, Gertrude. *Mixed Memoirs*. Gateshead: Paradigm Press, 1983.

Cecil, Hugh and Mirabel Cecil. *Imperial Marriage: An Edwardian War and Peace*. London: John Murray, 2001.

Champion, Sara. "Women in British Archaeology: Visible and Invisible." In *Excavating Women: A History of Women in European Archaeology*, edited by Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, 175-197. London: Routledge, 1998.

Champion, Timothy. "Beyond Egyptology: Egypt in 19th and 20th Century Archaeology and Anthropology." In *The Wisdom of Egypt: Changing Visions Through the Ages*, edited by Peter Ucko and Timothy Champion, 161-185. London: University College London Press, 2003.

Champion, Timothy. "Egypt and the Diffusion of Culture." In *Views of Ancient Egypt since Napoleon Bonaparte: Imperialism, Colonialism and Modern Appropriations*, edited by David Jeffreys, 127-145. London: University College London Press, 2003.

Chanfrault-Duchet, Marie-Françoise. "Textualisation of the self and gender identity in the life-story." In *Feminism and Autobiography: Texts, Theories, Methods*, edited by Tess Cosslett, Celia Lury and Penny Summerfield, 61-75. London: Routledge, 2000.

Chaudhuri, Nupur and Margaret Strobel, eds. *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1992.

Chaudhuri, Nupur and Margaret Strobel. "Introduction." In *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, edited by Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, 1-15. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1992.

Christitch, A. "Dr. Margaret Murray." *The Times* (London), 19 November 1963, p. 15.

Cohen, Getzel M. and Martha Sharp Joukowsky, eds. *Breaking Ground: Pioneering Women Archaeologists*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Cohn, Bernard S. *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Colla, Elliot. *Conflicted Antiquities: Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity*. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 2007.

Cosslett, Tess, Celia Lury and Penny Summerfield, eds. *Feminism and Autobiography: Texts, Theories, Methods*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Daly, Nicholas. "That Obscure Object of Desire: Victorian Commodity Culture and Fictions of the Mummy." *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction* 28:1 (1994): 24-51.

Daniel, Glyn. *A Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Daum, Andreas W. "Varieties of Popular Science and the Transformations of Public Knowledge: Some Historical Reflections." *Isis* 100: 2 (2009): 319-332.

David, A. R., ed. *The Manchester Museum Mummy Project*. Manchester: Manchester Museum, 1979.

David, Rosalie. *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*. Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1981.

David, Rosalie. *The Two Brothers: Death and the Afterlife in Middle Kingdom Egypt*. Bolton, U.K.: Rutherford Press, 2007.

Davidoff, Leonore and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780—1850*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Davies, N. de G. *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saqqareh, Part I, The Chapel of Ptahhetep and the Hieroglyphs*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1900.

Davies, N. de G. *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saqqareh, Part II, The Mastaba. The Sculptures of Akhethetep*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1901.

Davies, W. V., A. El-Khouli, A. B. Lloyd, and A. J. Spencer, *Saqqâra Tombs I: The Mastabas of Mereri and Wernu*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1984.

Dawson, Warren R. "A General Biography." In *Sir Grafton Elliot Smith: A Biographical Record by His Colleagues*, edited by Warren R. Dawson, 17-110. London: Jonathan Cape, 1938.

Dawson, Warren and Eric Uphill. *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, Revised edition. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1995.

Day, Jasmine. *The Mummy's Curse: Mummymania in the English-Speaking World*. London: Routledge, 2006.

Dennis, Richard. *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century: A Social Geography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Díaz-Andreu, Margarita and Louise Stig Sørensen, eds. *Excavating Women: A History of Women in European Archaeology.* London: Routledge, 1998.

Díaz-Andreu, Margarita. *A World History of Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Digby, Anne. "Women's Biological Straitjacket." In *Sexuality and Subordination: Interdisciplinary Studies of Gender in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Susan Mendus and Jane Rendall, 192-220. London: Routledge, 1989.

Diop, Chiekh Anta. *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality*. New York: Lawrence Hill & Company, 1967.

Doyle, Arthur Conan. "Lot No. 249." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (Oct. 1892).

Drower, Margaret S. "The Early Years." In *Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society 1882-1982*, edited by T. G. H. James, 9-36. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982.

Drower, Margaret S. "Gaston Maspero and the Birth of the Egypt Exploration Fund (1881-3)." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 68 (1982): 299-317.

Drower, Margaret S. *Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology*, 2nd ed. Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995.

Drower, Margaret, ed. *Letters from the Desert: The Correspondence of Flinders and Hilda Petrie*. Oxford: Aris and Phillips, 2004.

Drower, Margaret S. "Margaret Alice Murray (1863-1963)." In *Breaking Ground: Pioneering Women Archaeologists*, edited by Getzel M. Cohen and Martha Sharp Joukowsky, 109—141. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Drower, Margaret S. "Gertrude Caton-Thompson (1888-1985)." In *Breaking Ground: Pioneering Women Archaeologists*, edited by Getzel M. Cohen and Martha Sharp Joukowsky, 351-379. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Dyhouse, Carol. *No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities 1870—1939*. London: UCL Press, 1995.

Dykstra, Darrell. "The French occupation of Egypt, 1798-1801." In *The Cambridge History of Egypt: Volume 2, Modern Egypt, from 1517 to the end of the Twentieth Century*, edited by M. W. Daly, 128-132. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Edwards, Amelia B. *Untrodden Peaks and Unfrequented Valleys: A Mid-Summer Ramble in the Dolomites*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1872.

Edwards, Amelia B. *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile: A Woman's Journey Among the Treasures of Ancient Egypt*. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1877.

Edwards, Amelia. *Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1891.

Edwardes, Michael. *Bound to Exile: The Victorians in India*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1966.

Elliot Smith, G. *A Contribution to the Study of Mummification in Egypt*. Cario: L'Institut Egyptien, 1906.

Elliot Smith, G. *The Ancient Egyptians and Their Influence upon the Civilization of Europe*. New York: Harper Brothers, 1911.

Elliot Smith, G. *In the Beginning: The Origin of Civilization*. London: Gerald Howe Ltd., 1928.

Elliot Smith, G. and W. R. Dawson. *Egyptian Mummies*. New York: Kegan Paul, 1924; Reprint, 2002.

Engberg, Robert Martin. *The Dawn of Civilization, and Life in the Ancient East.* The University of Knowledge Wonder Books. Chicago: University of Knowledge, Inc, 1938.

Engelbach, Reginald. *The Problem of the Obelisks, From a Study of the Unfinished Obelisk at Aswan*. London: T. F. Unwin, Ltd., 1923.

Erman, George A. *Egyptian grammar, with table of signs, bibliography, exercises for reading and glossary*. London: Williams and Norgate, 1894.

Fagan, Brian. *The Rape of the Nile: Tomb Robbers, Tourists, and Archaeologists in Egypt*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975.

Fara, Patricia. *Pandora's Breeches: Women, Science & Power in the Enlightenment*. London: Pimlico, 2004.

Flanders, Judith. *Inside the Victorian Home: A Portrait of Domestic Life in Victorian England*. London: W. W. Norton, 2003.

Flannery, Kent V. *Cultural History v. Cultural Process: A Debate in American Archaeology*. Carbondale: University of Illinois Press, 1972.

Fleming, Alice MacDonald. "Some Childhood Memories of Rudyard Kipling," *Chambers Journal*, 8:8 (1939); in *Rudyard Kipling*, edited by Daniel Karlin, 90. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Fox, Robert and Graeme Gooday, eds. *Physics in Oxford, 1839—1939: Laboratories, Learning, and College Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Frankfort, Henri. "Preliminary Report of the Expedition to Abydos, 1925-6." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 12:3/4 (1926): 157-165.

Frankfort, Henri. *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos, Volume I, Text*. London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1933.

Frankfort, Henri. *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos, Volume II, Plates*. London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1933.

Fyfe, Aileen and Bernard Lightman, eds. *Science in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century Sites and Experiences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Fyfe, Aileen and Bernard Lightman. "Science in the Marketplace: An Introduction." In *Science in the Matketplace Nineteenth-Century Sites and Experiences*, edited by Aileen Fyfe and Bernard Lightman, 1-19. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Gange, David. "Religion and Science in Late Nineteenth-Century British Egyptology." *The Historical Journal* 49:4 (2006): 1083-1103.

Gange, David and Michael Ledger-Lomas, eds. *Cities of God: The Bible and Archaeology in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Forthcoming.

Gardiner, Ernest. "Preface." In *Egyptian Sculpture*, edited by Margaret A. Murray, vii-ix. London: Duckworth, 1930; Reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970.

Gates, Barbara. *Kindred Nature: Victorian and Edwardian Women Embrace the Living World.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Gautier, Theophile. "Le Pied de Momie." *Le Musée des families*, Sept. 1840.

Gautier, Theophile. *Romance of a Mummy*. 1856; Reprint, London: Collins, 1908.

Gelb, I. J. "Review: *The Splendour that was Egypt* by Margaret A. Murray." *The Scientific Monthly* 70:4 (April 1950): 275.

Gilbert, Pamela K. *The Citizen's Body: Desire, Health, and the Social in Victorian England*. Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Press, 2007.

Gilroy, Amanda and W. M. Verhoeven. "Introduction." In *Epistolary Histories: Letters, Fiction, Culture*, edited by Amanda Gilroy and W. M. Verhoeven, 1-25. Charlottesville, Virg.: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

Girouard, Mark. *The English Town: A History of Urban Life*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990.

Gittings, Robert. *The Nature of Biography*. Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press, 1978.

Goodman, Dena. *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Govoni, Paula. "Biography: A Critical Tool to Bridge the History of Science and the History of Women in Science. Report on a Conference at Newnham College, Cambridge, 10-12 September 1999." *Nuncius* 15 (2000): 399-409.

Green, Sally. *Prehistorian: A Biography of V. Gordon Childe*. Bradford-on-Avon: Moonraker Press, 1981.

H., G. D. "Review of *Egyptian Sculpture* by Margaret Alice Murray." *Man* 30 (1930): 146-147.

Haas, Paul. "The Chemistry of the Remains, The Inorganic Constituents." In *Tomb of the Two Brothers*, edited by Margaret Murray, 48-50. Manchester, UK: Sherratt & Hughes, 1910.

Haldane, Charlotte. *Man's World*. London: Chattow & Windus, 1926.

Hall, Catherine. "The early formation of Victorian domestic ideology." In *Gender and History in Western Europe*, edited by Robert Shoemaker and Mary Vincent, 181-196. London: Arnold, 1998.

Hamilton, Sue, Ruth D. Whitehouse, and Katherine I. Wright, eds. *Archaeology and Women: Ancient and Modern Issues.* Walnut Creek, Calif.: Left Coast Press, 2007.

Hankins, Thomas L. "In Defence of Biography: The Use of Biography in the History of Science." *History of Science* 17 (1979): 1-16.

Harte, Negley and John North, *The World of UCL*. London: UCL Press, 1991.

Hassan, Fekri A. "Imperialist Appropriations of Egyptian Obelisks." In *Views of Ancient Egypt since Napoleon Bonaparte: Imperialism, Colonialism and Modern Appropriations*, edited by David Jeffreys, 19-68. London: University College London Press, 2003.

Hassan, Selim and Zaky Iskander. *Excavations at Saqqara, 1937-1938*. Cairo: Antiquities Department of Egypt, 1975.

Heath, H. Frank, ed. *The Yearbook of the University of the Empire 1932*. London: The Universities Bureau of the British Empire, 1932.

Heeney, Brian. *A Different Kind of Gentleman: Parish Clergy as Professional Men in Early and Mid-Victorian England*. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1976.

Hewitt, Martin. "Diary, Autobiography and the Practice of Life History." In *Life Writing and Victorian Culture*, edited by David Amigoni, 21-39. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006.

Heyck, T. W. *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982.

Hobhouse, Hermione. *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition: Art, Science, and Productive Industry. A History of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851*. London: Athlone, 2002.

Houghton, Walter. *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1957.

Hyam, Ronald. *Britain's Declining Empire: The Road to Decolonisation, 1918-1968*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

James, E. O. "Dr Margaret Murray." *Folklore* 74:4 (1963): 568-569.

Janssen, Rosalind M. *The First Hundred Years: Egyptology at UCL, 1892—1992*. London: University College London Press, 1992.

Jeffreys, David. "Introduction—Two Hundred Years of Ancient Egypt: Modern History and Ancient Archaeology." In *Views of Ancient Egypt since Napoleon Bonaparte: Imperialism, Colonialism and Modern Appropriations*, edited by David Jeffreys, 1-18. London: University College London Press, 2003.

Johns, C. H. W. "Sennacherib's Letters to his Father Sargon." In *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 17 (1895): 220-239.

Johnson, Matthew. *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.

Karlin, Daniel. "Introduction." In *Rudyard Kipling*, edited by Daniel Karlin, xii-xxiii. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Karlin, Daniel. "Kipling's India." In *Rudyard Kipling*, edited by Daniel Karlin, 520-535. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Kauffman, Stanley. "Wells and the New Generation: The Decline of a Leader of Youth." *College English* 1:7 (1940): 573-582.

Keay, John. *The Honourable Company: A History of the English East India Company*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1994.

Kehoe, Alice B. *The Land of Prehistory: A Critical History of American Archaeology*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

Kemp, B. J. "Abydos." In *Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society 1882-1992*, edited by T. G. H. James, 71-88. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982.

Kemp, Barry J. *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*. London: Routledge, 1991.

Kent, Susan Kingsley. *Gender and Power in Britain, 1640—1990*. London: Routledge, 1999.

King, James. *By-Paths of Bible Knowledge, vol 1, Cleopatra's Needle: A History of the London Obelisk with an Exposition of the Hieroglyphics*. London, The Religious Tract Society, 1893.

Kipling, Rudyard. "*Baa Baa Black Sheep*." In *Rudyard Kipling*, edited by Daniel Karlin, 90-114. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Kipling, Rudyard. "The White Man's Burden." In *Rudyard Kipling*, edited by Daniel Karlin, 478-480. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Knight, Frances. *The Nineteenth Century Church and English Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Kord, Catherine. "Review: *Shadow Lovers: The Last Affairs of H.G. Wells by Andrea Lynn*." *The Antioch Review* 60: 4 (2002): 710.

Kulke, Hermann and Dietmar Rothermund. *A History of India*, Third edition. London: Routledge, 1998.

Kuklick, Henrika. *The Savage Within: The History of British Social Anthropology, 1885-1945*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1991.

Lauer, Jean-Philippe. *Saqqara: The Royal Cemetery of Memphis, Excavations and Discoveries since 1850*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976.

Lebling, Bob. "Orientalists." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 9:2 (1980): 118-122.

Leckie, Shirley A. "Biography Matters: Why Historians Need Well-Crafted Biographies More than Ever." In *Writing Biography: Historians and Their Craft*, edited by Lloyd E. Ambrosius, 1-26. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.

Ledger, Sally. *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the* fin de siècle. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.

Lefkowitz, M. R. and G. MacLean Rogers, eds. *Black Athena Revisited*. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Levine, Philippa. *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Levine, Philippa. *Victorian Feminism, 1850-1900*. London: Hutchinson Press, 1987.

Lightman, Bernard, ed. *Victorian Science in Context*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Lightman, Bernard. *Victorian Popularizers of Science: Designing Nature for New Audiences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Lightman, Bernard. "Lecturing in the Spatial Economy of Science." In *Science in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century Sites and Experiences*, edited by Aileen Fyfe and Bernard Lightman, 97-132. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Lupton, Carter. "'Mummymania' for the Masses – Is Egyptology Cursed by the Mummy's Curse?" In *Consuming Ancient Egypt*, edited by Sally MacDonald and Michael Rice, 23-46. London: UCL Press, 2003.

Joannou, Maroula. "'Chloe Liked Olivia': The Woman Scientist, Sex, and Suffrage." In *Literature, Science, Psychoanalysis, 1830-1970: Essays in Honour of Gillian Beer*, edited by Helen Small and Trudi Tate, 195-211. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

MacDonald, Sally and Michael Rice, eds. *Consuming Ancient Egypt*. London: University College London Press, 2003.

MacDonald, Sally and Michael Rice. "Introduction – Tea with a Mummy: The Consumer's View of Egypt's Immemorial Appeal." In *Consuming Ancient Egypt*, edited by Sally MacDonald and Michael Rice, 1-22. London: UCL Press, 2003.

Mallampalli, Chandra. "British Missions and Indian Nationalism, 1880-1908: Imitation and Autonomy in Calcutta and Madras." In *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880-1914*, edited by Andrew N. Porter, 158-182. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003.

Malone, Caroline, Simon Stoddart, Anthony Bonanno, Tancred Gouder, Reuben Grima, and David Trump. "Introduction: the Intellectual and Historical Context." In *Mortuary Customs in prehistoric Malta: Excavations at the Brochtorff Circle at Xaghra (1987-94)*, edited by Caroline Malone, Simon Stoddart, Anthony Bonanno, David Trump, Tancred Gouder and Anthony Pace, 1-16. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2009.

Mangum, Teresa. *Married, Middlebrow, and Militant: Sarah Grand and the New Woman Novel*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: 1998

Manthorpe, Catherine. "Science or domestic science? The Struggle to Define an Appropriate Science Education for Girls in Early Twentieth-Century England." *History of Education* 15 (1986): 195-213.

Marett, R. R. *The Diffusion of Culture*, The Frazer Lecture in Social Anthropology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927.

Mariette, Auguste. *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*. Paris: 1882.

Mariette, Auguste. *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire: Fragment du dernier ouvrage de Auguste Édouard Mariette*. 1888; Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1976.

Martineau, Harriet. *Retrospect of Western Travel*. London: Saunders and Otley, 1838.

Mason, Joan. "Hertha Ayrton (1854-1923) and the Admission of Women to the Royal Society of London." *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 45: 2 (1991): 201-220.

Maspero, Gaston. *Manual of Egyptian Archaeology: Guide to the Study of Antiquities in Egypt. For the Use of Students and Travellers*, Sixth English Edition. New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1926.

Masson-Oursel, P. "Review, The Wisdom of the East Series." *Isis* 1:3 (1913): 513-514.

Mayes, Stanley. *The Great Belzoni: Archaeologist Extraordinary*. London: Putnam, 1959.

McLeod, Hugh. *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City*. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1974.

McLeod, Hugh. *Religion and Society in England, 1850—1914*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.

McMahon, A. Philip. "Review of *Egyptian Sculpture* by Margaret Alice Murray." *Parnassus* 2:8 (1930): 42-43.

McNiven, Ian J. and Lynette Russell. *Appropriated Pasts: Indigenous Peoples and the Colonial Culture of Archaeology*. New York: Altamira Press, 2005.

Meier-Graefe, Julius. *The Pyramid and Temple*. New York: Macaulay Co., 1930.

Merchant, Carolyn. *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution.* New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1980; Reprint, New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1990.

Meyerowitz, Joanne. "A History of 'Gender'." *American Historical Review* 113:5 (2008): 1346-1356.

Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonising Egypt*. Los Angeles, Calif.: University of California Press, 1991.

Moore-Gilbert, B. J. *Kipling and 'Orientalism'*. London: Croom Helm, 1986.

Morris, R. J. "The Industrial Town." In *The English Urban Landscape*, edited by Philip J. Waller, 175-208. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Morus, Iwan Rhys. "'More the Aspect of Magic than Anything Natural': The Philosophy of Demonstration." In *Science in the Marketplace: Nineteenth Century Sites and Experiences*, edited by Aileen Fyfe and Bernard Lightman, 336-370. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Moser, Stephanie. *Wondrous Curiosities: Ancient Egypt at the British Museum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Mummy, The. Directed by Karl Freund. Hollywood, Calif.: Universal Pictures, 1932.

Mummy, The. Directed by Stephen Sommers. Hollywood, Calif.: Universal Pictures, 1999.

Mummy Returns, The. Directed by Stephen Sommers. Hollywood, Calif.: Universal Pictures, 2001.

Murray, John, IV. *John Murray III, 1808-1892, A Brief Memoir*. London: John Murray, 1919.

Murray, Margaret Alice. "The Descent of Property in the Early Periods of Egyptian History." *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 17 (1895): 240-245.

Murray, Margaret Alice. *The Osireion at Abydos*. London: Egyptian Research Account, 1904.

Murray, Margaret. *Elementary Egyptian Grammar, 5th edition*. London: University College Press, 1905.

Murray, Margaret Alice. *Saqqara Mastabas Part I and Gurob; Part II*. London: Egyptian Research Account, 1905.

Murray, Margaret A. *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1908.

Murray, Margaret Alice. *The Tomb of the Two Brothers*. Manchester, U.K.: Sherratt & Hughes, 1910.

Murray, Margaret. *Elementary Coptic (Sahidic) Grammar*. London: University College Press, 1911.

Murray, Margaret Alice. *Ancient Egyptian Legends*. The Wisdom of the East Series. London: John Murray, 1913; Reprint, 1920.

Murray, Margaret A. *Elementary Egyptian Grammar*. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1914.

Murray, Margaret. "The Coptic Stela of Apa Teleme." *Ancient Egypt* 1 (1914): 156-158.

Murray, M. A. "Evidence for the Custom of Killing the King in Ancient Egypt." *Man* 14 (1914): 17-23.

Murray, Margaret. "The Egyptian Elements in the Grail Romance." *Ancient Egypt* 3 (1916): 1-14.

Murray, Margaret. "The Temple of Ramses II at Abydos." *Ancient Egypt* 3 (1916): 121-138.

Murray, Margaret. "Some Pendant Amulets." *Ancient Egypt* 4 (1917): 49-56.

Murray, M. A. "Child Sacrifice among European Witches." *Man* 18 (1918): 60-62.

Murray, M. A. "Witches' Fertility Rites." *Man* 19 (1919): 55-58.

Murray, Margaret. *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe: A Study in Anthropology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921; Reprint, 1962.

Murray, Margaret. "Stone Implements from Borg en Nad." *Man* 23 (1923): 65-66.

Murray, Margaret A. *Excavations in Malta*, Part I. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1923.

Murray, Margaret A. *Excavations in Malta*, Part II. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1925.

Murray, Margaret A. *Excavations in Malta*, Part III. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1929.

Murray, Margaret Alice. *Egyptian Sculpture*. London: Duckworth, 1930.

Murray, Margaret Alice. *Egyptian Temples*. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1931.

Murray, Margaret Alice. *The God of the Witches*. London: Faber & Faber, 1931.

Murray, Margaret A. *Cambridge Excavations in Minorca, Sa Torreta.* London: Bernard Quaritch, 1934.

Murray, Margaret. *Saqqara Mastabas Part II*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1937.

Murray, Margaret A. *Cambridge Excavations in Minorca, Trapucó*. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1938.

Murray, Margaret Alice. *Egyptian Religious Poetry*. London: John Murray, 1949.

Murray, Margaret Alice. *The Splendour That was Egypt: A General Survey of Egyptian Culture and Civilisation*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1949; Reprint, New York: Philosophical Library, 1959.

Murray, Margaret Alice. *The Divine King in England: A Study in Anthropology*. London: Faber & Faber, 1954.

Murray, Margaret Alice. *My First Hundred Years*. London, William Kimber and Co., Ltd: 1963.

Murray, Margaret. *The Genesis of Religion*. London: Kegan Paul, 1963.

Musallam, Basim. "Power and Knowledge." *MERIP Reports* 79 (1979): 19-26.

Naville, Edouard. "Abydos." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1:1 (1914): 2-8.

Neugebauer, Otto. "The Origin of the Egyptian Calendar." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 1:4 (1942): 396-403.

Neugebauer, Otto. "Astronomical Papyri and Ostraca: Bibliographical Notes." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 106:4 (1962): 383-391.

Newsome, David. *The Victorian World Picture: Perceptions and Introspections in an Age of Change*. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1997.

Nye, Mary Jo. "Scientific Biography: History of Science by Another Means?" *Isis* 97 (2006): 322-329.

O'Connor, David. "Egypt and Greece: The Bronze Age Evidence." In *Black Athena Revisited*, edited by M. R. Lefkowitz and G. MacLean Rogers, 49-61. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

O'Hanlon, Rosalind and David Washbrook. "After Orientalism: Culture, Criticism, and Politics in the Third World." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34:1 (1992): 141-167.

Ogdon, J. R. "A Note on an Inscription from the Tomb Chapel of 'Idw (G 7102)." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 69 (1983): 159-161.

Ogilvie, Marilyn and Joy Harvey, eds. *The Biographical Dictionary of Women in Science: Pioneering Lives from Ancient Times to the mid-20th Century*. New York: Routledge, 2000.

Paradis, James and Thomas Postlewait. "Introduction." In *Victorian Science and Values: Literary Perspectives*, edited by James Paradis and Thomas Postlewait, ix-xiii. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1981.

Park, Roberta J. "Biological Thought, Athletics and the Formation of a 'Man of Character': 1830-1900." In *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, edited by J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, 7-34. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.

Pearson, Karl. *The Chances of Death and Other Studies*. London: Edward Arnold, 1897.

Perry, Glenn E. *The History of Egypt*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Perry, W. J. *The Children of the Sun: A Study in the Early History of Civilization*. New York: Dutton, 1923.

Perry, William J. "Anthropologist and Ethnologist." In *Sir Grafton Elliot Smith: A Biographical Record by His Colleagues*, edited by Warren R. Dawson, 205-215. London: Jonathan Cape, 1938.

Peterson, M. Jeanne. *Family, Love and Work in the Lives of Victorian Gentlewomen.* Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1989.

Petrie, W. M. Flinders. *Inductive Metrology, or, The Recovery of Ancient Measures from the Monuments*. London: H. Saunders, 1877.

Petrie, W. M. Flinders. *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*. London: Field & Tuer, 1883.

Petrie, W. M. Flinders. *Racial Photographs from the Egyptian Monuments*. London: British Association, 1887.

Petrie, W. M. F. *Egyptian Tales: Translated from the Papyri*, First Series. London: Methuen & Co., 1895.

Petrie, W. M. F. *Egyptian Tales: Translated from the Papyri*, Second Series. London: Methuen & Co., 1895.

Petrie, W. M. F. *Abydos, Part I. 1902*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902.

Petrie, W. M. F. *Abydos, Part II. 1903*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903.

Petrie, W. M. Flinders. *Methods and Aims in Archaeology*. New York: MacMillan, 1904.

Petrie, W. M. Flinders. *Gizeh and Rifeh*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1907.

Petrie, W. M. Flinders. *Revolutions of Civilisation*. New York: Harper Brothers, 1922.

Petrie, W. M. Flinders. *Seventy Years in Archaeology*. New York: Henry Holt, 1932; Reprint, Greenwood Press, 1969.

Petrie, W. M. Flinders. *Palestine and Israel: Historical Notes*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1934.

Petrie, W. M. F. *The Making of Egypt*. London: The Sheldon Press, 1939.

Pettigrew, Thomas Joseph. *A History of Egyptian Mummies, and an Account of The Worship and Embalming of the Sacred Animals by The Egyptians; with Remarks on the Funeral Ceremonies of Different Nations, and Observations on the Mummies of the Canary Islands, of the Ancient Peruvians, Burman Priests, &c*. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1834.

Phillips, Samuel. *Guide to the Crystal Palace and Park*. London, Bradbury & Evans, 1857.

Piggott, J. R. *Palace of the People: The Crystal Palace at Sydenham, 1854-1936*. Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004.

Pijoan, Joseph. *Art in Ancient Times: Prehistoric – Egypt – Near East – Greece and Rome*, The University of Knowledge Wonder Books. Chicago: University of Knowledge, Inc., 1940.

Poe, Edgar Allan. "Some Words with a Mummy." *American Review* (April, 1845): 363-370.

Porter, Andrew. "Introduction.: In *Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880-1914*, edited by Andrew Porter, 1-13. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003.

Porter, Theodore M. *Karl Pearson: The Scientific Life in a Statistical Age*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton, University Press, 2004.

Porter, Theodore M. "Is the Life of the Scientist a Scientific Unit?" *Isis* 97 (2006): 314-321.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge, 1992.

Purvis, June. “From ‘Women Worthies’ to Post-Structuralism? Debate and Controversy in Women’s History in Britain.” In *Women’ History: Britain, 1850—1945: an Introduction*, edited by June Purvis, 1-22. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995.

Pycior, Helena M., Nancy G. Slack, and Pnina G. Abir-Am. “Introduction.” In *Creative Couples in the Sciences*, edited by Helena M. Pycior, Nancy G. Slack, and Pnina G. Abir-Am, 3-35. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1996.

Pycior, Helena M., Nancy G. Slack, and Pnina G. Abir-Am, eds. *Creative Couples in the Sciences*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1996.

Ramusack, Barbara N. “Cultural Missionaries, Maternal Imperialists, Feminist Allies: British Women Activists in India, 1865-1945.” In *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, edited by Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, 119-136. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1992.

Raverat, Gwen. *Period Piece*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1952.

Ray, John D. *The Rosetta Stone and the Rebirth of Ancient Egypt*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Rees, Joan. *Amelia Edwards: Traveller, Novelist, and Egyptologist*. London: Rubicon Press, 1998.

Rees, Joan. “Preparing to be an Egyptologist: Amelia Edwards before 1873.” In *Egypt Through the Eyes of Travellers*, edited by Paul Starkey and Nadia El Kholy, 39-44. Cambridge: Astene Press, 2002.

Reid, Donald Malcolm. *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I*. Los Angeles, Calif.: University of California Press, 2002.

Richards, Joan L. “Focus Section, Introduction: Fragmented Lives.” *Isis* 97 (2006): 302-305.

Robb, George. “The Way of All Flesh: Degeneration, Eugenics, and the Gospel of Free Love.” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 6:4 (1996): 589-603.

Robb, Peter. *A History of India*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.

Robins, Gay. *The Art of Ancient Egypt*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Root, Margaret Cool. “Introduction: Women of the Field, Defining the Gendered Experience.” In *Breaking Ground: Pioneering Women Archaeologists*, edited by

Getzel M. Cohen and Martha Sharp Joukowsky, 1-33. Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Rosaldo, Michele. "The Use and Abuse of Anthropology: Reflections on Feminism and Cross-Cultural Understanding." *Signs* 5:2 (1980): 389-417.

Rossiter, Margaret W. "'Women's Work' in Science, 1880-1910," *Isis* 71 (1980): 381-398.

Rossiter, Margaret W. *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940.* Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.

Rossiter, Margaret W. *Women Scientists in America: Before Affirmative Action, 1940-1972.* Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Russett, Cynthia E. *Sexual Science: The Victorian Construction of Womanhood*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Sagona, Claudia. "Malta: Between a Rock and a Hard Place." In *Beyond the Homeland: Markers in Phoenician Chronology*, edited by Claudia Sagona, 487-536. Leuven: Peeters, 2008.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage/Random House, 1979; Reprint, 1994.

Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.

Schaffer, Simon. "Metrology, Metrication, and Victorian Values." In *Victorian Science in Context*, edited by Bernard Lightman, 438-474. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Scham, Sandra A. "Ancient Egypt and the Archaeology of the Disenfranchised." In *Views of Ancient Egypt since Napoleon Bonaparte: Imperialism, Colonialism and Modern Appropriations*, edited by David Jeffreys, 171-177. London: University College London Press, 2003.

Schiebinger, Londa. *The Mind Has No Sex?: Women in the Origins of Modern Science*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989.

Schiebinger, Londa. *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1993.

Schmidt, Barbara Quinn. "John Murray (London: 1768-)." In *The British Literary Book Trade, 1700—1820*, edited by James K. Bracken and Joel Silver, 203-215. Washington, D.C.: Gale Research, 1995.

Scott, Joan Wallach. *Gender and the Politics of History*, revised edition. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Seligman, C. G. and M. A. Murray, "Note on the 'Sa' Sign." *Man* 9: 8 (1911): 113-117.

Sen, Indrani. *Woman and Empire: Representations in the Writings of British India*. New Delhi, India: Orient Longman, 2002.

Shapin, Steven and Arnold Thackray. "Prosopography as a Research Tool in History of Science: The British Scientific Community 1700-1900." *History of Science* 12 (1974): 1-28.

Shengold, Leonard. "An Attempt at Soul Murder—Rudyard Kipling's Early Life and Work." *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* 30 (1975): 683-724.

Sheppard, Kathleen L. "'You Call this Archaeology?': Flinders Petrie and Eugenics." MA thesis, University of Oklahoma, 2006.

Sheppard, Kathleen L. "Flinders Petrie and Eugenics." *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology*, forthcoming.

Shoemaker, Robert and Mary Vincent, eds. *Gender and History in Western Europe*. London: Arnold, 1998.

Shortland, Michael and Richard Yeo, eds. *Telling Lives in Science: Essays on Scientific Biography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Shortland, Michael and Richard Yeo, "Introduction." In *Telling Lives in Science: Essays on Scientific Biography*, edited by Michael Shortland and Richard Yeo, 1-44. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Simpson, Jacqueline. "Margaret Murray: Who Believed Her and Why?" *Folklore* 105 (1994): 89-96.

Simpson, R. S. "Griffith, Francis Llewellyn (1862–1934)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2004; Online edn, May 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33579, accessed 12 June 2009]

Smith, Harold L. *The British Women's Suffrage Campaign, 1866-1928*. London: Longman, 1998.

Smith, Pamela Jane. *A Splendid Idiosyncrasy: Prehistory at Cambridge, 1915-1950*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009.

Söderqvist, Thomas, ed. *The History and Poetics of Scientific Biography*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007.

Stanley, Liz. "From 'self-made women' to 'women's made-selves'?: Audit selves, simulation and surveillance in the rise of public woman." In *Feminism and Autobiography: Texts, Theories, Methods,* edited by Tess Cosslett, Celia Lury and Penny Summerfield, 40-60. London: Routledge, 2000.

Steedman, Carolyn. "Enforced Narratives: Stories of another self." In *Feminism and Autobiography: Texts, Theories, Methods,* edited by Tess Cosslett, Celia Lury and Penny Summerfield, 25-39. London: Routledge, 2000.

Steel, Flora Annie. *On the Face of the Waters: A Tale of the Mutiny*. New York: Macmillan, 1897; Reprint edition, 1914.

Steel, Flora Annie. *A Sovereign Remedy*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1907.

Stocking, George. *Victorian Anthropology*. New York: The Free Press, 1987.

Stocking, George. *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology, 1888-1951*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997.

Stoler, Ann Laura. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2002.

Stout, Adam. *Creating Prehistory: Druids, Ley Hunters and Archaeologists in Pre-War Britain*. Hoboken, N. J.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008.

Tait, John. "The Wisdom of Egypt: Classical Views." In *The Wisdom of Egypt: Changing Visions Through the Ages*, edited by Peter Ucko and Timothy Champion, 23-37. London: University College London Press, 2003.

Taylor, John H. *Unwrapping a Mummy: The Life, Death and Embalming of Horemkenesi*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996.

Terrall, Mary. "Biography as Cultural History of Science." *Isis* 97 (2006): 306-313.

Thane, Pat. "Late Victorian Women." In *Later Victorian Britain, 1867-1900*, edited by T.R. Gourvish and A. O'Day, 175-208. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988.

Thomas, Angela P. *Akhenaten's Egypt*. Buckinghamshire, UK: Shire Publications, 1988.

Thorburn, John. *Female Education from a Physiological Point of View*. London: 1884.

Tickner, Lisa. *The Spectacle of Women: Images of the Suffrage Campaign, 1907—1914*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.

Tilly, Louise. “Gender, Women’s History and Social History.” *Social Science History* 13:4 (1989): 436-462.

Trigger, Bruce G. “The rise of Egyptian Civilization.” In *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, edited by B. G. Trigger, et al., 1-70. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983; Reprint, 1999.

Trigger, Bruce G. *Gordon Childe: Revolutions in Archaeology*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980.

Trigger, Bruce. *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Trigger, Bruce G., Barry J. Kemp, David O’Connor, and A. B. Lloyd. *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*. Cambridge University Press, 1983; Reprint, 1999.

van Keuren, David K. “Review, *Orientalism* by Edward W. Said.” *Isis* 71:3 (1980): 502.

Vickery, Amanda. *The Gentleman’s Daughter: Women’s Lives in Georgian England*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998.

Vickery, Amanda. “Golden age to separate spheres? A review of the categories and chronology of English women’s history.” In *Gender and History in Western Europe*, edited by Robert Shoemaker and Mary Vincent, 197-225. London: Arnold, 1998.

Wainwright, G. A. “Seshat and the Pharaoh.” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 26 (1941): 30-40.

Wainwright, G. A. Review, “The Splendour that was Egypt by Margaret A. Murray.” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 36 (Dec. 1950): 120.

Waldron, H. A. “The Study of the Human Remains from Nubia: The Contribution of Grafton Elliot Smith and his Colleagues to Palaeopathology.” *Medical History* 44 (2000): 363-388.

Webb Loudon, Jane. *The Mummy! A Tale of the Twenty-Second Century*. London: 1827; Abridged reprint edition, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995.

Welch, Katherine. “Esther B. Van Deman (1862-1937).” In *Breaking Ground: Pioneering Women Archaeologists*, edited by Getzel M. Cohen and Martha Sharp Joukowsky, 68-108. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Wells, H. G. *Ann Veronica*. Edited by Sita Schutt. New York: Penguin Books, 2005.

Wheatcroft, Andrew. "'Wonderful Things': Publishing Egypt in Word and Image." In *Consuming Ancient Egypt*, edited by Sally MacDonald and Michael Rice, 151-163. London: UCL Press, 2003.

Williams, Mary. "Ninety-Eight Years Young." *Folklore* 72:3 (1961): 433-437.

Wilson, A. N. *The Victorians*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2003.

Wilson, John A. "Review: *The Splendour that was Egypt: A General Survey of Egyptian Culture and Civilisation* by Margaret A. Murray." *The Journal of Religion* 30:4 (October 1950): 279.

Winstone, V. F. *Gertrude Bell*. New York: Quartet Books, 1978.

Woolf, Virginia. *A Room of One's Own*. In *A Room of One's Own and Three Guineas*, edited by Morag Shiach. Oxford World's Classics edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Wortham, John David. *The Genesis of British Egyptology, 1549—1906.* Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971.

Zachs, William. *The First John Murray and the Late Eighteenth-Century London Book Trade*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Zangwill, Edith. *The Call*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1924.