

Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World



52

**AIAC-Round Table Discussion. Diversity in the Past, Diversity in the Present?
Issues of Gender, Whiteness, and Class in ‘Classical’ Archaeology.**

Panel 12.10

Eva Mol
Lisa Lodwick (Eds.)

**Proceedings of the
19th International Congress of Classical Archaeology**

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Cologne/Bonn, 22 – 26 May 2018

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Edited by

Martin Bentz and Michael Heinzelmann

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PREFACE

On behalf of the 'Associazione Internazionale di Archaeologica Classica (AIAC)' the 19th International Congress for Classical Archaeology took place in Cologne and Bonn from 22 to 26 May 2018. It was jointly organized by the two Archaeological Institutes of the Universities of Cologne and Bonn, and the primary theme of the congress was 'Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World'. In fact, economic aspects permeate all areas of public and private life in ancient societies, whether in urban development, religion, art, housing, or in death.

Research on ancient economies has long played a significant role in ancient history. Increasingly in the last decades, awareness has grown in archaeology that the material culture of ancient societies offers excellent opportunities for studying the structure, performance, and dynamics of ancient economic systems and economic processes. Therefore, the main objective of this congress was to understand economy as a central element of classical societies and to analyze its interaction with ecological, political, social, religious, and cultural factors. The theme of the congress was addressed to all disciplines that deal with the Greco-Roman civilization and their neighbouring cultures from the Aegean Bronze Age to the end of Late Antiquity.

The participation of more than 1.200 scholars from more than 40 countries demonstrates the great response to the topic of the congress. Altogether, more than 900 papers in 128 panels were presented, as were more than 110 posters. The publication of the congress is in two stages: larger panels are initially presented as independent volumes, such as this publication. Finally, at the end of the editing process, all contributions will be published in a joint conference volume.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank all participants and helpers of the congress who made it such a great success. Its realization would not have been possible without the generous support of many institutions, whom we would like to thank once again: the Universities of Bonn and Cologne, the Archaeological Society of Cologne, the Archaeology Foundation of Cologne, the Gerda Henkel Foundation, the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, the Sal. Oppenheim Foundation, the German Research Foundation (DFG), the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the Romano-Germanic Museum Cologne and the LVR-LandesMuseum Bonn. Finally, our thanks go to all colleagues and panel organizers who were involved in the editing and printing process.

Bonn/Cologne, in August 2019

Martin Bentz & Michael Heinzelmann

Diversity in the Past, Diversity in the Present? Issues of Gender, Whiteness, and Class in Classical Archaeology

Eva Mol

“Of the many rights and privileges fought for and won by women in the last century, the right of learning the ancient languages has received the least attention from social historians. Yet the struggle was, though unspectacular, one of the most significant of them all. For the ancient languages provided a kind of intellectual proving ground, in which women were able to show themselves worthy of a university education.”

Introduction

In this short piece I will introduce and summarize the AIAC-session organized by Lisa Lodwick and myself on diversity, and try to address and contextualize some specific issues, which the discipline of Greek and Roman archaeology currently faces. The quote above, perhaps nowadays deemed as an example of mansplaining but quite groundbreaking for its time, is derived from an article published in *The Classical Journal* 1944 by Frank Pierce Jones who wrote about the role of the Classics in the emancipation of women.¹ As an introduction to this contribution it serves well to illustrate how we have moved forward since, how far back the discussion goes and how intertwined Classics and gender are, but also to point out how specific problems of class, gender, privilege, and academia are intersected, implicit, and inherent features of the study of the ancient world. As the quote explains, by being allowed to learn ancient languages, women could elevate and emancipate themselves, for knowing Greek and Latin is a privilege that belongs to the educated (elite). Regretfully, fast forward to 2018, it seems we have been unable to ‘emancipate’ the study of the ancient world itself. Women and other historically marginalized groups gained access to Classical Archaeology below a glass ceiling, as we never shed the inherited historical class-gap, colonial ties, gender imbalance and a lack of diversity that existed from the birth of the field. These issues and the absence of explicit decolonization of the discipline affects the field in all its forms: teaching, research, conferences, publication. I fear that a continued lack of self-consciousness on issues of class, race, and gender and the long legacy of exclusion inherent to the Classics, will eventually make the field of study I love so much redundant, while it has so much potential to make a difference.

In the context of these persisting issues, it is not hard to imagine how worrying it was for many to see an all-male keynote panel appear at AIAC, and how badly it reflected on the discipline that already suffers so much from the stigma of being predominantly male and white. Putting forward an all-male panel very much sustained the idea of Classical

Archaeology as a conservative ivory tower of privilege, something which will make it difficult to attract engaged and diverse students who would be able to change it. Even worse, the privilege of the white male that resonated from the panel finds reflection with an increasing number of far right, white supremacist, and antifeminist movements that are using a narrow view on ancient history as justification for their ideas.² In the five years that have passed since the last AIAC a lot has happened, both in the world outside and in the scientific community. The worlds having moved closer together due to the changing political climate and a growth in awareness of inclusiveness on multiple levels in academia and beyond. Also, the resistance of the denomination 'Classical' became louder again, as we witnessed the already mentioned increase and highly problematic misuse of the past amplified by social media. The pro-activeness and care witnessed in the wider community of Greek and Roman archaeology after the all-male panel however, gives cause for hope. The panel was a lamentable incident, but it was able to bring forward a large group of engaged scholars that want to actively change notions of class, whiteness, and gender and dismantle the excesses of alt-right appropriation. Online and during the session, a feeling of empowerment prevailed. If we could change a keynote panel together, if we could organize a constructive dialogue, we can also take this next step together towards a more self-reflexive, diverse, and inclusive future for Greco-Roman archaeology. Changing the discipline to an inclusive field of study means an investment of energy, a radical rethinking of this profession, and accepting different units of analysis and different ontologies outside the western tradition: these all start with more awareness of existing implicit biases and it ends with rooting out its central problems. The curse of the canon is strong, and requires that we cannot just passively watch it unfold: it is time to act.

Initiative

After unprecedented online commotion, an extra session was added to the AIAC 2018 conference, a new session but not at all a novel subject: diversity issues in Classical Archaeology.³ The concerns of all-male keynote panel combined with a scientific committee consisting solely of tenured and emeritus male professors were voiced abundantly and stridently on Twitter, Facebook or by emails directed to the organization in Bonn/Cologne.⁴ Both the widely shared collective anger, the reactions within the community, and the immediate response of the organizing committee in Bonn/Cologne to fix the gender imbalance in the keynotes and help organize the session, showed readiness and was cause for optimism. The gender imbalance at the keynote was illustrative of a field that has to come to terms with much more than a gender issue, but with a structural problem in the discipline. Lisa Lodwick and I therefore wanted to organize this session not only to address gender imbalance, but to take it as an opportunity to constructively reflect and confront ourselves with pressing current and

persistent issues. I think the session proved to be successful in this confrontation on multiple levels, but before moving towards this I first want to personally reflect on the context of the problem, how Classical Archaeology sets itself apart from other disciplines such as Prehistory, Anthropology or Classics and how that affects the approach towards solutions.

Diversity in the Past, Diversity in the Present?

Classical archaeology needs a different approach independent from Classics and from Archaeology in general on both a practical and ideological level. Classical Archaeology takes on board the problems of both fields, but has no explicit tailor-made structure or platform to address these issues or accommodate solutions. All fields mentioned suffer from pervasive Eurocentric and colonial biases of western traditional scholarship. From Classics the discipline moreover inherited the already mentioned elitist frame based on the idea of the Greco-Roman past as the roots of “Western civilization” excluding people from less privileged backgrounds.⁵ From archaeology it inherited further colonial problems of fieldwork and the ownership of the material remains of the past.⁶ The consequences of Classical Archaeology falling in between these two fields meant that all the attempts that have been made to make the discipline more progressive happened in the margins, not in the core of the field. Discussions on equity and diversity are being held at different venues and Classical Archaeology seems to fall right in between the cracks. Practically therefore, Greco-Roman archaeology is in imminent need of space to explicitly address its own issues in addition to other movements and initiatives in Anthropological Archaeology and in Classics.⁷ Another consequence is that there is a general lack of studies that incorporate theoretical feminist critique in Classical Archaeology when compared to other fields such as Classics, Ancient History and Anthropological Archaeology.⁸ Feminist, queer, and indigenous archaeological theories are of vital importance not just to highlight diverse gendered spaces or practices in antiquity, they are important because they are able to help us move away from the western dominant view of the past, and to better understand ideologies and identities of ancient Rome and Greece.⁹ It should therefore become structurally implemented into a decolonial scholarship of Greco-Roman archaeology.¹⁰ Besides this, rethinking scholarship through these critical theories had another effect that seems currently lacking in Classical Archaeology, the consequences whereof were witnessed at AIAC. Engaging with such theories in other fields helped turn the gaze inward with as Bardolph says: “toward self-reflection about how gender bias and a lack of diversity have affected the work that archaeologists produce.”¹¹

Classical archaeology deals with a legacy that we have not only failed to eliminate, we have not even reflected on it properly yet. Whereas the more self-reflective and

therefore increasingly progressive approach within the field of Classics (although it has a long way to go) has had an impact on its diversity in terms of gender, race, and class representation, falling between the cracks means that Classical archaeology (perhaps with the exception of the subfields of Mediterranean landscape archaeology) runs behind at self-reflexive postcolonial efforts to the discipline.¹² Although postcolonial approaches are not lacking, they are mainly aimed at how to better interpret the past taking into account indigenous perspectives and agencies, and rarely at how to decolonize the practice of archaeology itself. And in this context there is some irony to be found discussing archaeology's role in the broader field of Greek and Roman history and matters of diversity. For decades, a very significant part of the discipline was focused on finding diversity in the past: archaeology as an independent field of study has in a sense been founded on this very idea. It set out to counter history and the classic narratives: archaeology claimed to go beyond the 'big white men' and add the voiceless, the invisible people without history: the women and children, the poor, the slaves, the rural, the non-Romans and non-Greeks to the complexity of the past. Did we go far enough with this premise? With the current increasing appropriations of white supremacist groups archaeology has to push further than just academia to show the different sides and complexity of the past. We have to constantly oppose these misappropriations of the past; and in this age with an increasing influence by social media we have to raise our voices more loudly than ever. We might not have directly nurtured the ideas, but we need to reflect, as the Classics and Social Justice Group put it: on "how we ourselves have presented the field so as to render such (mis)appropriations possible" and we need to discuss what we can do about it.¹³ Archaeology is well equipped to respond and show that what these groups adopted is far removed from how the people in the 'Classical' world lived like and looked like. That it was more multicultural, multilingual and multiracial. To give nuance to current alt-right constructs of minorities or slavery in antiquity, those people that archaeology set out to give a 'voice' need to be heard louder and a critical position and understanding of the dark side of classical antiquity should resonate in- and outside the conference and class rooms.

Postcolonial critique in archaeology that tried to bring the diversity of the ancient past into the foreground did not make the discipline itself a more diverse place. Subtle and less subtle forms of sexism, gender, class and racial inequality impacts both the daily-lived experience of students and scholars and the chances of a successful career and future. We see that still today, as people try to move forward in the field, archaeology becomes increasingly narrowly white and male. Sexual harassment still occurs on a wide scale as well, both in the field as well as at the university.¹⁴ The session's contributions and its discussion addressed a problem that is systemic and affects our whole field and how it is perceived by others, and this in turn affects significantly the future relevance of it. And we need to solve this together, not just women or groups in any way considered a minority. We have

inherited an unequal system, but even if we are not to blame for creating it, by not caring and changing it we are maintaining it, perpetuating it, and for this I believe we are all responsible.

The Session

This brings us to the session, which was successful in terms of the turnout and attended by a diverse international group of scholars, included valuable contributions and a lively and constructive debate. The opening by organizers Lisa Lodwick and myself consisted of the presentation of an introduction and a statistical analysis provided by Lisa that grounded the discussion on the gender gap in AIAC and other conferences as well as in matters of publication in Greco-Roman archaeology. Birgitta Hoffmann gave a detailed personal insight in existing gender imbalances in Roman army studies. Ingrid Berg provided a powerful statement on inequity in Swedish archaeology and how archaeology functioned as a culturally situated practice, imbued with 19th century values on race, gender and class (one man left the room after she addressed sexual abuse and power). Naoise Mac Sweeney situated the debate within in current academic and political rhetoric and made a valuable analysis of the contexts of different issues and their subsequent implications for gender and racial diversity in the discipline. Matthew Mandich discussed issues of whiteness in teaching Classical archaeology and the initiative he took with 'International Society for Archaeology, Art and Architecture of Rome' to actively increase diversity in archaeological fieldwork.

The discussion that followed had to bring together an international group of scholars from different backgrounds, experiences and with different viewpoints, making it a challenging yet open and powerful debate. The proof that it does matter to be present in sessions like these at large international conferences are the several people who approached us afterwards stating that they never experienced a meeting like this before and felt really empowered by it. Some session attendees, mainly derived from American universities or junior scholars, were quite experienced in talking, thinking about, and taking care of matters of social injustice. Other people were less aware of the issues due to their background and position, but no one was unwilling to listen and it was great to have gathered a diverse crowd. We did not just 'preach to the converted'. With such a diverse group the main point of the discussion was about the existence of the unconscious biases marked by racial, gender and economic inequality and how to generate broader awareness of these. Particular issues that were addressed within this context were manifold: problems of gender and harassment, exclusion from fieldwork because people were women, disabled, or even vegetarians, and the increasing gender gap when one moves up in a career. The overwhelming whiteness of the discipline and the issue of intersectionality were

addressed very cogently by a female panel member of color who recalled that as a Classical archaeologist she is almost always the only black person at international conferences in Classical Archaeology. Race, class, and gender are overlapping social classifications and how intersectionality causes particular disadvantages within the field should be more strongly addressed.¹⁵

Afterthoughts: from Diversity to Social Justice

In relation to the AIAC- conference I think I want to stipulate after summarizing the discussion that diversity is *not* the solution – the field needs to diversify, but this is only the first step: inclusion, decolonization, equity, and social justice is the solution. It is incredibly easy to install diversity. Change at least half of the scientific committee of the AIAC into female scholars, non-white scholars, scholars from a non-western background and early career scholars. This will significantly change the way this conference will run in the future. A bottom-up minor change that will allow multiple views on how an international conference on Classical archaeology should move forward. However as I said, making the AIAC-committee a more diverse body of people is just one very tiny easy step. Inclusivity, intersectionality and social justice are about how to allow unjustifiably marginalized and excluded people in this community to structurally become part of it. That means much more than a seat on a committee or addressing a keynote lecture. It stretches far beyond the organization of a conference but includes changing the culture in which research and teaching develops: it does not help to add women, LGBT-people, African Americans, Hispanic, Asian or Southern Europeans to a committee when the field itself does not rule out inequity. Inclusive means that people do not feel marginalized: it means they do not think that Classical archaeology is not for “them” because they are Asian or Black or Muslim, that people do not think they cannot do archaeology because they have a physical disability: inclusive and social justice means that young scholars do not have to skip important conferences because they have babies at home. Eliminating inequity, enabling egalitarian relationships, promoting inclusiveness and establishing environments that are supportive of all people who want to engage with the past should be the ultimate goal. And this is vital for all of us because with more inclusion the field will significantly improve to a more critical, more rigorous, more creative, and more complex study of the past.¹⁶

No one needs to be convinced about how great our profession can be. How passionate we carry it out on the good days. That the data we collect and analyze and the knowledge we reflect upon is worthwhile. The ‘Classical’ in archaeology refers directly to the root of the problem of exclusion and the colonial heritage of the discipline. The term as a form of critical historical scholarship and reception study can teach us a valuable lessons on how pasts can be reconstructed, adopted, re-appropriated, and abused and warns us

to be mindful about its ideological usage. But what makes Mediterranean archaeology important as a term to actually use is that it is not classical. Greek and Roman cultures do not reflect the whitewashed, elite, male society that Winckelmann created and nationalists perpetuated ever since, and we should make it our joint effort to oppose this: in our classrooms, research projects, conferences, and in public outreach. To attract people with different views on the past to make this discipline valuable, relevant and innovative. The deeply imperialist roots and Eurocentric canon are maintained if we do not consciously change. We cannot solve this today or tomorrow, but we can also not consider the debate ended or the problem dealt with after a session at AIAC.

One evening during the conference, more than a thousand AIAC-participants were brought together in the cathedral of Cologne that through its space and music created a short but powerful moment of communion. The architectural construction, so it was told before the organs started to play, lasted from 1248 to 1473 and was combined with a philosophy no longer present in modern society: that its creation was not meant for this-, but for the next generation. What was also mentioned during that brief talk was that the construction of the Cathedral was never finished and remains work in progress in need of continuous care and attention. Like the Cologne cathedral the issues raised here are a constant work in progress through the spirit of communion, but unlike a gothic cathedral, we need to do this both for this generation and for the next.

Towards the Future: AIAC 2023 Goals

The session organizers Lisa Lodwick and myself and all the participants that were present and contributed to the discussion hope that this session will be the first of a returning debate at AIAC and beyond on how we can decolonize the discipline, how we can become more inclusive and progressive in the 21st century and how by this, we will be able not only to remain relevant but become significant. As the AIAC is a five-year international conference drawing people from all over the world studying the Greco-Roman past, this session can serve as a perfect benchmark to critically observe progress made in the field. As AIAC is the self-proclaimed 'most important platform of exchange for all disciplines that deal with Greco-Roman civilizations', we want to collaborate to set a precedent for a more self-conscious and progressive discipline in a continuous debate.¹⁷ The issues and the step towards solutions on a variety of topics that were discussed during the session would make sense in an ongoing debate, and we were pleased that the AIAC-organizing committee was positive about facilitating this. We call into life hereby, the platform of '**Non-Classical Archaeologists**'. We welcome critical contributions and solutions. We want everyone to feel responsible for this, out of respect, affect and out of love for a profession that will lose all its significance if it does not change. And we were with 1235 people at AIAC, small enough to act and large enough to make a substantial difference.

The Platform of Non-Classical Archaeologists Initial Aims

- Provide a broader forum for the discussion of the multifaceted dimensions of social injustice that exists in the discipline of Greek and Roman Archaeology and create a network of engaged scholars
- Change of the scientific committee of AIAC to an equal amount of male, female and non-binary scholars, non-western scholars and young career scholars and ensure a mixed diversity of speakers across all academic panels and the keynotes
- Create awareness of the multiple existing biases in the discipline and discuss ways to disseminate awareness and discuss ways to solve them
- Find creative and collaborative solutions to foster involvement, inclusivity, and equity in the discipline in both fieldwork, teaching, publication, outreach, hiring, conferences, graduate programs, and grants for people from historically marginalized groups intrinsically excluded by the discipline based on their gender, age, race, sexual orientation, nationality, education and mental or physical ability.
- Raise issues of gender-, race-, and class based-harassment, discrimination and power abuse in Greek and Roman archaeological fieldwork and academia and support the groups that do already do this.
- Use the network to guard a 'best practices' approach to make sure all conferences in Greek and Roman archaeology are inclusive events.
- Encourage and support public outreach by scholars addressing and battling the current issues of using the ancient world for white supremacist, far right or antifeminist rhetoric.
- Ally with currently existing groups related to the field of Greek and Roman Archaeology that already started initiatives to decolonize the discipline such as for instance COSWA, The Black Trowel Collective, the Women's Classical Committee and the Classic and Social Justice groups.
- Encourage initiatives in reforming a curriculum and reading in the teaching of Greco-Roman Archaeology.

Notes

¹ Jones 1944, 326.

² In terms of Manopsheres, see Zuckenberg 2018.

³ Besides facebook and twitter, open letters were published by Mol 2018 and Raja 2018.

⁴ Website AIAC ><http://www.aiac2018.de/><.

⁵ See Quinn 2017.

⁶ See for instance Panich 2013. Discussion on colonialism and postcolonial critique are present in Greco-Roman archaeology. See Van Dommelen 1997, 305–23. Fieldwork related concerns that are discussed for archaeology and anthropological archaeology but rarely addressed specifically for Classical Archaeology

are raised for instance by Gero 1994; Surface-Evans – Jackson 2012; Monroe et al. 2008, 215–233 or Tomášková 2007, 264–280. An exception to this is Scott 1998.

⁷ The SCS has a Classics and social justice group, the SAA see Rizvi 2008, Looking Forward, Looking Back: A Special Issue from the Committee on the Status of Women in Archaeology (COSWA), SAA record September 20018, 6 f.

⁸ As Cullen argues in her review on the contribution of feminism in Archaeology that the focus of most is anthropological archaeology, and the majority of authors would identify themselves as anthropologists. Contributors to *Women in Ancient Societies* include social and legal historians, classicists, art historians, and philosophers, with one paper by a classical archaeologist. Cullen 1996, 409.

⁹ As argued by Barnett. Barnett 2012, 22. For examples of important archaeological works concerning feminist or indigenous critique of scholarship and archaeology see for instance Battle-Baptiste 2011, Smith 2005.

¹⁰ See note 12 for a brief overview of decolonization within disciplinary practices.

¹¹ Bardolph 2014, 522.

¹² Post-colonial archaeology in this respect is most prevalent in Mediterranean Landscape studies, as well as in the limes research tradition within the archaeology of Roman Britain or North Africa for instance. See for instance Hingley, Bonacchi and Sharpe 2018, 283–302 for Roman Britain, and the aforementioned publication of Van Dommelen 1994 for postcolonial Mediterranean archaeology. In Classics again, more self-reflexive work has been undertaken on decolonizing the discipline itself, see for instance Vasunia's forthcoming book on *Empire without End: Postcolonialism and the Ancient World* (2019) within the New directions in Classics Series. The most self-reflective, explicit and widespread attempts of decolonization however in this respect are derived from the field of Anthropological Archaeology. Such approaches are aimed both at social dimensions of practicing fieldwork and scholarly interpretation within indigenous archaeology and heritage, as well as (turned inwards) criticizing inequities inherent in colonial practices in the field and discipline itself. For an overview see Bruchac 2014; Atalay 2006; Warburton 2002 or Rizvi 2016 (amongst others).

¹³ Classics and Social Justice group statement see ><https://classicsocialjustice.wordpress.com/home/><

¹⁴ See EAA Barcelona session on sexual harassment, Tromso session on #metoo. Blouin 2017, on why the glass ceiling is white.

¹⁵ The absence of this discussion is mainly due to the problematic homogenous racial make-up of the field. For intersectionality in academia see Gutiérrez y Muhs et al. 2012.

¹⁶ Wylie 2010, 241.

¹⁷ See AIAC Website ><http://www.aiac2018.de/><

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Legacies of Inequality – Learning from Critical Histories of Archaeology

Ingrid Berg

“Make the woman equal to the man even in this sphere, i.e. give her access to all possibilities which lie open to the man, let her without restrictions and unconditionally taste the fruits of the tree of knowledge for good and for worse – and the modern culture shall be stuck in a swamp, yes, without the powerful intervention of God, it will drown in a pool of mud, at which the thought shudders. I have seen the faces of female emancipation, the American women, up close, and I shuddered. If you ever need an assistant professor in the future, you can, after I have published some more, give me a push.”¹

The quote above is taken from a letter sent by Lennart Kjellberg (1857–1936), a PhD in classical languages at Uppsala University, Sweden, in March of 1893. The letter was addressed to Johannes Paulson (1855–1918), professor of Greek at Gothenburg College (later Gothenburg University). Kjellberg had defended his thesis a couple of years before and was now searching for a position. In 1894, he would conduct the first Swedish-led excavations in Greece, in the sanctuary of Poseidon on the island of Kalaureia (Poros), together with Sam Wide (1861–1918). In 1918, he became the second person to occupy the professorial chair at the newly established Department of Classical Archaeology at Uppsala University. Lennart Kjellberg remained a conservative voice throughout his life and his misogynous comment in the letter to Paulson is not an isolated event. For Kjellberg and for many of his contemporaries, the idea of female emancipation – and with it access to academic and professional work – was an upsetting and threatening concept.

Today, few are surprised to discover misogynic statements and exclusionary politics of belonging based on gender in archival material from the late 19th century. Histories of classical archaeology (as well as the histories of other archaeologies) are full of such stories. We are taught as undergraduates to admire the ‘women pioneers’ of the profession, who, despite staggering societal odds managed to influence archaeological knowledge production. The story of the emancipation of women in the history of Classical Studies is winding path, full of national and regional differences and gendered research traditions. In many areas, Sweden included, women who entered archaeology and classical studies found themselves in a hostile environment, where established roles and practices were prone to imperceptible change. Many of these women disappeared from the records once they married. Others remained in the background of male archaeologists, as assistants, wives and/or lovers, contributing a great deal to archaeology but being left out of publications and access to academic positions. A few managed to reach positions of authority, often based on a combination of academic brilliance and clever maneuvering in the existent network.

It is however surprising, to some, to learn about the ramification of such historical structures still being felt in 2018. Despite a number of important contributions on the structural discrimination faced by female archaeologists over the past decades,² the fact that women still experience unequal opportunities seems to leave many in bewilderment or in denial. A lack of concern for equal representation has led to situations where women's contribution to archaeology is ignored. The AIAC keynotes speaker list consisted, at first, of all-male contributions, prompting the panel on diversity in classical studies, of which this paper forms a part. Reports of harassment in fieldwork situations are part of the same structure of inequality. In the fall of 2017, as part of the Swedish #metoo-movement, 387 female and non-binary archaeologists signed a petition to end sexual harassment in archaeology. Anonymous testimonies formed the basis of the petition under the hashtag #utgrävningpågår (#excavationinprogress).³ The testimonies tell of students who have left the profession after being sexually assaulted by supervisors, of charges filed to university boards only to be met by silence and cover-ups, of inappropriate groping and sexist remarks at conferences and other professional settings, of sanctioned blurred lines between appropriate and inappropriate behavior. At the EAA in Barcelona in September 2018, a group of Spanish archaeologists lined the walls of the conference venue with posters displaying disturbing results from a recent survey where 1 in 2 women had experienced harassment on site.⁴ A study of harassment and abuse in scientific field work settings by Kathryn Clancy et al. from 2014, shows that women are more likely to be targeted by senior staff, while in instances of men being harassed the perpetrator was often a fellow student or peer.⁵ The 'romantic' sanctioned stereotype of older, male professors and senior staff members preying on young females has resulted in inappropriate relationships (at times consensual, at times forced and coerced) between supervisors and students. This has created an atmosphere where access to knowledge production, for a lot of young professionals, is intimately wound up with either trying to please superior male figures, or trying to avoid getting in their way, in order to remain in the field.

In order to grasp and analyze the scope of sexual, and other, discriminatory structures in archaeology we need to investigate the intricacies of politics of belonging in academia and in fieldwork. The past of our profession is important here. The following short commentary will concern mainly the binary opposition of female and male archaeologists, while I recognize that sexual orientation, physical and mental ableness, socioeconomic status, and race/ethnicity are important intersections here.⁶

Disciplinary histories have shown how archaeology grew out of, and was shaped by, contemporary power structures and sensibilities. This includes not only the theoretical underpinnings for interpretations of the past, but also the way in which archaeology took shape as a profession with certain praxis, rules and codes for how to behave.⁷ *Politics of belonging* is a useful theoretical tool in order to understand how groups and networks internalize and reward certain behavior and personal characteristics.⁸ By locating an individual's social position and investigating what is required for an

individual to be accepted into the community, i.e. to be entitled to belong, we can start deconstructing the structures holding the community together.

Every aspect of archaeological politics of belonging is impossible to cover in one short article. The following commentary is based on my own work on the history of Swedish archaeology in Greece in the late 19th century, and my work on the production of histories of archaeology in the discipline of Classical Archaeology in Sweden.⁹ Instead of highlighting women, I have in my work focused on male archaeologists (because the main protagonists in my archival material were male) and their gendered politics of belonging. It has been a way for me to understand privilege and power hierarchies in an almost exclusively homosocial arena. By understanding privilege in the politics of belonging, we can then turn our attention to exclusionary practices and the reasons why certain bodies were excluded from the history of archaeology.

One theme that emerges when we look at self-representations among 19th century archaeologists is the *adventurer* stereotype, the basis for popular images of the archaeologist in present-day media.¹⁰ This self-imagery was based on ideals of bourgeois masculinity (stamina, fearlessness, poise and gentlemanly heroism), combined with colonial practices of conquest and discovery.¹¹ In practice, the adventurer thrived on field experiences, and not having to share responsibilities for child rearing and housework enabled him to travel for extensive periods of time. By mediating these experiences in newspaper articles, popular science magazines, and autobiographies, an image of the ideal archaeologist was created that has effects until this day.

The adventurer was combined with the *entrepreneur* and the *professional scholar*. These two tropes share many common features, and are products of the capitalist and industrial societal change of the late 19th century.¹² The entrepreneur put his networking skills to good use in designing and managing projects – tying key individuals to his research and maintaining large networks of friends and financial benefactors. At a time when archaeology, to a large extent, had to be funded by private means, the entrepreneur learned how to mediate and promote his research at the expense of others. As a professional scholar, he was trained in academic warfare from an early age, where cutthroat competition for academic positions and excavation opportunities made enemies out of colleagues. Aligning oneself with the right authoritative figures became crucial for surviving. The military rhetoric here is not an exaggeration. Analogies between military campaign and archaeological fieldwork, and academic settings, are frequent in the histories of archaeological practice.¹³ Attention to details and the study of mass materials required diligence and patience and one's chosen profession was, at times, viewed as a calling, an almost religious sense of duty and expectation. Fulfilling the visions of the Enlightenment combined with a sense of duty towards the nation in creating an appropriate heritage.

An underlining premise for politics of belonging is that individuals tend to group together in homosocial networks where successful individuals seek out like-minded individuals who possess the same character traits. In order to become accepted into

the, rather small, community of archaeologists, it then became essential to possess the qualities mentioned above. These products of 19th century social and cultural norms became standardized as “archaeological” traits and mediated through legitimizing histories of archaeology to new generations of students. Being exposed to representations of disciplinary predecessors means that students are, in the words of archaeologist Anders Gustafsson, ‘acclimatized through a subtle network of implicit norms into his or her role as an archaeologist.’¹⁴ If the story of disciplinary predecessors consists of heroic tales of field work, father figures who almost become untouchable legends in the history of the discipline, and constant gendering of female (but seldom or never of male) role models then students will learn to replicate such behavior. Not representing and mediating political and social premises for individuals to maneuver in academia, we neutralize political actions as “common practice” and so the intricate politics of becoming (and remaining) an archaeologist is hidden.

When women entered the field of archaeology, they were thus confronted by a set of norms and praxis, in which it was extremely hard to navigate. In a working environment where men also competed with each other, women probably became easy targets. In a societal setting where women were sexualized and their rights to bodily integrity depended on the benevolence of male senior staff, fieldwork became arenas of harassment. With a history like this one faced by women in archaeology, no one should be surprised by surveys showing inequality based on gender in 2018.

Returning to the quote at the beginning of this article, it is an interesting example of exaltation of the self in combination with the condemnation of the other in order to get approval from one’s peers. In male-gendered homosocial networks, this type of politics of belonging is detrimental for women who already have an historical baggage to carry. The dismissal of requests for female representation in archaeology as ‘political feminism not based on merits’ shows a lack of understanding of how of academic structures work. Archaeology (and academia in general) has *never* been based on pure merits; neither at the birth of the discipline in the 19th century, nor during the New Archaeology in the 1960s, nor during the post-processual critical turn of the late 20th century.¹⁵ Access to knowledge production is, and has always been, largely dependent on the researcher’s social position. In order to change the premises for archaeological politics of belonging, we need to collectively criticize and re-evaluate our self-imagery and allow a diverse set of bodies and experiences to take place in our field.

It can be a scary process to reevaluate one’s own professional position, and re-think old truths about archaeological praxis. Sometimes it means putting rivalries aside and to begin the process of situating oneself as a political body. But if we do it together, as a body of professionals, we have a real opportunity to create a better, more inclusive and diverse archaeology. A start could be to ensure that professional codes of conduct are explicitly mediated and explained to students and staff and that breeching those codes of conduct has consequences for those individuals responsible. Why this is not done in all archaeological projects is often a question of poor training on behalf of field staff in

inter-personal conflicts and team dynamics. According to Clancy et al, projects tend to value and prioritize the accurate gathering of data over more social aspects of life in the field.¹⁶ Conferences such as AIAC should ensure female representation in scientific committees and keynote panels, and include sessions on gender, fieldwork practice and politics of belonging. Teaching archaeology, we should stop promoting old stereotypes of archaeological behavior, which are based on capitalist and colonial discourses.

We cannot be afraid to deal with these issues that are a reality for many students and junior staff. It is time to take a close look at our working environment. It is time to call out those who abuse their authority, to treat each other with dignity and to recognize that archaeological knowledge production is a collective affair. We need to stop promoting unhealthy authoritarian behavior and we need to stop turning a blind eye to sexually predatory behavior in the field or in the office. We can begin this important work by learning from the history of archaeology – and in turn shape our own legacies into something we can be proud of.

Acknowledgment: I would like to thank all the archaeologists who signed the Swedish petition and all those individuals who shared their stories and experiences under #utgrävningpågår. A special thank you to Petra Aldén Rudd and Annica Ramström for their tireless work. I would also like to thank Lisa Lodwick and Eva Mol for inviting me to the AIAC panel.

Notes

¹ Lennart Kjellberg to Johannes Paulson, March 17, 1893. Letter in Paulson's archive, H127:11, Gothenburg University Library. Cf. Berg 2016, 117–118.

² Gero 1985; Gilchrist 1991; Claasen 1994; Díaz-Andreu – Sørensen 1998; Cohen – Joukowsky 2004; Moser 2007; Pope 2011.

³ The petition was published in Dagens Nyheter, a major Swedish newspaper, on November 30, 2017; see Dagens Nyheter 2017. Petra Aldén Rudd, an archaeologist from Gothenburg and one of the initiators of the petition published a commented response in the same paper; see Aldén Rudd 2017 and 2018.

⁴ I refer here to the session “The Women Dimension in Archaeology: Between Politics and Social Constrains” organized by Laura Matilde Magno and Carmen Ruiz.

⁵ Clancy et al. 2014.

⁶ Blouin 2017.

⁷ Jensen – Jensen 2012.

⁸ Yuval-Davis 2011

⁹ Berg 2016.

¹⁰ Russell 2002; Holtorf 2007; Marwick 2010.

¹¹ Roberts 2012; Berg 2016, 124–130.

¹² Berg 2016, 118–139.

¹³ Evans 2014; Berg 2016, 126.

¹⁴ Gustafsson 2001, 81. My translation from Swedish.

¹⁵ Engelstad 1991; Pope 2011.

¹⁶ Clancy et al. 2014, 1.

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Increasing Diversity in Classical Archaeology: An International Collaboration. Excavations at the Horrea Agrippiana in the Forum Romanum (The Signum Vortumni Project)

Matthew J. Mandich

Classical Archaeology has long lacked the demographic diversity¹ present in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) disciplines despite calls over the last decades to ‘decolonize’ the broader field of Archaeology and create a more reflexive approach that allows marginalized groups to be heard and responded to within the evolving theoretical and practical discourse.² Furthermore, while Classical Archaeology necessarily incorporates the historical study of many diverse regions, peoples, and cultures, it is predominately taught by white male and female scholars – especially in the UK and America. The organization and subsequent publication of excavations undertaken throughout the Mediterranean basin is also frequently carried out by these same lecturers and professors while the students working on such projects are largely homogeneous groups derived from their own departments, or those closely related. Although this issue is fairly obvious to anyone working in the field, it is frequently ignored, since few tangible steps have been taken to deliberately increase demographic diversity in Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, despite the benefits it has been shown to provide in other research-oriented disciplines. As such, the need for new programs designed for this purpose remains, and in this paper I would like to outline the details and results of a new collaborative effort that I orchestrated between two non-profits – College Track and ISAR (The International Society for the Archaeology, Art and Architecture of Rome) – which aims to provide a sustainable, long-term approach to help solve this longstanding problem in the field of Classical Archaeology.

In the summer of 2018 a meaningful first step was taken by College Track and ISAR to increase diversity in Classical Archaeology via a novel international collaboration that saw three College Track students come to Rome, Italy to participate in an archaeological field school with American and Italian students in the Roman Forum. Founded in 1997 by Laurene Powell Jobs and Carlos Watson, College Track is an American non-profit educational youth organization with the mission of empowering students from underserved communities to graduate college by limiting loan debt, helping to secure internships, and limiting the need for students to work while in school.³ Not only does College Track provide the guidance, mentoring, and facilities for underserved, low-income students (often students of color) to graduate high school and attend college, they also continue to provide important academic, financial, and emotional aid to these students throughout their college careers by making a ‘10-year promise’ of support to each student. To date, College Track has

served they were over 2,800 students: 96% of these students have gone on to 4-year colleges and were 2.4 times more likely to graduate college than the national average for low income, first generation students.⁴

Given this influential groundbreaking work, College Track is an ideal partner for The International Society for the Archaeology, Art and Architecture of Rome (ISAR), which is an Italian, non-profit association dedicated to the study, promotion, and preservation of Rome's cultural heritage. ISAR envisions a form of 'cultural tourism' that gives back to the places, on which it thrives and aims to bring its participants into contact with local culture in a way that supports and sustains it, offering a singular opportunity for cultural and social growth.⁵ Founded by Dott.ssa Dora Cirone, Dr Tom Rankin, Dott. Alessio De Cristofaro, and Dott.ssa Marzia Di Mento in 2014, the staff of ISAR is composed of archaeologists, architects, art historians, restorers, and cultural heritage professionals, both Italians and foreigners, most of whom are permanent residents of Rome, Italy. The ISAR staff is dedicated to guiding and encouraging their students by providing hands-on training and detailed resources concerning research avenues and funding options to any participants wishing to investigate these subjects further.

The ultimate goal of this collaboration is to actively increase diversity in the field of Classical Archaeology by creating potential future career paths for young scholars who would otherwise not have any physical contact with the ancient world. By getting more historically marginalized students interested in archaeology at a younger age through hands-on experience, there is hopefully a greater chance that they will pursue such studies at the graduate level, and ultimately continue on to work in academia. To facilitate this goal College Track agreed to fully fund three college students within their program to participate in ISAR's six-week archeological field school by paying their travel costs, accommodation in shared apartments, tuition fees, and weekly stipends. Advertisements were circulated across College Track's 10 sites in California, Colorado, Louisiana, and the Washington D.C. metro area and following an application process three students (two female and one male)⁶ were chosen from the applicant pool to attend this program. Although none of the students had been to Italy (or Europe) before and they each selected different majors that fell outside of Archaeology and Classical Studies (i.e. nursing, biology, sociology), they all shared a strong desire to have contact with the ancient world and to learn more about how the past affects their present lives.

In 2018, ISAR's field school was organized in conjunction with Rice University (Houston, TX) and under the direction of Dott.ssa Dora Cirone (ISAR), Dr John North Hopkins (Rice University)⁷ and Dr Matthew J. Mandich (ISAR) and ran from June 18th to July 27th. In total, thirty American and Italian students participated in this field school from a variety of universities and colleges including Rice University (11), University of Rome Tor Vergata (9), Sapienza University of Rome (4), Swarthmore (2), West Chester University (1), Louisiana State University (1), Mills College (1), and Alameda City College (1). The first week of this six-week program focused on orientation and the history of Rome as students were taken on daily walking tours to key sites and museums around



Fig. 1: Aerial view of Rome (Velabro neighborhood) highlighting the location of the excavation site (in yellow) in respect to the Palatine and Capitoline Hills and the Roman Forum.

the city. The remaining five weeks were dedicated to the excavation of the site and students received multiple lectures and tutorials on the equipment used for excavation, the process of stratigraphic excavation and documentation, the identification and handling of material culture and organic remains, and the photographic and 3D analysis of the site (photogrammetry). Not only did this program allow College Track to continue empowering its students by providing them with powerful new experiences in a foreign country among diverse and dynamic peers and supervisors, it also exposed them to new cultures and environments, allowing them to form relationships with students from different nationalities, backgrounds, and disciplines.

About the Excavation

The remains of the *Horrea Agrippiana* complex, which was a large, multi-story warehouse dating to the time of Augustus (27 BC–14 AD), were first brought to light in the years 1902–1904 and 1911–1912, in the course of excavations on the Palatine Hill directed by Giacomo Boni.⁸ Following those investigations the building was restored several times and was the subject of additional topographical and architectural studies – the most complete being the works of Astolfi, Guidobaldi and Pronti⁹ and Bauer.¹⁰ These detailed studies of the standing remains made it possible to



Fig. 2: 3D overview of the *Horrea Agrippiana* site. Areas excavated in 2018 labeled in red. Vicus Tuscus is labeled in yellow.



Fig. 3: First day of 2018 excavations. Students removing topsoil in corridor Y in front of room K.



Fig. 4: Excavations in corridor Y (foreground) and in rooms M and N (background).

recognize multiple building phases ranging from the Augustan era until at least the 7th century AD. However, the site was not the subject of stratigraphic archaeological exploration until the years 2003–2005 as part of the *Post aedem Castoris* Project co-directed by Dora Cirone (ISAR), Jennifer Trimble (Stanford University), Andrew Wilson (Oxford University), and Darius Arya (American Institute for Roman Culture). These preliminary probes attested to a rich stratigraphic sequence present below the remains of the *Horrea* that was seen as crucial for our understanding of the formation of the city.¹¹

Given these previous results, in 2016 ISAR was granted an official excavation concession by the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali (MiBAC) for the *Signum Vortumni* Project, which aims to unveil evidence for Rome's earliest phases below the imposing visible remains of the *Horrea Agrippiana*.¹² The site, which is located at the base of the Palatine Hill's western slope, is bordered by the famed *vicus Tuscus* – one of Rome's oldest roads that ran between the Palatine and Capitoline Hills, connecting the Forum with the Circus Maximus and the Velabrum area¹³ (figs. 1–3). According to the literary tradition the name *vicus Tuscus* was derived from the presence of an Etruscan quarter that originated sometime between the 8th and 6th centuries BC.¹⁴ A statue of the god Vortumnus, the god of change,¹⁵ also apparently stood somewhere on or near the *vicus Tuscus* – seemingly in proximity to the later site of the *Horrea Agrippiana* – hence the name of the current project.¹⁶ Although these earlier phases of frequentation are of significant interest to the project directors, smaller-scale excavations



Fig. 5: Students bagging finds after an eventful day.

carried out in 2016 and 2017 only uncovered re-deposited layers dating to the 6th–4th centuries BC as the search continues for intact strata from the Regal and Archaic periods.¹⁷ Much more ample were the remnants of Republican period structures dating from the 3rd–1st centuries BC. Architectural remains from the mid-Republican period (mid-3rd to mid-2nd centuries BC) constructed in ashlar tuff blocks (*opus quadratum*) have been tentatively identified as pertaining to a large house or public/religious building, while later walls dating to the late 2nd and early 1st centuries BC constructed in *opus incertum* (in some cases incorporating the pre-existing *opus quadratum* walls) have been more solidly identified as the remains of an upper-class *domus* built during the late Republican period.¹⁸ In the summer of 2018, large-scale excavations were carried out by the student group mentioned above (which included the three College Track students) in the *Horrea* under the Augustan floor levels in rooms K, L, M, N and O as well as in the corridor (Y) in front of rooms K, L, and M (figs. 4–6). The results of what proved to be a fruitful season will be published in due course; however, a preliminary synopsis is available through Italian news networks.¹⁹

Outcomes

Overall, this six-week excavation experience proved to be a successful, positive, and influential summer for the College Track students involved. Their lack of previous experience in the field proved to be an insignificant issue as they carried out all the



Fig. 6: Students undertaking digital documentation on site.

necessary tasks to a high standard and were self-motivated students who asked frequent questions and actively engaged with the site's history and the excavation process. Their reviews of the program were also very positive and it was clear that they had learned a great deal about the field and themselves:

'I loved everything about my experience in Rome. I feel so thankful to have been selected to travel to Rome to excavate. What I loved most about the experience was being allowed to excavate in the Roman Forum. I constantly thought to myself „wow, I'm allowed to be a part of this moment in history.“ The artifacts that were uncovered amazed me. I never imagined that I'd get a chance to touch something so ancient, let alone be among the ones to discover them. I also enjoyed the experience of working alongside great scholars, professors, and students in the field of archeology. I learned many unforgettable things during this experience.'

'The site directors served as great teachers as I did not know much about archaeology. In the past I thought of archaeology as something that would be out of reach for me and other students from low-income households. The most important thing I learned from this trip is that people should not limit themselves, or fear the unknown. Prior to this trip I felt a little nervous about traveling so far to work on a project in a field that I had no previous experience in. However, I learned that my slight nervousness was actually me fearing the unknown. This trip allowed me to break free from my comfort

zone, which had always been my home, people that I'm familiar with, and studying things «I understand».'

'I learned about the importance of archaeology and how it has played a pivotal role in helping to shape society today. I loved how I was able to connect what I learned in the lectures with Rome itself. Through archaeology, I was able to see Rome's unique array of architecture. Although it is a modern city, it still tries to keep its roots by keeping many buildings that were built back when the Roman Empire still existed.'

However, the summer was not without its challenges as these students were faced with many new circumstances including interaction with a foreign culture and language, long periods away from home, making new friends, and (at times) difficult working conditions. Yet, all the field school participants were forced to confront such issues and the College Track students did an excellent job overcoming these obstacles and empowering themselves along the way:

'The most challenging part of the program was the amount of physical labor required on an archaeological excavation. Most days were spent outside in the summer heat working hard with my peers. Prior to this experience I had never spent so many hours in direct contact with the sun and the humidity of the mornings. Although the heat was challenging at times, I knew that it was a necessary part of the experience. Everyone worked well together and remained very encouraging to one another. After having experienced being in the sun for many hours every day, I feel that I can conquer anything. I love that I was pushed so far out my comfort zone. I feel inspired to encourage others like me so they can overcome challenges as well.'

The College Track students were also very grateful for their time in Rome and some saw it as a life defining experience that helped shape their future career and direction:

'I'd like to thank College Track for making this experience possible for me and the other students. Traveling to Rome was life changing for me. I feel in touch with myself again and motivated going into my next stages of college.'

'This experience is different from most. Having the opportunity to apply what one has learned in the classroom is valuable and important. This trip has helped me narrow down my career path.'

'I would recommend this program to any students interested in it. The program gave me a great opportunity to work and collaborate with amazing

people who are experienced in the field of archaeology. Along with learning more about the field, I also had a great opportunity to explore Rome and learn more about myself in the process.’

From the feedback received it seems clear that each of the students gained significantly from this experience, both personally and academically. It helped them break down preconceived notions and barriers and allowed them to form their own interpretations of the past, thereby providing perspectives that are currently lacking in the field overall. Given the mixed international group of participants, knowledge spillovers also occurred as students shared ideas and life experiences that served to broaden each other’s horizons and skill-sets. Although none of the students explicitly stated that they would be changing their majors imminently, it is certainly possible that their participation will influence their career choices moving forward. Their positive reviews of the program demonstrate how influential such an experience can be, and work as a ‘proof of concept’, showing that this type of collaborative project has traction in the field and should be seen as a model that can be repeated on a larger scale and at multiple archaeological excavations to achieve greater results.

Future Directions

Having completed a successful first season it is ISAR’s goal to continue working with College Track to bring more students from marginalized communities to Rome to excavate and engage with Classical Archaeology and Ancient History. The repeatability of this project is key to its long-term growth and success and, at the time of writing, ISAR and College Track are in talks about the potential for a greater number of students to attend the field school in the summer of 2019.²⁰ While this pioneering collaborative effort can be seen as a solid step towards actively creating more diversity in the field of Classical Archaeology, it should also work as a prototype for additional programs. If there is serious interest in increasing diversity in these fields, especially in the academic sector, immersive programs need to become more commonplace and universities and private entities need to reach out to (non-profit) educational institutes/funding bodies for resources and/or students. Although university departments have tried to respond to this issue by attempting to hire a more diverse faculty, the pool to choose from remains small since underserved groups are not receiving, or do not have access to, the information or tutelage they need at an earlier age. By introducing students from historically marginalized communities to Classical Archaeology through an immersive, hands-on program while they are still undertaking their undergraduate degrees, ISAR and College Track are creating a greater opportunity for them to excel in the discipline and are actively working to give these students a voice that has so far been

absent, especially in important and evolving debates on identity, colonialism, and marginalization in the ancient world.

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Notes

¹ Particularly regarding ethnicity, gender, and socio-economic background.

² e.g. Hodder 2005; Smith – Martin Wobst 2005; Hodder 2008; Haber – Shepherd 2016; Hamilakis 2018.

³ <<https://collegetrack.org/who-we-are/>>

⁴ <<https://collegetrack.org>>

⁵ <<http://isarome.org/about/>>

⁶ These students self-identified respectively as bi-racial, African American, and Asian.

⁷ Now Assistant Professor of Art History at New York University.

⁸ Astolfi et al. 1978; Cirone et al. 2018 n. 49. 50.

⁹ Astolfi et al. 1978.

¹⁰ Bauer 1978a; Bauer 1978b.

¹¹ The results of this project will be published in 2020 by D. Cirone, A. De Cristofaro, and J. Trimble.

¹² Cirone et al. 2018.

¹³ Coarelli 2012, 84–87.

¹⁴ Liv. 2.14.9; Dion. Hal. ant. 5.36; Varro ling. 5.46; Prop. 4.2.79 f.; Platner – Ashby 1929, 579 f.; Coarelli 2012, 80–87.

¹⁵ Varro ling. 5.46; Prop. 4.2.79 f. consider this god to be of Etruscan origin.

¹⁶ Putnam 1967; Coarelli 2012, 84–87; Cirone et al. 2018.

¹⁷ Cirone et al. 2018 n. 10.

¹⁸ Cirone et al. 2018 n. 16, 28 f.

¹⁹ <<https://video.repubblica.it/edizione/roma/roma-storie-dal-palatino-apre-il-cantiere-degli-horrea-agrippiana/313817/314446>>; <<http://www.romatoday.it/eventi/cultura/ritrovamenti-domus-foro-romano.html>>.

²⁰ At the time of publication the 2019 field season of the Signum Vortumni Project had been successfully completed with another three College Track student participants. College Track and ISAR are aiming to continue this fruitful collaboration in 2020.

Image Credits

Fig. 1: ISAR Website. – Fig. 2: Google Earth. – Fig. 3: by Tom Rankin, ISAR. – Fig. 4: by Tom Rankin, ISAR. – Fig. 5: by the author. – Fig. 6: by Tom Rankin, ISAR.

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Some Brief Statistics on Women in Classical Archaeology

Lisa Lodwick

The initial keynote panel at the 19th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, held in May 2018 in Cologne/Bonn, was composed of 100% male speakers (n=9). The subsequent debate that arose over the need, or lack thereof, of gender parity in such prominently visible spheres provides an opportunity for the wider consideration of the current presence of women in classical archaeology. The International Congress of Classical Archaeology, organised under the auspices of the Associazione Internazionale di Archeologia Classica (International Association for Classical Archaeology), provides a way to track gender balance in classical archaeology over half a century. The conference was first held in Athens in 1905, and later organised by AIAC, itself founded in Rome in 1945.¹ ICCA has occurred at 5 year intervals since, usually held at locations within Europe but also in Izmir, Turkey and Boston, USA.²

The first step in confronting issues of diversity in a discipline is the collation of data to survey if there is indeed an imbalance.³ This paper serves as a first step in such an assessment for classical archaeology. Many of the ICCA conferences have resulted in the publication of conference proceedings. Here, I use ICCA and UK classical archaeology as data sets to assess current gender balance in classical archaeology and provide a baseline to assess these against in the future.

The initial organisation of an all-male ‘manel’ keynote panel was the impetus for the organisation of the session *Diversity in the Past: Diversity in the Present?* This paper from the panel focusses on questions of gender balance, in part as this was the initial impetus to organising the panel, and in part because the data is most readily available and enables an initial assessment of one aspect of diversity.

Previous Discussions of Gender in Classical Archaeology

‘Classical’ archaeology falls between the disciplines of classics, ancient history, archaeology and anthropology. AIAC serves as the major academic meeting for the global north, alongside the American Institute of Archaeology. Issues of diversity have received limited attention in previous AIACs. At Boston in 2003, Allen gave a paper on women in classical archaeology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.⁴ Beyond Susan Allen’s paper in 2006, no discussion of the composition of the academic community of classical archaeology appears in available recent AIAC programmes. Other major conferences for Greek and Roman archaeology include The Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference and the Roman Archaeology

Conference, where explicit discussions of equality and diversity have also been limited.⁵

Gender Balance in Archaeology

In contrast, there has been a long history of recognition of gender inequality in archaeology.⁶ A range of reviews have assessed archaeologists working in the UK.⁷ A recent review from the UK enables an assessment of gender balance. At the time of the survey in 2012–13, 46 per cent of archaeologists were women.⁸ Statistics for women in academic archaeology synthesised in 2014 showed 12% of the UK professoriate was female in 2000s.⁹

Here, a broad assessment is made of academic staff working in UK institutions whose work falls within the category of ‘classical’ archaeology, taken as Greek or Roman archaeology.¹⁰ Binary gender categories were assigned on the basis of forenames. This is problematic due to the existence of a range of gender categories but enables a broad characterisation necessary to begin an assessment of current gender diversity. Figure 1 shows that out of 92 academics, 46% are women, showing near gender balance. However, when the proportion of professors is considered (fig. 2), the proportion of women decreases to 39%.

Gender Balance at AIAC Past and Present

Given this basis, of an albeit limited sample from the UK, it could be expected that there would be broadly equal proportions of men and women speakers at an international classical archaeology conference. Here the diversity of participants within the ICCA conference is assessed on the basis of the programme available on the conference website,¹¹ and the conference proceedings published from previous ICCAs.¹²

The impetus for the session *Diversity in the Present: Diversity in the Past* was the initial keynote panel line up of 9 men. After criticism from a range of classical archaeologists and beyond,¹³ the keynote line up was adjusted to consist of 7 men and 4 women. The contextualisation of this pattern through time is not straight forward, as there is a wide range of key note speakers at different conferences. At ICCA 1978 in London there were six plenary papers given by Manolis Andronicos, Masimo Pallottino, Lilly Kahil, Nicholas Yalouris, John Bryan Ward-Perkins and A.L.F Rivet. In contrast, the congress in Berlin in 1988 had a single keynote from Nikolaus Himmelmann, whilst the 1998 conference in Amsterdam had five male keynotes (Stephen Dyson, Manolis Korres, Ian Morris, Alain Schnapp, Paul Zanker), and one female keynote (Maria Bonghi Jovino). Considered in the long term, the

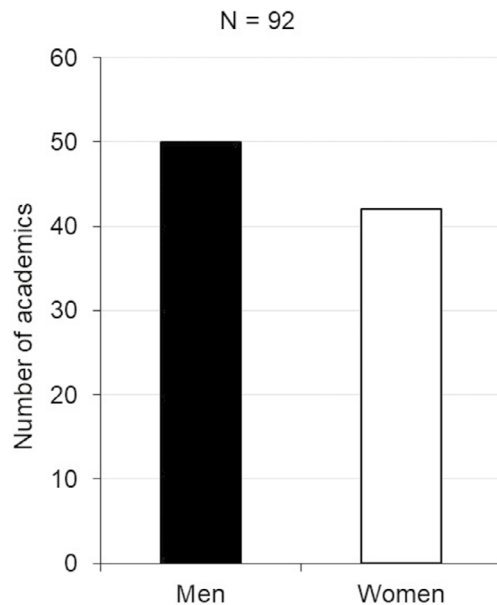


Fig. 1: Bar chart showing number of men and women in classical archaeology in academic positions in UK departments. See note 10.

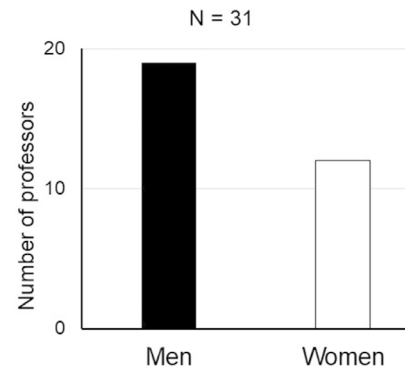


Fig. 2: Bar chart showing number of men and women professors in classical archaeology in UK departments. See note 10.

gender balance of the 2018 original keynote line up does not appear atypical, and points to long term problems in the under-representation of women in the most prestigious conference positions. Manels have received widespread criticism, on the basis that they are unreflective of the range of researchers currently working within a discipline, and silence women's voices.¹⁴

Keynote speakers at academic conferences are selected by the academic organising panel, who also have clear symbolic role at each conference. Past AIAC conferences have feature a range of committees. For instance in London in 1978 there was a committee of honours and a national organizing committee, and in Bonn/Cologne in 2018 a scientific committee and an organising committee. Here all members of committees have been included. Figure 4 shows the changing membership of these committees through time. In London, out of 56 members of the Committee of Honour and the National Organizing Committee, only 4 were women – Dame Kathleen Kenyon, Dr Ann Birchall (secretary), Joyce Reynolds, and the Rt Hon. Mrs. Shirley Williams MP. The gender balance of committees broadly improves through time, with actually a high number of women organising the conference in Boston in 2003, with the publication edited by Carol Mattusch, Alice Donohue, and Amy Brauer. In contrast, the 2018 organising committee consisted of 10 men. The trend over previous conferences was towards gender balance on organisational committees was reversed in 2018. The reasons for a reversal in the trend are unclear.

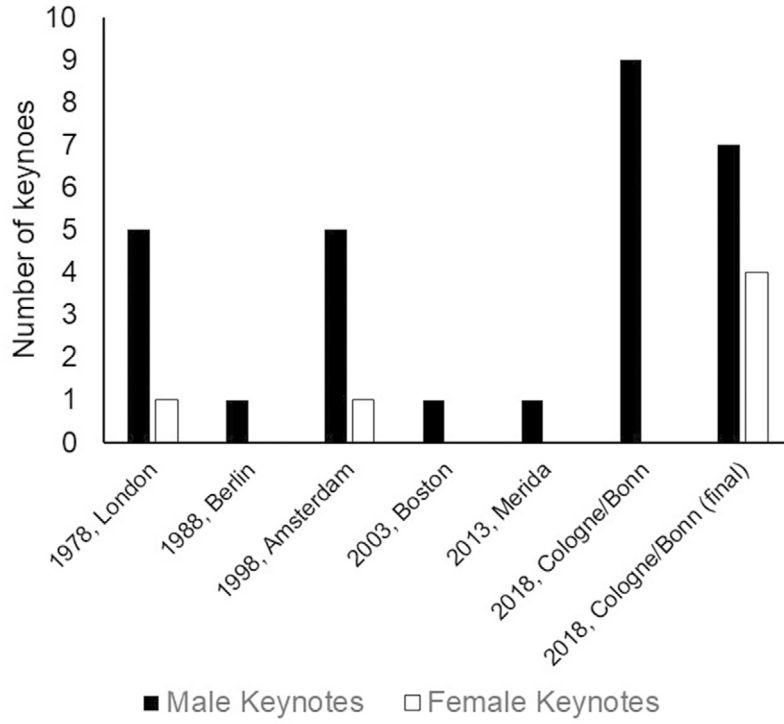


Fig. 3: Gender balance of keynotes through time.

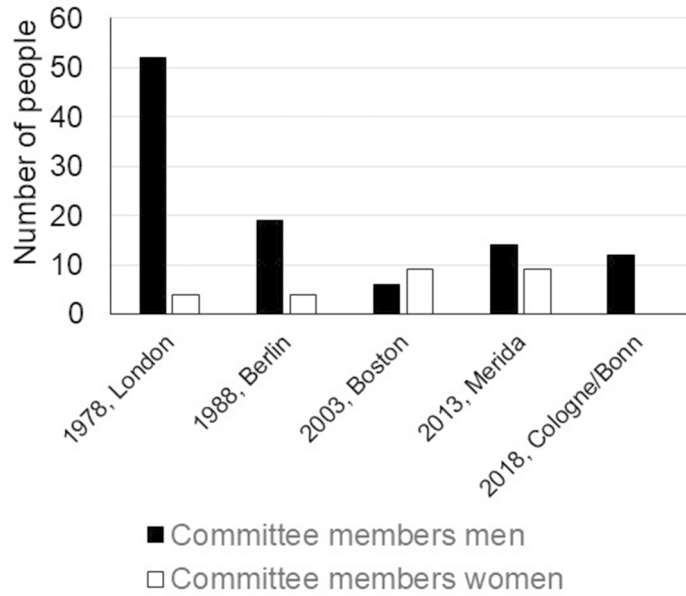


Fig. 4: Gender balance of AIAC organising committees.

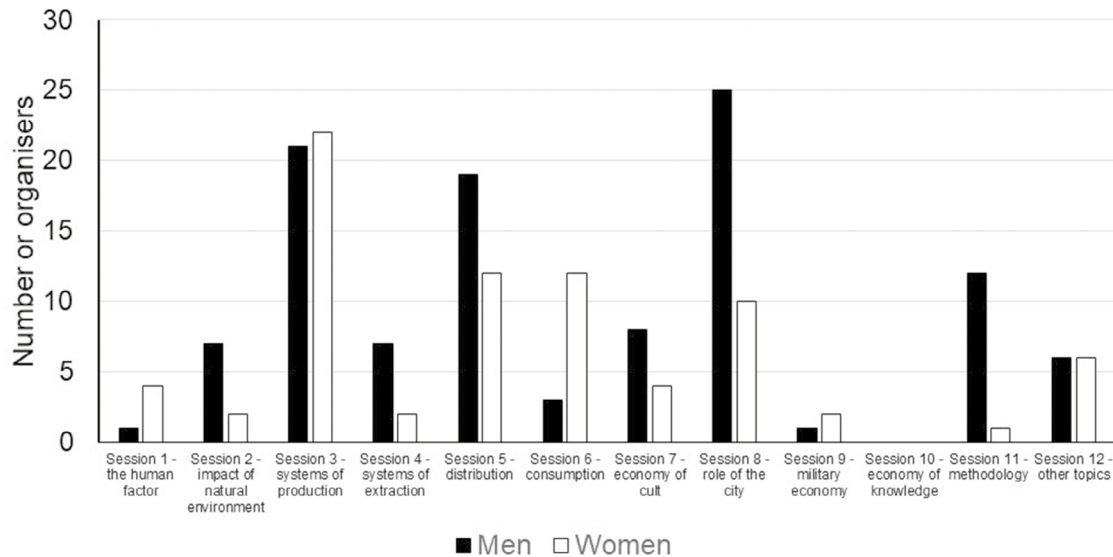


Fig. 5: Bar chart to show the gender of organisers by groups of sessions.

The range of session organisers is in part due to who submitted sessions, and in part due to which sessions were selected by the conference organisers. Figure 5 shows the gender of session organisers grouped into the 12 conference themes, all related to the economy. A higher number of male organisers can be observed in sessions on extraction (session 4), the city in the ancient economy (session 8) and methodology (session 11). A higher number of female organisers can be observed in sessions on consumption (session 6) and the human factor (session 1), which in part may be linked to the higher proportion of women in archaeological specialisms such as bioarchaeology, ceramics, small finds, and other specialist scientific disciplines.¹⁵

Statistics on overall conference participants have been provided by the conference organisers.¹⁶ The balance of speakers was given as 49% male and 51% female, and for panel organisers as 45% male and 55% female. The allocation of travel grants, which are usually for students, was 40% male and 60% female. These statistics are reflective of the statistics previously quoted for UK archaeologists and classical archaeologists.

Discussants have important roles in conference sessions, acting as visible symbols of authority in an academic field. They are typically senior academics, who have been invited to provide critical feedback on the papers presented. Not all sessions at AIAC 2018 had discussants, but of the 42 who had discussants listed on the online programme, 33 of those discussants were men, and 10 were women (fig. 6). Just one session had a male and female discussant, with four having two male discussants. This pattern confirms the picture provided by the uneven gender balance of the keynote panel and organising committee.

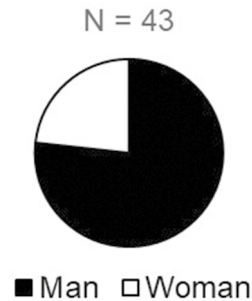


Fig. 6: The proportion of female and male discussants in sessions.

Gender Balance in Classical Archaeology Publications

The gender balance at conferences is influenced by a range of factors, including cost, access to care facilities, and unconscious and conscious bias. A contrasting insight into current gender balance in classical archaeology can be gained through a brief assessment of current publication practices. Figure 7 shows the gender of contributors to recent edited volumes in classical (mainly Roman) archaeology with an emphasis on the economy.¹⁷ All publications have a higher number of male than female contributors, and in all but two examples, the authorship is over 70% male. Whilst this is only a small sample of the huge range of publications in classical archaeology, this does indicate a consistent trend in the under-inclusion of women, and the need for continued observation and positive action to ensure women are invited to speak at conferences and contribute to subsequent publications.

This paper has provided a brief survey of current gender balance at AIAC conferences. A key conclusion on the basis of the initial keynote panel line up, the proportion of discussants, and the makeup of the organising committee, is that there is an imbalance in the presence of men and women that is not reflective of current statistics available at least for classical archaeology in the UK. In order to ensure that conscious or unconscious bias is not acting against the representation of women in conference spheres the diversity of conference organisers, keynotes, panel organisers, discussants and speakers should be continually observed.

Recognition and subsequent action on gender imbalances in academic conferences has occurred across numerous disciplines in recent years. Guidance is available on how to avoid all male panels, for instance as provided by the Women's Classical Committee.¹⁸ A widely adopted way forward to mitigate against such imbalances is the adoption and implementation of a conference speaker policy.¹⁹ The recent example of the discussion around the forthcoming FIEC/CA shows the importance of making policies clear and engaging with the community on the details of the policy.²⁰

More broadly, important work is taking place within archaeology²¹ and classics²² on issues of both gender equality and broader issues of diversity and equality, providing

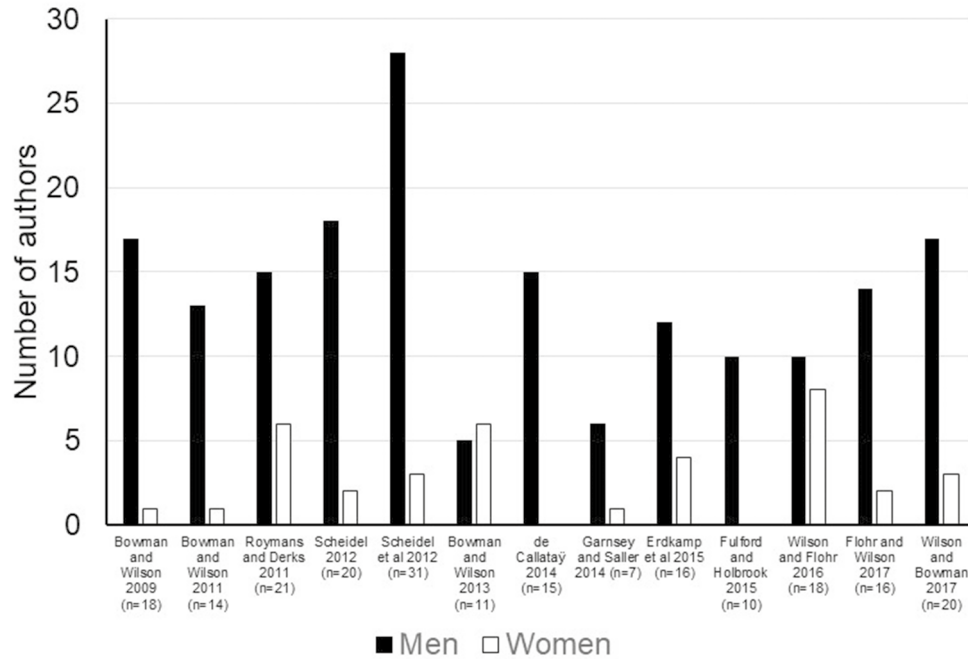


Fig. 7: Gender of contributors to recent edited volumes in classical archaeology.

models to adopt. A range of resources are available for identifying potential speakers and contributors, including the Women of Ancient History crowd-sourced database created by Sarah Bond, which provides a resource for finding women speakers. The Women's Classical Committee Wikipedia editing project seeks to raise the profile of women's scholarship in classics, including classical archaeology.²³ Beyond the speaker line up, a range of guidance is available on how to organise inclusive events, making conferences more accessible events despite caring responsibilities, financial limitations, or disability.²⁴

Beyond the gender imbalance, the initial keynote line up consisted of scholars from a very limited range of countries – UK, Germany, France, Belgium, Netherlands and Canada, as importantly highlighted by Katherine Blouin.²⁵ The number of countries represented by delegates was much larger with 1235 participants from 44 countries.²⁶ The under-representation of scholars from many of the modern countries where 'classical' archaeology is a major part of the cultural heritage (Greece, Italy, etc.) is notable. A range of intersecting aspects including ethnicity, disability, age, class and sexuality require much more consideration and action within classical archaeology. The initial observation of gender within the ICCA conferences, and classical archaeology publications is intended to contribute to a much more detailed and wider consideration of issues of diversity and equality in classical archaeology. At the overlap of archaeology and classics, classical archaeology should look to the range of important work taking places on these matters elsewhere in archaeology, classics, ancient history and beyond, to ensure that a wide range of voices are contributing to academic discourse.

Notes

- ¹ Bentz – Heinzelmann 2018, 10; Ward-Perkins 1977.
- ² Ward-Perkins 1977.
- ³ See a guide for achieving conference speaker balance – Martin 2014.
- ⁴ Allen 2006.
- ⁵ Lodwick et al. 2017; Scott 1998.
- ⁶ Eg. Gero 1985. For key scholarship see Shipley 2018.
- ⁷ Allen 2006.
- ⁸ Aitchison – Rocks-Macqueen 2013, tab. 68. 69.
- ⁹ Hamilton 2014.
- ¹⁰ Departmental webpages assessed May 2018: Oxford, Cambridge, Southampton, Exeter, Leicester, UCL, KCL, Reading, Royal Holloway, Cardiff, Newcastle, Edinburgh, St Andrews, Manchester, Nottingham, Kent, Lincoln, Durham.
- ¹¹ AIAC 2018 <<http://www.aiac2018.de/programme/sessions/#>>
- ¹² AIAC programmes consulted: London 1978 (Coldstream – Colledge 1978); Berlin 1988 (International Congress of Classical Archaeology 1990); Amsterdam 1998 (Docter – Moorman 1999); Boston 2003 (Mattusch et al. 2006); Merida 2013 (Barrero Martín – Pérez del Castillo 2013); Cologne 2018 (Bentz – Heinzelmann 2018).
- ¹³ Mol 2018; Blouin 2018.
- ¹⁴ Bond 2016.
- ¹⁵ Swift 2016; Gero 1985.
- ¹⁶ AIAC 2018.
- ¹⁷ Bowman – Wilson 2009, *Quantifying the Roman Economy*; Bowman – Wilson 2011, *Settlement, Urbanization and Population*; Roymans – Derks 2011, *Villa Landscapes in the Roman North*; Scheidel 2012, *Cambridge Companion to the Roman Economy*; Scheidel et al. 2012, *Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*; Bowman – Wilson 2013, *The Roman Agricultural Economy*; de Callataÿ 2014, *Quantifying the Greco-Roman Economy and Beyond*; Garnsey – Saller 2014, *The Roman Empire*; Erdkamp et al. 2015, *Ownership and Exploitation*; Fulford – Holbrook 2015, *The Towns of Roman Britain*; Wilson – Flohr 2016, *Urban Craftsmen and Traders*; Flohr – Wilson 2017, *The Economy of Pompeii*; Wilson – Bowman 2017, *Trade, Commerce and the State*.
- ¹⁸ Women’s Classical Committee UK 2018.
- ¹⁹ See for instance Martin 2014; The TAG guideline for session organisers <<https://tagdeva.wordpress.com/guidelines-for-session-organisers/>>; The TRAC speaker policy <<http://trac.org.uk/about/trac-conduct-policy/>>.
- ²⁰ Gloyn 2018.
- ²¹ For instance the CIFA Diversity & Equality Group, British Women Archaeologists, TrowelBlazers.
- ²² Women’s Classical Committee UK, Women’s Classical Caucus, Classics and Social Justice.
- ²³ Leonard 2017.
- ²⁴ Inclusive Archaeology Project: The Inclusive Archaeology Project. 2018. Best Practice Code of Conduct. A Conference Accessibility How-To Guide, <<https://inclusivearchaeology.wordpress.com/best-practice-code-of-conduct/>> (accessed 18/10/2018).

²⁵ Blouin 2018.

²⁶ AIAC 2018.

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Fig. 1–7: by the author.

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This small volume within the AIAC-proceedings is the result of a panel discussion on diversity in Classical Archaeology, and can be read as a call and pamphlet for more inclusivity and social justice in the field. In light of the dismay of many concerning the initial all-male keynote panel at AIAC2018, the panel was aimed at discussing broader issues concerning diversity and intersectionality in Greco-Roman archaeology. As archaeologists, we have made it one of our principal tasks to bring to the fore ‘the people without history’ and show a more diverse image of the Greek and Roman past. Then why is this diversity not reflected in the discipline itself? The all-male panel was symptomatic of more fundamental problems that the discipline suffers from, both in terms of gender and its inseparably related issues of whiteness, class, and the ‘Classical’. The AIAC-panel proved to be a constructive and empowering meeting ground, where vital matters of inequality and injustice were discussed, as well as the discipline’s capability of moving towards a more self-reflexive and socially engaged future. The contributions in this volume count as a reflection of this fruitful and ongoing debate, which will hopefully lead to more awareness as well as more dialogue.