

Papers in Italian Archaeology VII

# The Archaeology of Death

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edited by

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Cover illustration: A street of cube tombs from the Banditaccia necropolis, Cerveteri. Photograph by John B. Wilkins.

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*For the Accordia Research Institute*



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## Preface and Acknowledgements

The Seventh Conference of Italian Archaeology was held at the National University of Ireland, Galway between 16-18 April 2016. More than 160 scholars attended from 19 different countries and 122 papers were delivered and 18 posters displayed. The principal theme of the Conference was 'The Archaeology of Death'. However, as with all previous conferences in this series, inclusivity was one of our guiding principles and, therefore, we accepted papers and posters that did not relate directly to the theme for presentation at the Conference and publication in these proceedings.

The Conference of Italian Archaeology has history stretching back almost forty years, with the First in the series being held a Lancaster University in 1977 (Blake, Potter and Whitehouse 1977). At that time, Lancaster was the institutional home to a small group of academics with Italian interests, who decided to host a gathering at which UK-based scholars could meet with colleagues from Italy to share their latest ideas and build deep and meaningful collaborations. The success of the first meeting made it inevitable that others would follow. With each subsequent, the scale of the Conference has grown, making the logistical challenges of hosting greater, especially as universities nowadays expect academic events to be at least cost-neutral, if not actually profitable.

At first the Conference happened with a pleasing regularity, even if the intervals between meetings tended to get bigger every time. The Second Conference was held in Sheffield in 1980 (Barker and Hodges 1981), the Third in Cambridge in 1984 (Malone and Stoddart 1985). The *Accordia* team, to whom these proceedings are dedicated, hosted the Fourth Conference at Queen Mary College in London in 1990 (Herring, Whitehouse and Wilkins 1991 and 1992). Oxford was the venue for the Fifth Conference in 1992 (Christie 1995). It was to be more than a decade before the Conference happened again and, for the first time, it was held outside the UK. The Sixth Conference took place in Groningen in 2003 (Attema, Nijboer and Zifferero 2005). Every meeting has had its own character but all have been lively, informative, collegial, and fun.

In the years since the Groningen Conference, there had been some discussions among colleagues at various institutions about hosting the Conference but no one had picked up the baton. With the appointment of Eóin O'Donoghue to a fixed-term lectureship at NUI Galway, there was sufficient critical mass to consider organising an event on the scale of the Conference in

Galway. Numerous colleagues and friends from Italy, the UK, the Netherlands and the US encouraged us to take up the challenge. Eventually, we agreed, with Eóin being the primary force behind the organisation of the Conference.

Perhaps the main reason why there had been such a long hiatus in the holding of the Conference is that it has never had a formal infrastructure. This has been both a strength and a weakness: a strength in that no institution owns the Conference and it has never been dominated by any individual or group or any prevailing intellectual ideology; a weakness in that there is neither anyone to ensure that the Conference is held on a regular basis nor any ongoing financial stability. Instead, all that the Conference has is a set of basic principles that were established at the first meeting in Lancaster and which still seem relevant and valuable to this day. These include the fact that the Conference is truly international and collaborative. What started as a joint meeting between UK and Italian academics, now attracts scholars from across the globe in the same spirit of mutual collaboration. The Conference has always been a forum at which early career scholars could present their research on an equal footing with the most established authorities in the field. Similarly, the Conference has always been open to academics, field archaeologists, independent scholars and anyone else with a legitimate interest in Italy's past. These basic principles, together with the tradition of conviviality, created a spirit of the Conference that we were determined to maintain in bringing it to Galway.

It is our sincere hope that there will not be so long an interval until the Eighth Conference and that some group of colleagues, perhaps among those who presented in Galway, will take a lead in organising the next in the series. Magari!

The coordination and arrangement of the Conference was a truly enormous undertaking; fortunately, we had the help and support, both logistical and financial, of several organisations and people. We are grateful to them all for their respective contributions and efforts that helped make it such a success.

The speakers and those who organised sessions were the lifeblood of the Conference. We are grateful to them for their professionalism and time-keeping. We are also very grateful to all of the session chairs, many of whom were pressed into service at short notice.

We owe an especial debt of gratitude to those institutions that assisted us with funding, especially the Galway University Foundation and Fáilte Ireland; from within the National University of Ireland, Galway we received support from the College of Arts, Social Sciences, and Celtic Studies, the Moore Institute, and the School of Languages, Literatures, and Cultures. A generous donation from the Accordia Research Institute was used to provide travel bursaries for postgraduate students and early career scholars to present their work. British Archaeological Reports kindly offered a selection of volumes as prizes for the best poster presentation.

We thank the British School at Rome and the Italian Embassy to Ireland for promotional and logistical assistance. Within the National University of Ireland, Galway we received practical help from many offices and subject areas; our own academic home, the discipline of Classics, was especially supportive. In particular, Jacopo Bisagni and Elena Nordio, along with a dedicated group of volunteers were instrumental in helping with administrative and operational logistics. Our colleagues from the discipline of Archaeology, led by Kieran O'Conor, hosted the poster session and a reception; they also coordinated and guided a study tour of the archaeological landscape of the Burren after the Conference, which was greatly enjoyed by all who participated. Yvonne O'Connor of the Dean's Office in the College of Arts, Social Sciences, and Celtic Studies provided administrative support on an *ad hoc* basis during the Conference. Dr James Browne, the President of NUI Galway, gave a welcoming address, the warmth of which was indicative of the institutional support that we received. Lucy Shipley, who held a Moore Institute Visiting Fellowship in spring 2016, gave-up a considerable portion of her time to assist with various tasks. To all of these people we express our deepest thanks.

Finally, a note on the layout of this volume. The papers are arranged in sections thematically, geographically, and chronologically. The first two sections represent papers that were delivered at specially organised

sessions within the conference, thereafter papers are grouped according the general geographical and chronological focus of papers, and one final section includes papers that employ new methodological approaches or challenges facing Italian archaeology today.

Edward Herring and Eóin O'Donoghue  
National University of Ireland, Galway

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Celebrating Accordia



# Celebrating Accordia

Edward Herring

‘I know it’s late in coming but it’s the only way I know...’  
(Lou Reed and John Cale, ‘Hello it’s me’ from *Songs for Drella* 1990)

The organisation of the Seventh Conference of Italian Archaeology in Galway had a long gestation. I had toyed with the idea ever since my appointment to a Lectureship in the Department of Classics at the National University of Ireland, Galway in 2002. However, it was not until Eóin O'Donoghue joined the staff of the University that I felt that there was sufficient expertise available in Galway to present ourselves as credible hosts.

Once Eóin and I had committed ourselves to organising the event, Carrie Murray, of Brock University, approached me with the idea of devoting a session to a celebration of the achievements of the Accordia Research Institute and its two main driving forces, Ruth Whitehouse and John Wilkins. Both Carrie and I have deep and long associations with Accordia and with Ruth and John. It was also most apt, as one of Accordia's earliest achievements was the staging of the Fourth Conference of Italian Archaeology in London in January 1990 and its publication in four volumes in 1991 and 1992.

This is not the place to write a history of Accordia but I offer some detail on its establishment and early years, which provide a small testament to the scale of Ruth and John's achievements and selfless dedication. In the mid-1980s, John Wilkins became Head of the small Department of Classics at Queen Mary College. It was a time of closures and mergers in the UK University system, which, for John, presented opportunities to grow the staff complement and to offer a new vision of the teaching of Mediterranean antiquity. In a short space of time, the Department had been re-imagined as a Department of Mediterranean Studies and expanded from two full-time and one part-time lecturers to seven full-time and numerous part-time members of academic staff. Within this group was a core of colleagues specialising in early Italy, which included Hugo Blake, Catherine Delano Smith, Ruth, John, and myself. Accordia was born in 1988 as the research wing of the Department but its vision was always grander than that. It was to be a showcase for our own research but also a facilitator for that of others. The name was intended to evoke the Italian word *accordo*, meaning agreement, as

one of the aims was to encourage collaborative research between Italian and British scholars.

Soon a lecture series, which is still ongoing, had been established, as had the journal, *Accordia Research Papers* – Accordia's first foray into desktop publishing. Just a year after hosting the Fourth Conference of Italian Archaeology, a change of management at Queen Mary College led to the ultimate closure of the Department of Mediterranean Studies. Accordia was a different matter. We soon realised that we could continue with Accordia despite the threat to the Department; it became both a channel for our positive energies and a vehicle for our defiance of the management at what was a very difficult time. Eventually, Accordia was taken independent, and, to this day, receives no state funding.

Over the years, Accordia has built a powerful international reputation through its lecture series and events, its library, and its publication arm – with almost forty books produced. Throughout Ruth and John have been at the helm, building Accordia's reputation while maintaining their own academic careers. Like all those involved with Accordia, they have given freely of their expertise and time: their reward being simply to have served the cause of Italian Archaeology.

In organising the Conference session, Carrie and I decided to focus on two themes that have been prominent in Accordia's output and in Ruth's and John's individual academic work, namely Gender and Literacy. The result was a lively and well-attended session with four papers by Lucy Shipley, Christopher Smith, Carrie, and me; all individuals with great respect for and personal connection to Accordia and Ruth and John. It was our intention that this would be a proper academic session and not simply a public thank-you to Accordia as an institution and to Ruth and John for their mentorship and friendship. Our one concession to the latter was Mike Edwards' warm and witty personal appreciation of them. It was very unfortunate that neither Ruth nor John could attend the Conference. However, we filmed the session, so that they could watch it at home at their leisure. We are delighted that they enjoyed it.

In March 2017, John Wilkins sadly passed away. The Conference session was never meant to mark the end of chapter and it does not. It was meant as a celebration and there is so much to celebrate. Accordia goes on. Ruth continues to work hard on her personal research and the business of running Accordia. Although John is sorely missed, his legacy lives on.

It is with the greatest affection and appreciation that Eóin and I dedicate these Conference Proceedings to Ruth Whitehouse, John Wilkins and the Accordia Research Institute. Viva Accordia!

# Reaching a new accord: revitalising feminism in the study of Italian archaeology

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## Summary

The Accordia Research Institute have supported and sponsored the development of studies of gender in Italian archaeology. First presented in a session dedicated to the Institute and its founders, John Wilkins and Ruth Whitehouse, this paper delivers a challenge to practitioners: to fully integrate feminist principles of equality and inclusivity into both our interpretations of the past and our actions in the present. Through a case study of a recent discovery at Vulci, I argue that our interpretations of women's lives in the past remain androcentric and one-dimensional, and from my experiences of the discipline I contest that unacceptable levels of harassment continue to damage lives and careers. I strongly suggest that the next Conference in Italian Archaeology incorporate a dedicated session to combat these entwined issues to safeguard the legacy of the Institute for the future.

## Riassunto

L'Accordia Research Institute ha supportato e sponsorizzato lo sviluppo di studi di genere nell'archeologia italiana. Questa presentazione, proposta in un primo momento durante un incontro dedicato all'Istituto e ai suoi fondatori, John Wilkins e Ruth Whitehouse, propone una sfida agli esperti: quella di integrare completamente i principi femministi di parità e di inclusione sia nell'interpretazione del passato, sia nelle nostre azioni del presente. Tramite un caso studio di una recente scoperta a Vulci, sostengo che la nostra interpretazione delle vite delle donne nel passato rimane androcentrica e unidimensionale e, a partire dalla mia esperienza personale nel campo, che livelli inaccettabili di vessazione continuano a danneggiare vite e carriere. Auspico vivamente che la prossima Conferenza sull'archeologia italiana incorpore una sessione dedicata a combattere questa fitta serie di problematiche in modo da salvaguardare l'eredità dell'Istituto nel futuro.

## Introduction

The Accordia Research Institute, and its founders and leading lights, have long been supporters of diverse voices and viewpoints. They have encouraged and mentored young female scholars, invited women to deliver papers and organised conferences dedicated to the study of gender in Italy's past. The 1998 Accordia Specialist Studies on Italy volume is perhaps the seminal text in the field, containing a number of highly important papers, and it is approaching its twenty-year anniversary. Unfortunately, in spite of Accordia's best efforts, the optimism expressed within that volume that 'gender archaeology' would become incorporated within Italian archaeology as a matter of course, have not materialised. Carmen Vida (1998: 22) hopefully suggested that 'each scholar can find his or her own area of research a field for application.' In her introduction, Whitehouse lays out her admirable editorial policy. She chose to deliberately include papers from 'biological determinists... and radical feminists' in the volume in an attempt to demonstrate this broader relevance, and to encourage archaeologists from all areas of the field to consider the potential of thinking critically about gender in their own work (Whitehouse 1998: x).

Instead Italian archaeology has repeated the patterns of the wider discipline.<sup>1</sup> Out of increasing attention paid to women's experiences in the past during the 1990s (e.g Gilchrist 1991; Conkey and Gero 1997) had grown more nuanced and theoretically informed studies centred on sexuality (Dowson 2000; Voss 2008; Voss and Schmidt (eds) 2000; Joyce and Perry 2001; Joyce 1998), and masculinity (Alberti 1997; 2001). The body was (and has remained) a hot topic for discussion (Meskell 1996; 1998; Hamilakis, Pluciennik and Tarlow (eds) 2002; Joyce 2005). A new generation of scholars were being immersed in this thought- women's experiences would never again be subsumed by androcentric bias, and this younger generation would address gender imbalances in archaeological hierarchies, causing a seismic shift away from the sexist behaviour outlined in the 1980s. Simultaneously, in the non-archaeological world, discussion focused on postfeminism, and the lack of engagement with feminist principles by young women, who felt that the battle for equality was over, and won (see Brooks 2004; Budgeon 2011; Butler 2013; Whelehan 2010).

<sup>1</sup> Defined here as the study of the archaeology of the Italian peninsula, but my personal experiences are drawn from working on Italian prehistory, specifically Etruscology.

Yet this utopian vision of a postfeminist world has not come to pass, in either archaeological thought or wider society. Within Italian archaeology, individual scholars have come to be defined by their work on, and approaches to gender within their wider practice, a phenomenon recognisable in the work of contributors to the 1998 volume, such as Izzet (1998; 2007; 2012), Hodos (1999; 2006; 2009; 2010), and Robb (1994; 2007; 2008; 2009; Robb and Morter 1998). Whitehouse (2001) had already expressed her concerns at this state of affairs, and by 2007, she concluded that there remained a need for a distinct archaeology of women, in addition to the broader studies of gender described above (Whitehouse 2007). In 2013, she went on to demonstrate the relative lack of engagement with feminist issues which continues to typify the sub-discipline of Italian archaeology- exemplary, I would argue, of the majority of sub-disciplines outside those explicitly engaged with the study of gender (see, for example, Croucher (2005) on Near Eastern archaeology, a subfield with many parallels to Italian archaeology).

### Interpreting the Past

A slew of recent androcentric interpretations of major archaeological finds have emphasised the failure of early 21st century feminist archaeology to make a lasting impression on interpretative practices beyond these limited circles of declared interest. The discovery of an intact tomb (later named the Tomb of the Hanging Aryballos) at Tarquinia, containing a pair of individuals, one of whom was buried with a spear, produced the predictable (and as it turned out, erroneous) description of the spear bearer as male, a prince (for the chain of events and critique see Shipley 2015). When the individual with the spear was determined as a female by osteological analysis, she quickly became demoted to the status of a 'spinster,' her spear obviously the possession of a male buried with her (Mandolesi 2014: 7; *contra* Gleba's (2011) analysis of the significance of female textile workers). An almost identical statement has recently been provided as to the identity of the occupant of a rich burial at Lavau, France (Bryner 2015). Such gendered assumptions are not only the preserve of funerary archaeology. A study of lithics at a Late Palaeolithic site at Trollesgrave, Denmark (Donahue and Fischer 2015) envisaged their production by a nuclear family, composed of a male master knapper, a female lithic producer making tools focused on food and hide preparation and two children learning to knap. Their interpretation carries a series of problematic gendered stereotypes: the division from and privileging of male labour over female (Kehoe 1991; Joyce 1993; Berns 1993; Milledge Nelson 2004: 64; Rodriguez, Alegria and Graff 2012), the man-the-toolmaker trope (Oakley 1944; critiqued by Bird 1993 and Steinke 2005), and the stable nuclear family of a heteronormative couple with children as ideal societal unit (Balme and Bulbeck

2008; Cobb 2005; Ensor 2011; cf. Hartmann 1981). These varied case studies are somewhat comforting: at least Italian archaeology is not alone in continuing along a resolutely androcentric path in terms of archaeological interpretation.

A recent discovery at Vulci, and its interpretation and presentation to the public, epitomises the embedded nature of these androcentric attitudes in Etruscan studies, and in Italian prehistory more generally. This was not the confused attribution of the 'wrong' gender to a burial, as happened in the case of the Tomb of the Hanging Aryballos. Instead, it was a more traditionally acceptable narrative, which, when assessed critically, is equally problematic. In February 2016, archaeologists at the Etruscan centre of Vulci recognised the unnerving signs that illicit excavations had been taking place in an area of the site, incongruously adjacent to the ticket office. A rescue operation was quickly organised, which revealed that while the looters had broken into one burial chamber, another lay intact. Inside was a remarkably rich series of grave goods, including an amber necklace, two scarab amulets, one of ivory, one made of gold, fibulae, an almost intact bronze vessel and a silver ring, in addition to a number of ceramics. The richness of the materials was underlined by their origins: the necklace is thought to have come from Phoenicia, while the scarabs could have been made in Egypt. The remains of the person who received all this finery were also present in the tomb, and were carefully excavated and analysed by the team from the Vulci Foundation. They were presented to the public in a press conference in early March that year, alongside the remarkable finds. The owner of the tomb was revealed as a young woman aged around 13 or 14 at the time of her death.

Immediately, and perhaps inevitably, this young Etruscan woman was described as a 'princess.' As the story broke, this was the word that made the headlines. On the 8th March, the online news site *ansa.it* used the headline 'Vulci, emerso tesoro della principessa etrusca,' (Vulci 2016a) which was picked up by the Italian daily 'Il quotidiano.' This was the first article, but by the 9th of March news of the discovery was spreading. Viterbo News 24 went with 'Nella tomba il tesoro della principessa,' and invited readers to click through to view more pictures of the 'tesoro della principessa' through a separate title. *Tusciaweb.eu* kept the word 'princess' out of their headline, but made sure to use it in a subtitle, placed above the headline on the page. *TheLocal.it* made sure to use inverted commas, but still kept both buzzwords: 'princess' and 'treasure' in their headline. *TheLocal.it*'s article was translated by their staff into English, and *ansa.it* provided an English language version of their article by the 11th March. In the English translation of the former, the language used was telling: the journalist reported that 'archaeologists

say [the tomb] likely belonged to an Etruscan princess.' One archaeologist, an excavator who had worked on the site, gave an informal interview to these early reports, stating that: 'Certainly such items lead us to believe that she was a princess.'

While little of the formal press statement remains in the public domain, if excavators were permitted to give interviews to reporters using this kind of language we can infer that it was acceptable to the site directors. There is a suggestion that the original statement may have used more complex language: the original *ansa.it* (Vulci 2016a) and *tusciaweb.eu* (Vulci 2016b) articles use the term 'dignitaria' to describe the young woman in their final paragraphs, after the initial 'princess' headline. However, in the days after the discovery, the Superintendent of Archaeology for the region of southern Etruria, respected archaeologist Alfonsina Russo, gave an additional statement on the discovery to journalist Chiara Ciripicchio, who published her first article on the 10th March on *Viterbo News 24* (2016a) and a second follow-up on the 11th March (2016b). Russo's action was an intelligent move to try and use interest in the new 'princess' to encourage people to visit the region's museums. However, in appealing to the general public, Russo is quoted as using the label 'princess' for the young woman of Vulci: '*The discovery of the princess and her grave goods is of extraordinary importance.*' Russo quoted in Ciripicchio (2016b) (translation my own).

The problem with this terminology is that the young woman's identity is written off immediately into a single word. Her age, hovering on adulthood; her status as part of an elite family with access to goods traded from across the Mediterranean; her potential life experience and the reasons for her death, all this was elided by the Disney terminology. Of course, the context and excuse for the use of this term is the long application of the term 'princely' to such wealthy burials: the term emerged in the early 19th century, with the discovery of fabulously wealthy graves such as the Regolini Galassi tomb at Cerveteri, discovered in 1836, and has become relatively specific. It defines burials usually dated to the *Seconda Età del Ferro*, or Orientalising period, a time of intense cultural contact in which elites gathered high value objects and deemed it appropriate to invest these within the tomb (d'Agostino 1977; Cuozzo 1994; Fulminante 2003). The use of 'princely' as a description for tombs was critiqued strongly during the 1990s and early 2000s (Arnold 1995; Babić 2002). This language was exposed as deeply problematic, imposing a very specific interpretative ideal onto the prehistoric past which was as gendered as it was classist. As a result, the majority of academic publications now use inverted commas to guard the word 'princely,' or preface it with 'so-called' to show that the author is aware of the troubled history of the term.

Even within this context, however, the terminology is reductionist in the extreme. It does no justice at all to the potential information available about this young woman's life: her connections to different places, the imagery incorporated within the burial assemblage, the location of the tomb in relation to others, to say nothing of any information to be gleaned from the skeletal remains themselves. Smith provides a complex and exacting assessment of monarchical systems (2011) and elite families (2006) in Latium, and as a young adult we might expect this woman to have been an emerging player in a complex social and political world. I would hope that this interpretation would be developed in any future publication, but suspect that this woman will instead be portrayed as representing male wealth as opposed to meriting her own grave goods. This example is important: it is in many ways entirely routine, just another Etruscan burial of a wealthy young woman written off in a single word. Yet its very ordinariness, the absolute normalisation of this androcentric and simplistic interpretative scheme, underlines the desperate need for the integration of feminist ideas into Italian archaeology.

Russo's statement on the latest Volceian princess also pointed to even more problematic interpretations of Etruscan people. Russo deliberately equated the young woman from Vulci with the computer generated figure of *Ati*, a virtual guide to the Etruscan collections in the Villa Giulia museum in Rome. This CGI Etruscan noblewoman has also featured at the Milan Expo of 2015 and in a number of short films and children's guidebooks. *Ati* has even visited the European Parliament. By using the term 'princess' to refer to the burial from Vulci and the character of *Ati*, Russo was attempting to harness interest in the new discovery and promote the new 'Experience Etruria' website, *Ati*'s latest venture. She described the burial of the young woman from Vulci as 'giving great strength' to the character of *Ati*. However, *Ati* is deeply reminiscent of a different kind of animated female: the Disney princess. While her stylised representation was theoretically modelled on Etruscan tomb paintings and stylised sarcophagi in human form, *Ati*'s features are unmistakeable. She has the large eyes and snip of a nose, the unbelievable waist and full breasts that are repeated in Disney heroines from Snow White to Elsa and Anna, in spite of much feminist critique (England *et al.* 2011; Hayes and Tantleff-Dunn 2010). *Ati*'s sexualised figure is very different from her male cartoon counterpart, *Apa*, who is shown as overweight, simply dressed, and with an enormous nose hinting at alcohol abuse. In equating the adolescent girl from Vulci with *Ati*, Russo also equated her with this particular kind of princess. The figure of *Ati* uses the popularity of the Disney Princess brand to appeal to families visiting museums, but she also presents a very one-dimensional image of elite Etruscan womanhood, one that has not changed

significantly from the powerful and oversexualised bad girls described by Livy (*History of Rome* 1. 46-48) and Theopompos of Chios (*Histories* 115 FGrHist F204 = Athenaeus 517d-518a). That this model of Etruscan womanhood is used to attract children, especially girls, to the discipline is deeply concerning: that it is the preferred interpretative model presented by the discipline to the outside world speaks volumes.

### Practice in the Present

The failure of feminist ideals to become embedded within the discipline has another side, which impacts lives in the present. Pope (2011: 61) describes the male dominated atmosphere at TAG 2008, scant years after the popularisation of feminist archaeology, and the continued minimal representation of women's lives among papers presented there. This is certainly visible in Italian archaeology conferences. At one event, an eminent scholar opened the single session dominated by female speakers with the words 'now we have to listen to the ladies,' going on to speak over each presenter's discussion period. This sexist attitude, and its accompanying actions, went unchallenged, with the early career researchers in attendance too afraid to speak out, and more senior figures presumably entirely used to such incidents. This kind of behaviour is also all too visible at conferences and their associated social events, when a single male dominates question periods or, in one incident I have witnessed, relentlessly attacked a female speaker until she broke down in tears. In neither case is there any kind of rebuke for the aggressive party. This very public form of gendered bullying, which hounds individuals out of the discipline, and even out of archaeology, is the inevitable consequence of winking at patronising remarks and sexist attitudes from the most esteemed scholars. If sexism is seen as acceptable in one form, it quickly shifts and spreads into more numerous, and more unpleasant, channels, seeping into the overarching culture and affecting more than single events.

Kate Clancy (2013) has documented these murkier channels, and their horrific impact on women's lives and careers. After hearing that one friend had experienced sexual assault during anthropological fieldwork, and another had encountered consistent and relentless sexual harassment during her own time in the field, Clancy decided to investigate the extent of this phenomenon, asking female scholars to send in their stories to her. In this, Clancy was creating an academic version of the highly successful 'Everyday Sexism' project. This initiative was founded by Laura Bates in 2012, as an act of frustration after Bates herself encountered harassment regularly in her early career. With a central website, and social media pages on Twitter and Facebook, men and women contribute their experiences as micro-biographical interludes. There

have now been over 100,000 contributions to the project. Here are two examples of additions to the website:

I asked my college Chemistry professor for assistance with a problem. He first replied that I didn't need his help. He went on to say that I didn't belong in his class. I was taking up space that should have gone to a male. M. Kelly, October 2017.

Was wearing a skirt yesterday as I walked past two boys one of them tried to touch my leg and spit (sic) on me because I didn't let him. Hannah, May 2014.

Clancy and her colleagues chose to focus specifically on the arena of fieldwork for a larger and more comprehensive study, in an effort to investigate the wider context of the individual stories that colleagues were sharing with her (Clancy *et al.* 2014). 666 individuals contributed to her digitally distributed survey, 124 of whom were from Clancy's field of research, biological anthropology, and the others from a variety of disciplines which incorporate fieldwork, including archaeology (23.4% of the sample, 159 individuals). These respondents answered 45 questions in order to provide Clancy and her co-authors with quantitative data on the extent and nature of harassment while undertaking fieldwork. Respondents were also asked about the mechanisms in place to report harassment and assault, and any action taken against perpetrators. While the study authors acknowledge the potential for multiple respondents from individual sites or projects with a major harassment issue, the results of Clancy's survey are nonetheless striking.

64% of respondents had experienced or witnessed harassment. 21.7% had experienced sexual assault. Of the women respondents, 70% had experienced harassment and 26% assault, as opposed to 40% and 6% of male respondents. The overwhelming majority of these targets of harassment and assault were trainees (defined as students and postdocs) or junior employees at the time they endured these experiences. The sources of harassment for these early career scholars and students were different for men and women: women respondents overwhelmingly reported senior perpetrators, while for men it was peers who were the majority of offenders. While perpetrators did include local contributors or project neighbours, the vast majority came from members of the research team, usually senior members. In terms of action taken in the aftermath of harassment or assault, respondents mainly described their confusion or ignorance of official channels to report what had happened to them. Of those who did report their experience, over ¾ described feeling 'dissatisfied or very dissatisfied' with the results.

My own research, with Sara Perry and James Osborne, has focused on gendered abuse not in fieldwork

contexts, but in the digital realm (Perry, Shipley and Osborne 2015). We found that 1 in 3 of the respondents who self-identified as archaeologists, 39 of 120 individuals, had experienced inappropriate or uncomfortable communications. Worryingly, as compared to the broader population, this group of archaeologists described experiencing a far greater volume of online harassment: 2 in 5 had experienced 5 or more individual incidents. Both men and women reported this, with a slightly higher number of men experiencing online abuse. It was the type of abuse that appeared to be demarcated by gender: women experienced far more sexual, physical and racist attacks, while it was professional attacks that defined the male experience of digital harassment.

Whether taking place online or in the field, (sexual) harassment and assault are a major part of the experience of working within archaeology, and it would be wilfully naïve to believe that they are absent in the sub-discipline of Italian archaeology. When the atmosphere at conferences and events is toxic enough for speakers to be publicly humiliated to the point of tears with no recourse for the target, it is certainly poisonous enough to hide assault and abuse in other formats. After giving this paper in a variety of different formats, and speaking out online, I received a number of accounts from men and women working within the discipline that had witnessed or personally experienced incidents including physical assault during excavations, verbal abuse from supervisors and propositioning and threats in a museum context. All the reporting individuals were distressed by what they had seen and experienced, and all were uncertain of where to turn for help, and how to prevent a recurrence of the incidents in question.

### Conclusion

This is an entirely unacceptable situation, and it cannot continue. Society, archaeology, and Italian archaeology all need to take positive action to develop clear and robust channels of reporting and response. In many cases, university policies are in place but are not being followed. Similarly, informal peer-to-peer challenges, where they take place at all, are not having an effect. The power dynamics of harassment are central to this: targets are intimidated and afraid to speak out, harassers are in positions of power and can do immeasurable damage to an individual's career prospects in an already highly competitive discipline. The international nature of the discipline is also important in understanding the complexity of individual harassment scenarios: what action can be taken by a university in one country against a site or museum director from another or vice versa? Unofficial actions such as ensuring individuals with a particular reputation are always supervised or avoided smack of rough justice and perpetuating

the problem. Making use of official channels such as formal complaints, or legal complaints, may not correspond with the wishes of the target, which must be paramount. A code of conduct is needed, in which everyone working within the discipline contributes to keeping one another safe. Such a code requires the input of practitioners from throughout the discipline, from across the world and across the range of roles involved within Italian archaeological study. Indeed, it is an ideal project for the Accordia Research Institute, given the history of the Institute and its international reputation for bringing the discipline together. Perhaps a breakout or workshop session at the next Conference in Italian Archaeology can be dedicated to its development, the code signed by attendees and, more importantly, adhered to.

In the meantime, however, we as practitioners within the discipline can all make a difference. We can make the effort to challenge and change our interpretative models of the past and our behaviour in the present. We can imagine new lives for the men and women who peopled the Italian past, ones rich in experiences and encounters far beyond single word explanations. We can present children visiting museums with bodies that are neither grotesque nor hypersexual, but believable and relatable in all their vital complexity. Whether we are working on ceramics, animal bones, human remains, texts or textiles, we can seek to consider more fully the context of their use, and the lives of the people who made, encountered and disposed of them. We can consider our use of language, and question our assumptions and those of others. We can ensure that questioning at conferences remains robust, but does not become abusive. We can call out individuals who deliberately seek to intimidate. While an anonymous 'Everyday Sexism' style online space for sharing stories is perhaps impossible for such a relatively small community, we can nonetheless listen to and support our colleagues and friends and help them to find recourse without risking their careers and reputations. Whatever our stages of career, we can and should begin this project of incorporating feminist ideas- which are fundamentally about equality- into all our practice. For Italian archaeology to survive as a sub-discipline we need to reconsider the roles we imagine as inhabited in the past: we cannot keep parroting the same old stereotypes of the princess, the warrior and the glutton. But we also need to reconsider our roles in the present, to become advocates for change, and to reach a new and more equal accord that benefits everyone.

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