

Papers in Italian Archaeology VII

# The Archaeology of Death

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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*



# Table of Contents

List of Figures .....	v
Preface and Acknowledgements.....	xii
Edward Herring and Eóin O'Donoghue	

## Celebrating Accordia

Celebrating Accordia .....	3
Edward Herring	
Reaching a new accord: revitalising feminism in the study of Italian archaeology.....	5
Lucy Shipley	
At Face Value: Questioning the visibility of gender in Etruscan funerary art .....	13
Carrie Ann Murray	
'You'll get a belt from your Da': military prowess, status and masculinity and the evidence of the bronze belts from South Italy .....	22
Edward Herring	
Recent approaches to early writing .....	30
Christopher Smith	

## Cultural Contacts, Resistance etc.

Introduction.....	39
Arianna Esposito and Airton Pollini	
Have you said <i>métissage</i> or hybridization? A view from the graves .....	41
Arianna Esposito and Airton Pollini	
Greek and Indigenous people: investigations in the cemeteries of Megara Hyblaea.....	48
Reine-Marie Bérard	
Constructing deathscapes between Pithekoussai and Cumae: la costruzione del sociale all'alba della colonizzazione tra integrazione e ibridazione.....	56
Valentino Nizzo	
Material culture and ethnic identity: some case studies from Pontecagnano (first – second quarter of the seventh century BC).....	70
Anna Maria Desiderio	
Le necropoli arcaiche di Capua: le tombe a cubo come fenomeno ibrido.....	79
Ellen Thiermann	
Arpi (Puglia), città aperta?.....	86
Luca Basile and Claude Pouzadoux	
Funerary art and <i>munera</i> : gladiators, graffiti and tombstones at Pompeii .....	98
Renata S. Garraffoni	

## Etruria

Diversity in death: a construction of identities and the funerary record of multi-ethnic central Italy from 950 to 350 BC .....	107
Albert J. Nijboer	
Subordinate satellite communities of Poggio Civitate .....	128
Kate Kreindler	
Multicultural interaction, colonial boundaries and changing group identities: contextualising inscriptions, languages and alphabets .....	138
Ulla Rajala and Karin W. Tikkanen	

<b>Burial custom patterns in Early and Middle Orientalising Caere</b> .....	149
Orlando Cerasuolo	
<b>Run to the Hill. The Iron Age settlement of Verucchio</b> .....	161
Lorenzo Zamboni and Paolo Rondini	
<b>The Etruscan fortress of Rofalco. Twenty years of excavation and outreach activities</b> .....	172
Orlando Cerasuolo and Luca Pulcinelli	
<b>Finding a middle ground in the burial ground: Mortuary behaviour at Populonia and Vetulonia in the Early Iron Age</b> .....	181
Sheira Cohen	
<b>La nascita dei ‘principi’. Il sepolcreto di Vetulonia nel periodo Orientalizzante</b> .....	189
Camilla Colombi	
<b>The Power of Etruscan Women Revisited: the evidence from Archaic Tarquinian Tomb Painting</b> .....	191
Eóin O’Donoghue	
<b>Infancy and urbanization in central Italy during the Early Iron Age and beyond</b> .....	197
Francesca Fulminante	
<b>Un approccio ‘interdisciplinare’ allo studio di un contesto funerario orientalizzante-arcaico da Tarquinia</b> .....	208
Alessandro Mandolesi, Maria Rosa Lucidi, Margarita Gleba, Ombretta Tarquini, Marcello Colapietro and Augusto Pifferi	
<b>South Italy</b>	
<b>Identità e isotopi: il contributo delle analisi scientifiche all’interpretazione della necropoli enotria di Francavilla Marittima</b> .....	217
Camilla Colombi, Igor M. Villa and Martin A. Guggisberg	
<b>Funerary customs and social aspects of one community in the Valley of the River Agri between the end of the Fifth and Third Century BC</b> .....	227
Josipa Mandić	
<b>Società pithecusana e traffici commerciali etruschi nell’Orientalizzante Recente</b> .....	234
Francesco Napolitano	
<b>Dancing around the grave? Funerary rituals and the creation of Peucetian identity between the sixth and third century BC</b> .....	245
Bice Peruzzi	
<b>No Country for Old Men? Gender and age in a small Archaic Southern Italian community</b> .....	254
Christian Heitz	
<b>Le Forme dell’Appartenenza Aristocratica nella Necropoli di Fornaci a Capua. Alcuni dati dalle Sepolture Orientalizzanti dell’Area Sud-Orientale</b> .....	263
Elena Marazzi	
<b>Materiali e Corredi Funerari nella Media valle del fiume Fortore tra VII sec. a.C. e III sec. a.C.</b> .....	273
Pasquale Marino, Andrea Capozzi and Diletta Colombo	
<b>Una preghiera senza voce. I gesti del sacro e la ritualità ctonia nelle necropoli della Campania tra I e II età del ferro</b> .....	282
Carmelo Rizzo	
<b>Rango, potere e identità sociale nei sepolcreti indigeni di età orientalizzante della Piana del Sarno, Campania</b> .....	292
Francesca Mermati	
<b>Only princes in Daunia? Critical considerations on the conception of the ‘elite’ in Iron Age North-Apulia on the basis of the so-called <i>tombe principesche</i></b> .....	303
Lisa Obojes	
<b>Capua in età orientalizzante. Tombe di rango dall’area occidentale della necropoli di fornaci</b> .....	309
Mattia Maturo	

**Burial practices in the cemetery of Buccino from the mid seventh to the early fourth century BC**.....316  
Cesare Vita

**Accedere all’Aldilà? L’*aes rude* in tomba: nuove acquisizioni da Pontecagnano**.....322  
Anna Rita Russo

### Sicily

**La Necropoli Est di Polizzello: Riti e deposizioni dalle tombe 5 e 5A**.....333  
Alberto D’Agata

**La Tomba 24 e 25 della Necropoli Est di Polizzello: l’influenza culturale greca nelle tradizioni funerarie di un insediamento indigeno della Sicilia centrale** .....343  
Antonino Barbera

**Le Tombe a Grotticella artificiale del territorio di Valguarnera: Nuovi Dati**.....354  
Eleonora Draia

**Via *Minervia*: nuovi dati dalle recenti indagini a Punta della Campanella** .....365  
Tommasina Budetta, Rosa Cannavacciuolo and Carmelo Rizzo

**The making of sacred and funerary landscapes in central Sicily between the 6th and the 1st millennium BC**.....371  
Enrico Giannitrapani

**Sepulture femminili e infantili nella necropoli di Sabucina (Caltanissetta)**.....383  
Nicoletta Di Carlo

**Calicantone: A funerary landscape in Sicily**.....388  
Pietro Militello, Anna Maria Sammito, Marianna Figuera, Maria Gianchino and Thea Messina

### Prehistory

**Caves and shelters in the Uccellina Mountains (Alberese – Grosseto) – funerary practices and rituals during the Bronze and Copper Ages at Grotta dello Scoglietto and Buca di Spaccasasso**.....399  
Nicoletta Volante and Lucia Sarti

**Characteristics of the cult and funerary caves in the Agrigento territory**.....410  
Domenica Gullì

**The chamber tombs phenomenon as evidence for the birth of a Bronze Age *élite*: the case of the Roccoia cemetery (Farnese, VT)**.....419  
Nuccia Negroni Catacchio, Matteo Aspesi, Christian Metta, Giulia Pasquini and Andrea Jacopo Sala

**Copper Age ancestral sanctuaries and landscapes in Valle Camonica** .....431  
Raffaella Poggiani Keller

**Grotta Nisco (Cassano delle Murge-Bari), una necropoli dell’età del Rame. Lo studio di ‘ambiente 1’ e ‘ambiente 5’**.....443  
Francesca Radina and Maria Lucrezia Savino

**Discovering Sofia: semi-digital forensic facial reconstruction of a woman from Copper Age Sicily**.....448  
Davide Tanasi

### Roman Italy

**False-doors in domestic Roman architecture**.....457  
Maurice Owen

**Cremation structures and funerary dynamics in Roman Veneto. New perspectives from Padua/*Patavium***.....465  
Cecilia Rossi and Irene Marini

**The *Via Castrimeniense*: one of the most ancient routes between the Alban Hills and Rome** .....477  
Agnese Livia Fischetti

**Approaching Roman secondary settlements in Italy: diachronic trends, spatial relationships and economic roles** .....483  
Stefano Bertoldi, Gabriele Castiglia and Angelo Castrorao Barba

**The discovery of the Roman rural settlement of ‘Podere San Lorenzo’ in Montecastrilli (Terni-Italy).....**494  
Luca Desibio and Pier Matteo Barone

### Post Antique

**Special deposition in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus in Rome. New data on the funerary use  
of catacombs between the eighth and the ninth centuries .....**507

Agnese Pergola

**Ethnic identity, material culture and social development of the Langobards: some examples .....**516

Federica Codromaz

**Gli spazi degli esclusi. Sepolture isolate d’infanti nell’Italia tardo-antica: il contributo della  
ricerca archeologica .....**523

Lidia Vitale

**Putridaria (strainer rooms) and draining practices of the bodies. Anthropology of death in  
the modern age .....**532

Roberta Fusco

### New Methods and Technologies

**3D modeling and Attic pottery. A new approach to an ‘old’ question.....**543

Alessandro Pace and Daniele Bursich

**The Stockholm Volterra Project: exploring a cityscape in an urban context .....**553

Ulla Rajala, Arja Karivieri, Andreas Viberg, Elena Sorge, Alessandro Furiesi, Gianfranco Morelli and  
Gianluca Catanzariti

**GIS applications in the valorisation of the cultural heritage: the case of Campovalano  
(Central Italy, TE) and its territory .....**563

Carmen Soria

**Funerary landscapes and the archaeology of war in the Cuneo valleys. GIS and interdisciplinarity:  
toward new frontiers of research .....**570

Isabel Beltrán Gil, Eliana Maniaci and Erika Mattio

**GIS and visual analysis of a Copper Age funerary site: intra-site perspectives at  
‘Poggio di Spaccasasso’ (Grosseto, Italy).....**576

Giovanna Pizziolo and Nicoletta Volante

**A sign of the times: updating the outdoor wayside panels of Tarquinia .....**584

Andrew Carroll

**Chemical characterization of EBA/MBA pottery from Ognina (Sicily). A comparison of XRF and  
pXRF for analysis of ancient pottery .....**590

Davide Tanasi, Robert H. Tykot, Frederick Pirone and Erin McKendry

**The socio-political dimension of archaeology: some reflections on the Italian path .....**599

Andrea Maria Gennaro

**Contributors.....**606



# List of Figures

## Celebrating Accordia

### *C.A. Murray: At Face Value: Questioning the visibility of gender in Etruscan funerary art*

Figure 1. Canopic urn, Macchiapiana Sarteano, Mid 7th century BCE .....	17
Figure 2. Canopic urn identified as male, 6th century BCE .....	17
Figure 3. Canopic urn identified as female, Cetona, end of the 7th, early 6th century BCE .....	18
Figure 4. Canopic urn representing a male figure with a beard from Sarteano, 600-550 BCE .....	18
Figure 5. Pair of Canopic urns identified as female (left) and male (right), Macchiano, Sarteano 630-600 BCE .....	19

### *E. Herring: 'You'll get a belt from your Da': military prowess, status and masculinity and the evidence of the bronze belts from South Italy*

Figure 1. Bronze Belt, dated to the period, 350-325 BC .....	23
Figure 2. Tomb-painting, dated to the final quarter of the 4th century BC .....	24
Figure 3. Campanian neck-amphora attributed to the LNO Painter .....	26
Figure 4. Detail from an Apulian column-krater attributed to the York Painter .....	27

### *C. Smith: Recent approaches to early writing*

Figure 1. Bucchero aryballos, from clandestine excavations near Montalto di Castro (VT) mid-seventh century BC .....	31
Figure 2. Anforetta from the Melenzani necropolis of Bologna, seventh century .....	34

## Cultural Contacts, Resistance etc.

### *R.-M. Bérard: Greek and Indigenous people: investigations in the cemeteries of Megara Hyblaea*

Figure 1. Localisation of the three main cemeteries of Megara Hyblaea .....	50
Figure 2. Pithos and metallic objects from grave Z 20 .....	54

### *V. Nizzo: Constructing deathscapes between Pithekoussai and Cumae: la costruzione del sociale all'alba della colonizzazione tra integrazione e ibridazione*

Figure 1. Tabella cronologica. Parallelismi fra la sequenza pithecusana e quelle di Pontecagnano, Osteria dell'Osa e Veio .....	59
Figure 2. Necropoli di Pithekoussai. Sezione schematica dello sviluppo di un appezzamento familiare .....	61
Figure 3. Necropoli di Pithekoussai. Diagramma stratigrafico .....	64
Figure 4. Necropoli di Pithekoussai. Andamento demografico .....	65
Figure 5. Necropoli di Pithekoussai. Sviluppo planimetrico della necropoli di Pithekoussai .....	66

### *A.M. Desiderio: Material culture and ethnic identity: some case studies from Pontecagnano (first – second quarter of the seventh century BC)*

Figure 1. A. Campania – eighth/seventh century BC; B. Oliveto Citra – Cairano groups .....	71
Figure 2. Western cemetery at Pontecagnano – Piazza Sabato: funerary areas .....	72
Figure 3. A. T.3875; B. T.9467 .....	74
Figure 4. A. Grave goods from T.3875; B. Grave goods from T.9211; C. Grave goods from T.9467 .....	75

### *E. Thiermann: Le necropoli arcaiche di Capua: le tombe a cubo come fenomeno ibrido*

Figure 1. Cubo di pietra della tomba 1426 di Capua, II quarto VI sec. a.C. ....	81
Figure 2. Sezione della tomba 1426 di Capua, II quarto VI sec. a.C. ....	81
Figure 3. Pianta di distribuzione delle tombe a cubo .....	82
Figure 4. Schema dello sviluppo delle tombe a cubo a Capua e Kyme nel VI e V sec. a.C. ....	84

### *L. Basile and C. Pouzadoux: Arpi (Puglia), città aperta?*

Figure 1. Pianta di Arpi con indicazione dei poderi ONC 28 e ONC 35 in località Montarozzi e della tomba del vaso dei Niobidi .....	87
Figure 2. Arpi, località Montarozzi. Pianta della casa 'dei leoni e delle pantere' nell'ONC 28 .....	88
Figure 3. Rilievo fittile dall'area della casa 'dei leoni e delle pantere' .....	90
Figure 4. Antefisse e protome equina in terracotta dall'area della casa 'dei leoni e delle pantere' .....	91
Figure 5. Corredo della tomba 172 proveniente dall'area della casa 'dei leoni e delle pantere' .....	92

### *R.S. Garraffoni: Funerary art and munera: gladiators, graffiti and tombstones at Pompeii*

Figure 1. Roman funerary relief from Pompeii .....	101
Figure 2. Roman funerary relief from Pompeii .....	101
Figure 3. Roman funerary relief from Pompeii .....	102
Figure 4. Pompeian graffito .....	103

## Etruria

### *A.J. Nijboer: Diversity in death: a construction of identities and the funerary record of multi-ethnic central Italy from 950 to 350 BC*

Figure 1. Map of the region immediately around Rome and Crustumerium .....	108
Figure 2. Comparable but not identical tombs at Crustumerium around 650 BC.....	111
Figure 3. The most elaborate female tombs at Crustumerium dated around 650 BC and at La Rustica/Collatia.....	113
Figure 4. Crustumerium various types of tomb clusters at the Monte del Bufalo cemetery.....	115
Figure 5. Separate burial grounds around Veio and Crustumerium with indication of their date range .....	116
Figure 6. Montariolo, Corvaro (Borgorose, Rieti); Cenotaph, 9th till 2nd/1st century BC.....	119
Figure 7. Sabini: no elaborate warrior tombs of the 8th century BC or tombe Principesche of the period 725-650 BC .....	123
Table 1: Main similarities and differences between Collatia/La Rustica and Crustumerium.....	113

### *K. Kreindler: Subordinate Satellite Communities of Poggio Civitate*

Figure 1. Map of Poggio Civitate and surrounding hilltops .....	129
Figure 2. Site plan of Poggio Civitate .....	131
Figure 3. Heat map showing distribution of slag in CA70.....	133
Figure 4. Vescovado di Murlo, fifth century kiln .....	134
Figure 5. Heat map of distributions of materials from OC2/Workshop and EPOC5 .....	135

### *U. Rajala and K.W. Tikkanen: Multicultural interaction, colonial boundaries and changing group identities: contextualising inscriptions, languages and alphabets*

Figure 1. Latin colonies and their chronology .....	140
Figure 2. Nepi and the Faliscan area in central Italy .....	141
Figure 3. Inscriptions with certain language in the Faliscan area .....	144
Figure 4. The find spots of the inscriptions found at Nepi.....	145
Table 1.....	142

### *O. Cerasuolo: Burial Custom Patterns in Early and Middle Orientalising Caere*

Figure 1.A. Quantification of the Early and Middle Orientalising tombs with provenance.....	151
Figure 2A. A comparison between similar shapes made in different pottery production. Open shapes .....	154
Figure 2B. A comparison between similar shapes made in different pottery production. Closed shapes .....	155
Figure 3. Exemplification of typological variation in secondary elements of the shape or decoration.....	156
Figure 4. Banditaccia necropolis, 'Tumuletti Arcaici' sector .....	157
Figure 5. Cerveteri's necropoleis. Schematic map of the burial clusters and the monumental tumuli.....	158

### *L. Zamboni and P. Rondini: Run to the Hill. The Iron Age settlement of Verucchio*

Figure 1. Map of Verucchio (Rimini). Cemetery and settlement areas.....	163
Figure 2. The settlement of Pian del Monte. Plan with previous and ongoing survey and excavation sectors .....	164
Figure 3. University of Pavia excavations 2012-2015 inside the foundation walls of the fourth century BCE building .....	166
Figure 4. University of Pavia excavations 2012-2015. In evidence the main, north-south filled ditch of the Early Iron Age .....	167
Figure 5. Sample of pottery sherds from the Early Iron Age structures .....	168

### *O. Cerasuolo and L. Pulcinelli: The Etruscan Fortress of Rofalco. Twenty years of excavation and outreach activities*

Figure 1. Map of Vulci's territory during the 4th and 3rd century B.C.E.....	173
Figure 2. General map of Rofalco, with location of the areas .....	174
Figure 3. Plan of the gate and surrounding area.....	175
Figure 4. The paved room of Area 2000 .....	176
Figure 5. Inscriptions found at Rofalco .....	177

### *E. O'Donoghue: The Power of Etruscan Women Revisited: the evidence from Archaic Tarquinian Tomb Painting*

Figure 1. Bar chart showing motifs in Tarquinian tomb-painting by gendered activity .....	194
Figure 2. Rear-wall of the Tomba delle Leonesse.....	195

### *F. Fulminante: Infancy and Urbanization in Central Italy during the Early Iron Age and Beyond*

Figure 1. Central Italy.....	199
Figure 2. Cessation of breastfeeding in Europe and the Mediterranean between Prehistory and the Middle Ages.....	202
Figure 3. Duration of weaning in Europe and the Mediterranean between Prehistory and the Middle Ages .....	203
Table 1. Status classes identified by Pacciarelli at the necropolis of Quattro Fontanili in Veii.....	200

### *A. Mandolesi et al.: Un approccio 'interdisciplinare' allo studio di un contesto funerario orientalizzante-archaico da Tarquinia*

Figure 1. Interno della Tomba dell'Aryballos sospeso, particolare delle due banchine laterali.....	208
Figure 2. A: Schema esposizione per radiografia frontale. B: Radiografia frontale.....	209
Figure 3. A: Dettagli della radiografia frontale, sono evidenziate le due crune degli aghi. B: Dettagli della radiografia laterale.....	210
Figure 4. A: Residui tessili lisci trovati sul fondo della pisside di bronzo. B: Uno dei frammenti tessili conservato .....	211
Figure 5. A: Il 'gomitolo' del altro tessuto di color verde scuro della pisside di bronzo. B: I fili ritorti dalla pisside di bronzo.....	212

## South Italy

### *C. Colombi et al.: Identità e isotopi: il contributo delle analisi scientifiche all'interpretazione della necropoli enotria di Francavilla Marittima*

Figure 1. Area archeologica di Francavilla Marittima. Cartografia: CTR Regione Calabria.....	218
Figure 2. L'area Strada durante le indagini del 2011.....	219
Figure 3. La deposizione nella tomba De Leo 1 durante le indagini 2014.....	221
Figure 4. Tabella dei valori misurati sui campioni dalla necropoli di Macchiabate.....	223
Figure 5. Grafico del rapporto isotopico dello Stronzio contro il rapporto isotopico del Piombo.....	224

### *J. Mandić: Funerary customs and social aspects of one community in the Valley of the River Agri between the end of the Fifth and Third Century BC*

Figure 1. (a) Main sites of ancient Lucania and location of San Brancato; (b) General plan of the excavated areas.....	228
Figure 2. (a) T.125, female burial; (b) T.337, female burial; (c) T.504, male burial; (d) T.504, burial plan.....	229
Figure 3. (a) Krater from T.504; (b) An eggshell inside a skyphos from T.124; (c-d) Bronze belt and textile lining from T.146....	230
Figure 4. (a) Hydria from female burial T.337; (b) Tintinnabula from child burial T.478; (c-d) Objects from child burials.....	231
Figure 5. (a) T.182, male burial; (b) T.166, male burial.....	232

### *F. Napolitano: Società pithecusana e traffici commerciali etruschi nell'Orientalizzante Recente*

Figure 1. Aryballoi etrusco-corinzi dalla necropoli di Pithēkoussai.....	235
Figure 2. Sinossi del Gruppo degli aryballoi su piede con corpo a fasce e bacino di fondo a linguette.....	237
Figure 3. Punta Chiarito: manufatti di tradizione artigianale etrusca. Kantharoi di bucchero.....	240

### *B. Peruzzi: Dancing Around the Grave? Funerary Rituals and the Creation of Peucetian Identity between the Sixth and Third Century BC*

Figure 1. Map of Peucetia.....	247
Figure 2. Fresco from the tomb of the Dancers from Ruvo.....	248
Figure 3. Grave good assemblage from tomb 77/1977.....	249
Figure 4. Assemblage with weapons and tools from tomb B_2/1982 at Bitonto.....	249
Figure 5. Assemblage from tomb 6/1982 at Bitonto.....	251

### *C. Heitz: No Country for Old Men? Gender and Age in a small Archaic Southern Italian Community*

Figure 1. Map of southern Italy with Iron Age/Archaic findspots and pottery distribution areas.....	256
Figure 2. Schematic plan of the necropolis of Ripacandida.....	257
Figure 3. Grave goods of Tomb 11 and Tomb 8.....	258
Figure 4. Tomb 36 and some of the grave goods.....	259
Figure 5. Schematic visualisation of the possible age-related gender roles within the egalitarian household structure.....	259
Figure 6. Examples of indigenous iconography at Ripacandida.....	260

### *E. Marazzi: Le Forme dell'Appartenenza Aristocratica nella Necropoli di Fornaci a Capua. Alcuni dati dalle Sepolture Orientalizzanti dell'Area Sud-Orientale*

Figure 1. Area Sud-Orientale della necropoli.....	265
Figure 2. Tomba 692.....	267
Figure 3. Corredo tomba 692.....	268
Figure 4. Tomba 1223.....	269
Figure 5. Corredo tomba 1223.....	270

### *P. Marino et al.: Materiali e Corredi Funerari nella Media valle del fiume Fortore tra VII sec. a.C. e III sec. a.C*

Figure 1. Inquadramento geografico.....	274
Figure 2. Coppe, coppette, brocche in ceramica figulina.....	276
Figure 3. Forme attiche, peucete, autoctone.....	277
Figure 4. Kylix del gruppo del cigno rosso; Oinochoe in bronzo.....	279

### *C. Rizzo: Una preghiera senza voce. I gesti del sacro e la ritualità etrusca nelle necropoli della Campania tra I e II età del ferro*

Figure 1. Pianta dell'area di necropoli in Prop. De Chiara, Pontecagnano.....	284
Figure 2. Pianta di scavo della tomba 9467 e ricostruzione grafica della performance funeraria.....	285
Figure 3. Pianta delle fasi di scavo della tomba 9467.....	286
Figure 4. Pianta delle tombe di sub-adulti dalla necropoli orientale di Sant'Antoio.....	288
Figure 5. Pianta di scavo della tomba 9498 con in nero le ossa animali.....	290

### *F. Mermati: Rango, potere e identità sociale nei sepolcreti indigeni di età orientalizzante della Piana del Sarno, Campania*

Figure 1. Carta geoarcheologica della Piana del Sarno.....	293
Figure 2. (A) San Valentino Torio: le proprietà Milone Vastola. (B) La Proprietà Milone: cronologia delle tombe.....	295
Figure 3. Tomba 232. Carrello in bronzo.....	296

Figure 4. Tomba 630. Spada e rasoio in bronzo .....	300
Figure 5. Materiali dalla tomba 818.....	300

**M. Maturo: Capua in età orientalizzante. Tombe di rango  
dall'area occidentale della necropoli di fornaci**

Figure 1. Pianta della necropoli di Fornaci a Capua.....	310
Figure 2. Pianta Tomba 953.....	311
Figure 3. Selezione del corredo della tomba 953.....	312
Figure 4. Pianta Tomba 990.....	313
Figure 5. Selezione del corredo tomba 990 .....	314

**C. Vita: Burial practices in the cemetery of Buccino  
from the mid seventh to the early fourth century BC**

Figure 1. Geographical position of Buccino and its cemeteries. A: loc. Braida; B: loc. Santo Stefano .....	317
Figure 2. Matt-Painted pottery: askos, jug and kantharos .....	317
Figure 3. The cemeteries of Braida (a) and Santo Stefano (b).....	318
Figure 4. Sword and helmet from T. 44.....	320
Figure 5. (a) T. 83, a supine burial; (b) T. 168, a supine burial with the deposition of bronze belts.....	321

**A.R. Russo: Accedere all'Aldilà? L' *aes rude* in tomba:  
nuove acquisizioni da Pontecagnano**

Figura 1. Le proprietà 'Chiesa' e 'Del Mese II' all'interno della necropoli di Piazza Risorgimento .....	323
Figura 2. La dislocazione delle tombe con <i>aes rude</i> in proprietà 'Chiesa'.....	324
Figura 3. La dislocazione delle tombe con <i>aes rude</i> in proprietà 'Del Mese II'.....	325
Figura 4. Tabella sintetica dei rinvenimenti.....	326
Figura 5. Esempificazione della posizione dell' <i>aes rude</i> e della <i>lekythos</i> rispetto al corpo del defunto.....	327

**Sicily**

**A. D'Agata: La Necropoli Est di Polizzello:  
Riti e deposizioni dalle tombe 5 e 5A**

Figura 1. Pianta dello Strato III della tomba 5 .....	335
Figura 2. Alcuni dei corredi delle tombe 5 (Strato III) e 5A .....	336
Figura 3. Pianta dello Strato II della tomba 5 .....	337
Figura 4. Pianta dello Strato I della tomba 5.....	338
Figura 5. Alcuni dei corredi degli strati I e II della tomba 5 .....	339
Figura 6. Pianta della tomba 5A .....	340

**A. Barbera: La Tomba 24 e 25 della Necropoli Est di Polizzello:  
l'influenza culturale greca nelle tradizioni funerarie di  
un insediamento indigeno della Sicilia centrale**

Figure 1. Necropoli Est: pianta del Settore B; pianta della tomba 24; pianta della Tomba 25.....	344
Figure 2. Foto degli ingressi delle tombe 24 e 25 .....	345
Figure 3. I vasi della Tomba 24 .....	347
Figure 4. I vasi della della T25: Strato 5, 4 e 3 .....	348
Figure 5. I vasi della della T25: Strato 2 e 1 .....	349

**E. Draia: Le Tombe a Grotticella artificiale del  
territorio di Valguarnera: Nuovi Dati**

Figure 1. Elaborazione dati in QGIS e localizzazione delle tombe censite .....	357
Figure 2. 'Grotte di Baldassarre' .....	358
Figure 3. Rilievo T.II S, 'Grotte di Baldassarre'.....	359
Figure 4. Rilievo T.I O.....	361
Figure 5. Rilievo T.II N-E.....	362

**T. Budetta et al.: Via Minervia: nuovi dati dalle  
recenti indagini a Punta della Campanella**

Figure 1. Pianta topografica del percorso finale della via Minervia con indicazione del percorso stradale attuale .....	366
Figure 2. Sezioni ricostruttive delle sostruzioni in opera cementizia di epoca romana - già conosciute.....	367
Figure 4. Sezioni ricostruttive delle sostruzioni e della pavimentazione stradale di nuova acquisizione .....	368
Figure 3. Tratto di basolato medievale con integrazioni di basoli più antichi .....	368
Figure 5. Foto del tratto basolato della via Minervia durante le fasi di scavo del saggio 11 .....	369

**E. Giannitrapani: The making of sacred and funerary landscapes in  
central Sicily between the 6th and the 1st millennium BC**

Figure 1. A: map of Sicily showing the position of the Erei uplands B: chronological distribution of the prehistoric sites .....	372
Figure 2. Landscapes of the Erei. A) Pietraperzia, southern Erei B) The Morello river valley, central Erei C) Lago di Pergusa .....	373
Figure 3. The Neolithic paintings at Riparo Cassataro .....	375
Figure 4. Funerary architecture in the prehistory of the Erei .....	377

Figure 5. Riparo di Contrada San Tommaso .....	380
--	-----

**N. Di Carlo: Sepolture femminili e infantili nella  
necropoli di Sabucina (Caltanissetta)**

Figure 1. Sabucina. Tomba 127 .....	384
Figure 2. Necropoli Sud, Tomba a camera 1 .....	385
Figure 3. Corredo dalla Tomba 150 .....	385

**P. Militello et al.: Calicantone:  
A funerary landscape in Sicily**

Figure 1. Calicantone: the necropolis .....	389
Figure 2. Calicantone: The hut. First phase, second phase.....	390
Figure 3. Calicantone: distribution pattern of findings inside the hut .....	391
Figure 4. Histogram comparing findings' quantity and typologies in the coeval Castelluccio culture sites.....	392
Figure 5. Modern cemeteries. a) Cincinnati (Ohio); b) Kamilari (Crete) c) Palazzolo Acreide (Sicily) .....	393

**Prehistory**

**N. Volante and L. Sarti: Caves and shelters in the Uccellina Mountains (Alberese – Grosseto) –  
Funerary practices and rituals during the Bronze and Copper Ages at Grotta dello Scoglietto  
and Buca di Spaccasasso**

Figure 1. A) The entrance of Scoglietto Cave; B) The old trench along the left wall of the cave .....	401
Figure 2. A) Scoglietto Cave atrium stratigraphy; B) Scoglietto Cave new stratigraphy in the inner part of the cave .....	402
Figure 3. A) The well visible Spaccasasso Hill; B) Spaccasasso: the mining plateau with the white rock face and the shaft.....	403
Figure 4. Spaccasasso: the rectangular burial 'chamber' enclosed by several stones and boulders .....	403
Figure 5. A) Spaccasasso: bones and potsherds of layer 16; B) Layer 69, the small sub-circular structure .....	404

**D. Gulli: Characteristics of the cult and funerary caves  
in the Agrigento territory**

Figure 1. Location of the sites cited in the text: 1) Agrigento; 2) Favara; 3) Palma di Montechiaro; 4) Montallegro.....	411
Figure 2. Favara. Grotta Ticchiara. Plan and Deposition 12 and 14 .....	412
Figure 3. San Giovanni Gemini. Grotta Acqua Acqua Fitusa. Plan and some Neolithic and Copper Age pottery .....	412
Figure 4. Raffadali. Grotta Palombara. Plan and group of vases and an intact painted pitcher within a crevice .....	413
Figure 5. Sciacca. Grotta Kronio. Plan of the caves complex.....	414
Figure 6. Plan of the Bellitti gallery with the position of some the Copper Age ritual depositions.....	415
Figure 7. Plan of the Di Milia gallery with the position of the Copper Age ritual depositions.....	417

**N. Negroni Catacchio et al.: The chamber tombs phenomenon as evidence for the birth  
of a Bronze Age elite: the case of the Roccoia cemetery (Farnese, VT)**

Figure 1. Roccoia cemetery, Farnese (VT). Site localization.....	420
Figure 2. Roccoia, Farnese (VT), cemetery. A: general planimetry .....	421
Figure 3. A- Presence of architectural elements.....	423
Figure 4. Roccoia, Farnese (VT), Cemetery. Materials concerning Tombs 1, 2 and 3 .....	424
Figure 5. Roccoia, Farnese (VT), Necropoli. Materials concerning Tomb 4 .....	426

**R. Poggiani Keller: Copper Age ancestral sanctuaries  
and landscapes in Valle Camonica**

Figure 1A. Distribution map of engraved stelai and blocks in north Italy.....	433
Figure 1B. Map of Valle Camonica and Valtellina showing Copper Age megalithic sanctuaries .....	433
Figure 2. Ossimo – Pat. Plan showing position of the Copper Age sanctuary .....	435
Figure 3. Ossimo – Pat. (A) The 'female' offerings placed in cenotaph-mound A.....	436
Figure 4. (A) A stone plaque with depiction of a single 'orante' from the foundation level of the sanctuary.....	437
Figure 5. Cemmo. (A) Artist's reconstruction of the megalithic sanctuary .....	439

**F. Radina and M.L. Savino: Grotta Nisco (Cassano delle Murge-Bari), una necropoli dell'età  
del Rame. Lo studio di 'ambiente 1' e 'ambiente 5'**

Figure 1. Grotta Nisco: Rilievo topografico della grotta.....	444
Figure 2. Grotta Nisco: Ingresso della cavità, veduta dal vestibolo .....	444
Figure 3. Grotta Nisco: Ambiente 1/nicchia A .....	445
Figure 4. Grotta Nisco: Corredi funerari in associazione con le sepolture rinvenute nell' Ambiente 1/nicchia A .....	446
Figure 5. Grotta Nisco: corredo funerario rinvenuto nell'Ambiente 5 .....	447

**D. Tanasi: Discovering Sofia: semi-digital forensic facial reconstruction  
of a woman from Copper Age Sicily**

Figure 1. Forensic facial reconstruction of Thea.....	449
Figure 2. CT scanning and digital photogrammetry of the skull of Sofia .....	449
Figure 3. Technical reconstruction of the missing mandible, side .....	451
Figure 4. Model of Sofia at the end of the technical phase, front .....	451
Figure 5. Forensic facial reconstruction of Sofia, final model .....	452



## Roman Italy

### M. Owen: False-Doors in Domestic Roman Architecture

Figure 1. Villa P. Fannius Synistor, Boscoreale, <i>triclinium</i> , west wall .....	458
Figure 2. Villa dei Misteri, Pompeii, <i>cubiculum</i> (bedroom 16) .....	460
Figure 3. Villa di Poppea, Oplontis, <i>atrium</i> , ivory and tortoiseshell <i>false-door</i> with victories in the upper section .....	461
Figure 4. Villa di Poppea, Oplontis, wall-painting depicting an open gate leading to a sanctuary dedicated to Apollo .....	461
Figure 5. Villa di P. Fannius Synistor, Boscoreale, <i>cubiculum</i> (bedroom M), <i>temenos</i> sanctuary containing a <i>tholos</i> shrine .....	462

### C. Rossi and I. Marini: Cremation structures and funerary dynamics in Roman Veneto. New perspectives from Padua/Patavium

Figure 1. Padua – vicolo Pastori. Plan of the site .....	468
Figure 2. Padua – vicolo Pastori. a: Tb. 130; b: Tb. 130, inside the urn; c: Tb. 85 .....	469
Figure 3. Padua – vicolo Pastori. a: Tb. 70; b: Tb. 68.....	471
Figure 4. Padua – vicolo Pastori. a: Tb. 10; b: Tb. 124 .....	472
Figure 5. Padua – vicolo Pastori. Weight analysis of human remains .....	473

### A.L. Fischetti: The Via Castrimeniense: one of the most ancient routes between the Alban Hills and Rome

Figure 1. Municipality of Ciampino.....	479
Figure 2. The site of Marcandreola.....	480
Figure 3. The excavations at Via Romana vecchia, (Ciampino) .....	481

### S. Bertoldi et al.: Approaching Roman Secondary Settlements in Italy: Diachronic Trends, Spatial Relationships and Economic Roles

Figure 1. Distribution map with the sample of 219 sites used for the spatial and statistical analyses .....	484
Figure 2. A. Frequency histogram with the secondary settlements' centuries of life .....	486
Figure 3. Buffer zones of 1 km around rivers, cities, coastlines, and roads.....	487
Figure 4. Red engobe ware trade network: Torraccia di Chiusi, Siena, Santa Cristina .....	489
Figure 5. The 'Ombrone System' (GIS view): Salebrum – Castiglione della Pescaia, Spolverino – Alberese, Roselle, Pietratonda ...	491

### L. Desibio and P.M. Barone: The discovery of the Roman rural settlement of 'Podere San Lorenzo' in Montecastrilli (Terni-Italy)

Figure 1. I.G.M. 1:250,000, the Roman road system between Tudur and Carsulae .....	495
Figure 2. The area where have been discovered archaeological material belong to a rural building.....	498
Figure 3. Partial result of the GPR analysis on the area undergone to a field-walking survey .....	499
Figure 4. (A) Terra sigillata plate base with graffito 'H'; (B) Marble mortarium; (C) African cooking ware, Apodal saucepan ....	500
Figure 5. (A) Coin of Costantius Clorus; (B) Brooch Alesia type; (C) Green glass; (D) Fragment of decorated glass.....	501

## Post Antique

### A. Pergola: Special deposition in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus in Rome. New data on the funerary use of catacombs between the eighth and the ninth centuries

Figure 1. Area I.....	508
Figure 2. Orpheus cubicle .....	508
Figure 3. Section of the Orpheus cubicle with the T-shaped well.....	509
Figure 4. Orpheus cubicle, tombs on the floor .....	510
Figure 5. Orpheus cubicle, with the special deposition S3 .....	511

### F. Codromaz: Ethnic identity, material culture and social development of the Langobards: some examples

Figure 1. Longobard Italy, around VII century .....	518
---	-----

### L. Vitale: Gli spazi degli esclusi. Sepolture isolate d'infanti nell'Italia tardo-antica: il contributo della ricerca archeologica

Figure 1 Contesti analizzati .....	524
Figure 2. Campione analizzato: percentuali delle classi d'età.....	524
Figure 3. Edifici in uso: dettaglio del numero e della posizione occupata dagli infanti in rapporto alle strutture .....	525
Figure 4. Edifici defunzionalizzati legati all'acqua: dettaglio del numero e della posizione occupata dagli infanti .....	527
Figure 5. Rapporto età/tipologia tombale .....	529

### R. Fusco: Putridaria (strainer rooms) and draining practices of the bodies. Anthropology of death in the modern age

Figure 1. Vigevano, Church of S. Pietro Martire, sitting colatoio.....	533
Figure 2. Map with the location of the funeral crypts. ....	534
Figure 3. Milano, Church of S. Bernardino alle Ossa, funeral crypt with sitting colatoi. ....	535
Figure 4. Milano, Church of S. Primo, sitting colatoio. ....	537

## New Methods and Technologies

### *A. Pace and D. Bursich: 3D modeling and Attic pottery.*

#### **A new approach to an 'old' question**

Figure 1. a) Necropoleis of Gela; b) The same areas from aerial photo .....	544
Figure 2. a) Items from burial 22 of Predio Lauricella; b) Items from burial 48 of Predio Lauricella .....	545
Figure 3. a) Photos alignment; b) Dense cloud; c) Mesh; d) Texture .....	548
Figure 4. a) Krater (SR 19846) published on CVA of Syracuse; b) The figurate frieze from the same object.....	550
Figure 5. The figurate frieze of the lekythos SR 19882.....	550

### *U. Rajala et al.: The Stockholm Volterra Project: exploring a cityscape in an urban context*

Figure 1. Volterra in Tuscany .....	554
Figure 2. The GPR survey areas in 2014 and 2015 .....	556
Figure 3. Interpretation of the rectangular structure in front of the Church of San Giusto at the depth 0.305 m.....	557
Figure 4. The amphitheatre oval at the depth of 1.31-1.40 m.....	558
Figure 5. The structures at Ortino at the depth of 0.91-1.1 m .....	559

### *C. Soria: GIS applications in the valorisation of the cultural heritage: the case of Campovalano (Central Italy, TE) and its territory*

Figure 1. Campovalano (TE): the necropolis .....	564
Figure 2. Campovalano (TE): the church of S. Pietro .....	565
Figure 3. Road network and density map.....	566
Figure 4. Roiano di Campli (TE): S. Maria ad Venales .....	567
Figure 5. Settlements and bus-stop density map.....	567

### *I.B. Gil et al.: Funerary landscapes and the archaeology of war in the Cuneo valleys. GIS and interdisciplinarity: toward new frontiers of research*

Figure 1. The valleys in the province of Cuneo: Valle Maira, Valle Varaita and Valle Po. The geographic limits of Piedmont ....	571
Figure 2. The ruins of an ancient building used during the partisan resistance (Coumba, Venasca) .....	572
Figure 3. The centre of Piasco. The delineation of the principal roads and the buildings through the maps.....	573
Figure 4. The municipality of Piasco (Cuneo).....	574

### *G. Pizziolo and N. Volante: GIS and visual analysis of a Copper Age funerary site: intra-site perspectives at 'Poggio di Spaccasasso' (Grosseto, Italy)*

Figure 1. Spaccasasso site: the ossuary fence (bottom left) and cave (bottom right) located on the limestone rock face.....	577
Figure 2. Thematic map of SU 14: the database which describes archaeological characteristics of artefacts sorted by classes ....	580
Figure 3. Thematic map of SU 14: the distribution of fragments of skull and teeth .....	580
Figure 4. A) A 3D scenario: SU 69 and virtual stones which delimit the ossuary enclosure B) A 3D scenario: SU 26 and SU33....	581
Figure 5. A 3D perspective of the stratigraphic sequence of SU 69, 26, 33, 14 and its relationship with the ossuary enclosure ....	582

### *A. Carroll: A Sign of the Times: Updating the Outdoor Wayside Panels of Tarquinia*

Figure 1. Wayside signage at Tarquinia .....	587
--	-----

### *D. Tanasi et al.: Chemical characterization of EBA/MBA pottery from Ognina (Sicily).*

#### **A comparison of XRF and pXRF for analysis of ancient pottery**

Figure 1. Plan of the islet of Ognina .....	592
Figure 2. Prehistoric pottery classes from Ognina: Stentinello, Castelluccio, Thapsos, Thermi Ware and Borġ in-Nadur ware ....	593
Figure 3. The Bruker Tracer III-SD portable X-ray fluorescence spectrometer (pXRF) analyzing a ceramic sherd .....	594
Figure 4. Bivariate scatterplots of principal components scores for all Maltese and Sicilian ceramic and clay samples .....	595
Figure 5. Discriminating triangular diagram of Zr, Rb, and La for all Maltese ceramic and clay samples from Borġ in-Nadur ...	596

### *A.M. Gennaro: The socio-political dimension of archaeology: some reflections on the Italian path*

Figure 1. Brochure with the images of Alaric and Himmler presented at BIT 2015 in Milan .....	601
Figure 2. Video posted by Mauro Pilo on Facebook.....	602
Figure 3. The new Sicilian parliament's symbol .....	603

## 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 at 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'Connor, 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 to 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.

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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

Lucy Shipley

## 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 incorpori 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 theoretic ally 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 Etá 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; Cuzzo 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 unmistakable. 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 Theopompus 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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